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the heritage of Bodhgaya

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View of the Mahabodhi temple from the east side, Bodhgaya.



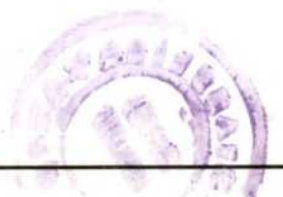
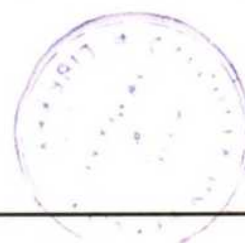
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Seated Buddha. 5th century. Stone. Mahant's compound, Bodhgaya.



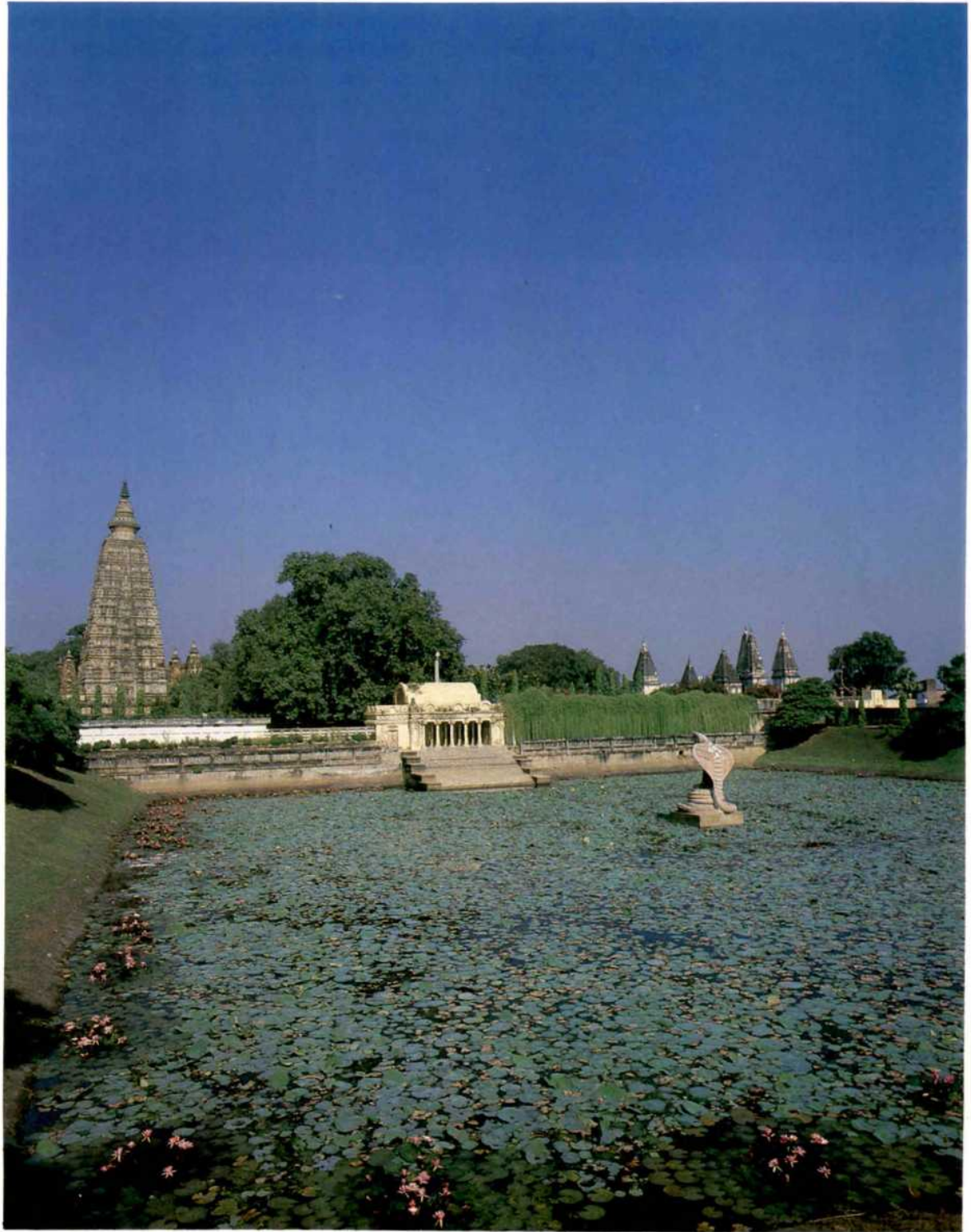


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Detail of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



View from south-west of temple and tank in the Mahabodhi temple compound, Bodhgaya.



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Maitreya. 9th century. Stone. Mahant's compound, Bodhgaya.



North-east section of the Mahabodhi temple compound, Bodhgaya.

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View from south-east of the Mahabodhi temple compound, Bodhgaya.



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Volume XXXX No. 1

A MAGAZINE OF THE ARTS

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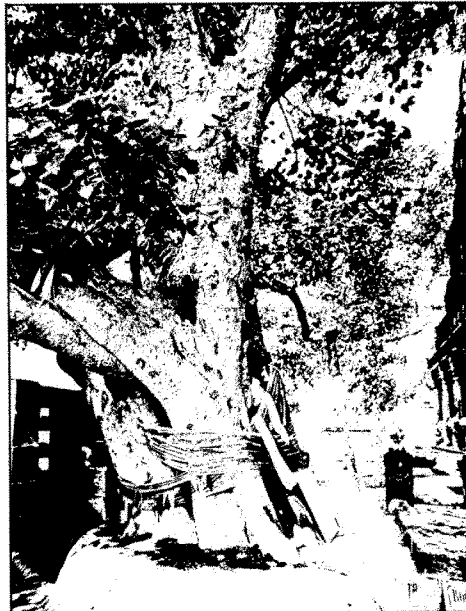
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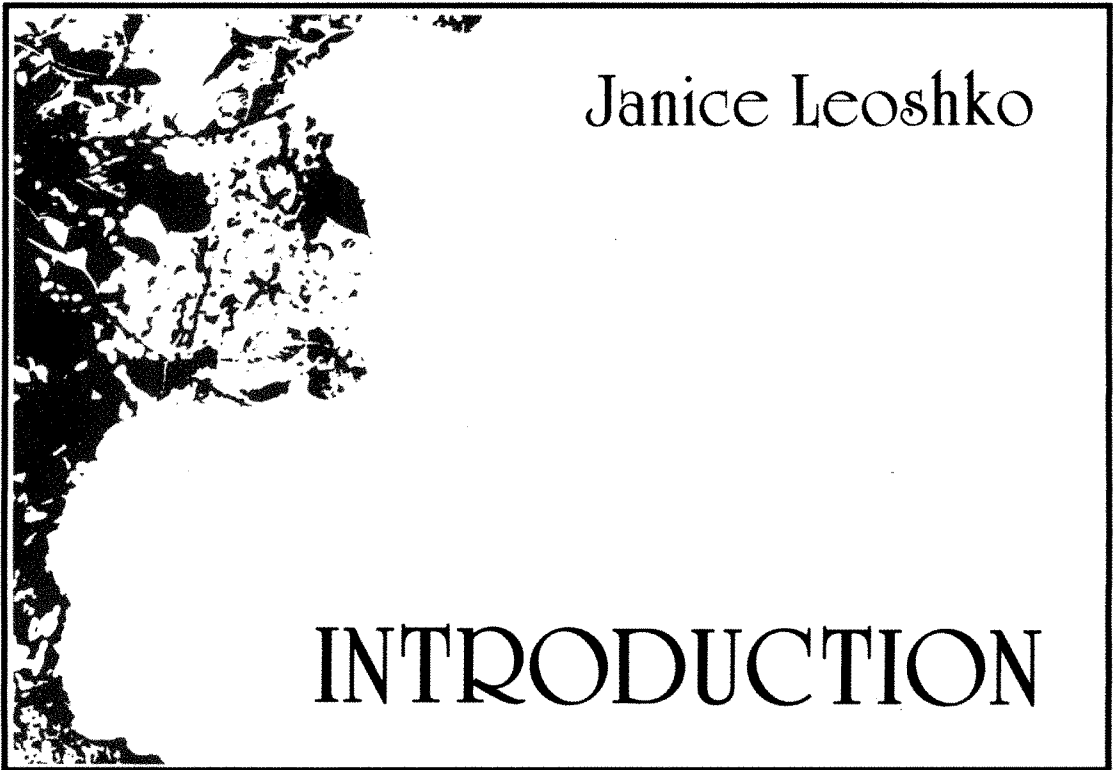
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Cover: Sculpture of Avalokitesvara installed in exterior niche of the Mahabodhi temple. 9th century. Painted stone. c. 90 cm.

The many courtesies extended by the private collectors and institutions who allowed their works to be published here are deeply appreciated. Specific acknowledgement of photographs used is given separately. Particular thanks are due to Bhikku Inana Jagat, Superintendent, Buddhagaya Temple, Bodhgaya and Mr. Kishore Singh of Tata Steel, Patna who greatly facilitated research and photographic work at Bodhgaya. Thanks are also due to Dr. Pratapaditya Pal of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art for his advice and to Mrs. Roshan Sabavala and Radhika Sabavala as well as the rest of the MARG staff for their considerable efforts in connection with this project.





Janice Leoshko

INTRODUCTION

As the place of the Buddha's enlightenment, Bodhgaya is an extraordinary site. Located south of Gaya in Bihar, it is a small village situated on the bank of the Phalgu River. *Fig. 1* Bodhgaya's special character is clearly emphasized in numerous texts and pilgrim records which designate it as the only place where Sakyamuni could have become a Buddha. The famous seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (Hsuan-tsang) described Sakyamuni's futile efforts to achieve enlightenment at nearby Pragbodhi Hill (now called Dhongra Hill). According to the legend that Xuanzang recounted, Sakyamuni was warned by a god of that mountain that if he attempted such meditations there, the earth would open up and the mountain would fall on top of him. When he tried another site on the same mountain Sakyamuni was told by yet another god:

This is not the place for a Tathagata to perfect supreme wisdom. From here southwest, not far from the place of penance, is a pipal tree under which is a diamond throne, a *vajrasana*. All the past Buddhas seated on this throne have obtained true enlightenment and so will those yet to come. Pray then, proceed to that spot.¹

Sakyamuni found that spot about three kilometres south of Pragbodhi Hill. And for centuries since, Buddhist devotees have journeyed to pay homage to this sacred site of enlightenment.

Today Bodhgaya is dominated by the Mahabodhi temple which was extensively



restored in the late nineteenth century. The temple stands immediately in front (or to the east) of Sakyamuni's bodhi tree, the pipal tree beneath which he achieved enlightenment. The traces of many other structures surround the temple, but there has been so much destruction as well as repeated renovation at Bodhgaya that it is difficult—in many cases impossible—to determine the identity of these remains.

Although the exact circumstances and date are not known, after the thirteenth century, despite centuries of activity, Buddhist practices at Bodhgaya largely ceased. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, who visited Bodhgaya in 1811, reported that the temple was in a dilapidated condition and that much of the immediate area had been greatly disturbed by the extensive removal of bricks and other materials for local building projects. Drawings made by Thomas and William Daniell as well as Buchanan-Hamilton's account indicate that in the early nineteenth century, although the site was mostly abandoned, occasional Hindu pilgrims still came from Gaya to worship the pipal tree.² Buchanan-Hamilton also noted that members of the local Mahant's monastery frequented the site. The first Mahant had supposedly wandered into the area in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Attracted by the isolated atmosphere, he remained and established a Saivite monastery some two hundred metres from the Mahabodhi temple. After the monastery was built many images from the Buddhist ruins were moved there. A



number of those described by Buchanan-Hamilton are, in fact, still located in the Mahant's compound.

Throughout the nineteenth century Bodhgaya was visited by those desiring to discover more about this legendary place of enlightenment. It attracted the attention of a number of scholars, including Rajendralala Mitra and Alexander Cunningham, both of whom wrote books about the site and its remains. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, several Burmese missions also travelled to Bodhgaya, first to find the site and make offerings, and then, in 1877, to renovate the dilapidated structures. In fact, it was the somewhat haphazard renovation by the Burmese that prompted the British Government to undertake a major restoration of the site in the 1880s.³

Unfortunately, the nineteenth-century changes made at Bodhgaya have greatly confused the record of earlier activity. Some structures were totally dismantled and many images were moved from their original locations. Sadly, only limited excavations were made before the well-meaning but disruptive renovations. The reports of Major Mead who had conducted these archaeological investigations were never published; even the whereabouts of his manuscripts are not known today. Although much has been lost, and much undoubtedly remains to be uncovered, as Geri Malandra outlines in this volume, a general history of the Mahabodhi temple can still be constructed.

Unlike the records that exist for some Buddhist sites in Bihar such as Nalanda, the famous monastic complex which has witnessed repeated excavations, the published documentation of the artistic achievements at Bodhgaya is not as complete. Clearly a great deal of artistic activity was supported at Bodhgaya and the extant sculptures include many impressive examples created by masters now unknown. Although there are earlier works, the vast majority of sculptures from Bodhgaya date after the Gupta period and primarily belong to the Pala period (c. eighth through twelfth centuries). Since Buddhist images are created in the context of particular practices, the range of deities represented in Bodhgaya sculptures suggests that some esoteric rituals more usually associated with other sites in Bihar and Bengal may also have taken place at Bodhgaya.

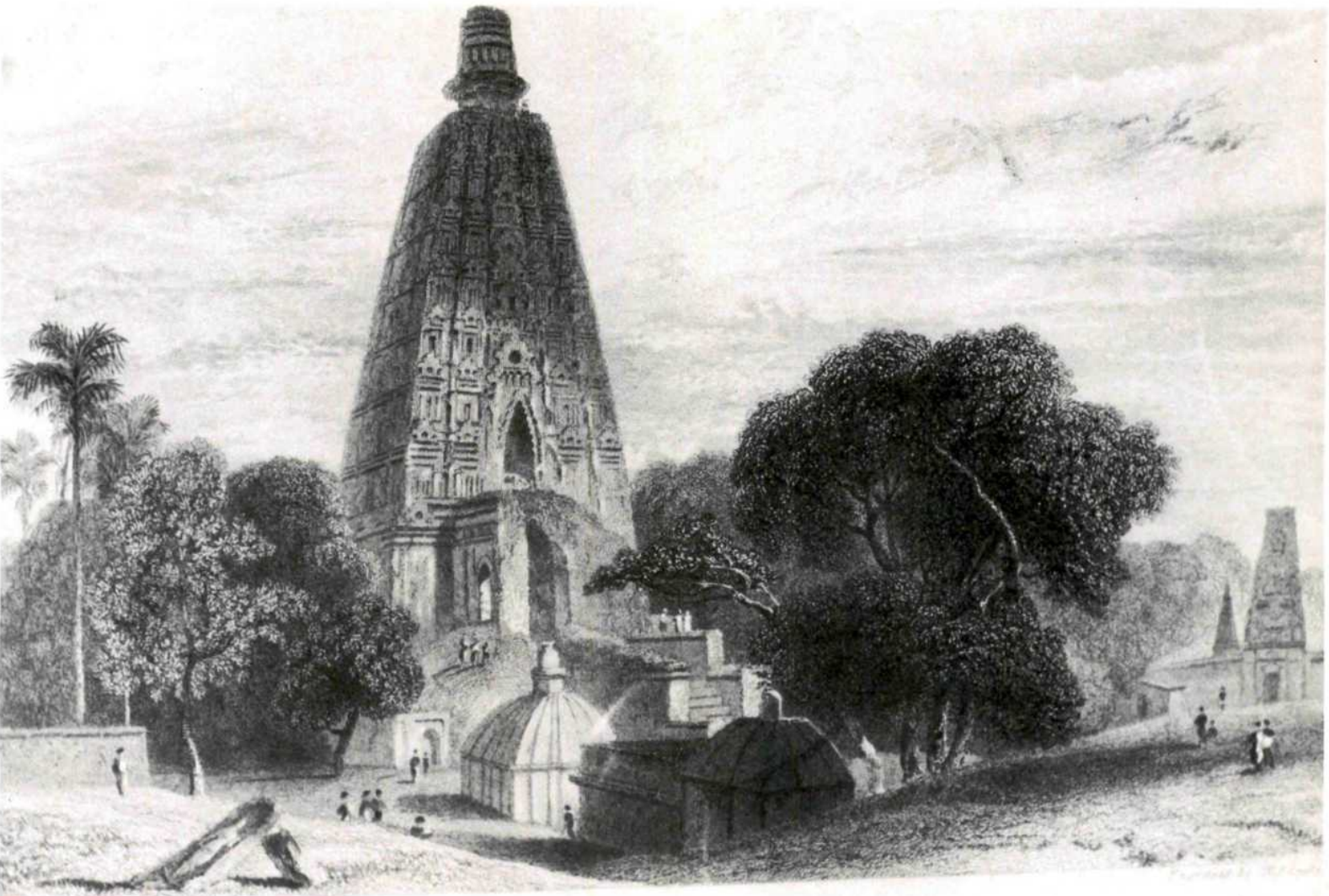
The importance of the site after the sixth century is indicated by the fact that the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* (earth-touching gesture) became the most common form for a Buddha image during the Pala period. Although it is a specific reference to Bodhgaya and a symbol of the achievement of Buddhahood, this form seems to have originated elsewhere at an earlier time. Nonetheless, the first place in eastern India where it became prominent is at Bodhgaya.

A complete view of Bodhgaya must place it within the context of the other sites in Bihar that also witnessed extensive religious activity and artistic patronage. Previous writers have compared Bodhgaya with significant Buddhist centres such as Nalanda, but a consideration of its relationship with the important Hindu pilgrimage site of Gaya, hardly eleven kilometres away, proves especially interesting. Bodhgaya is listed as one of the sites to be visited by Hindu devotees on pilgrimage at nearby Gaya, and Hindu images can be found at Bodhgaya. Frederick Asher, in his essay on Gaya and its art, also explores some of the possible connections between these two major places of pilgrimage.

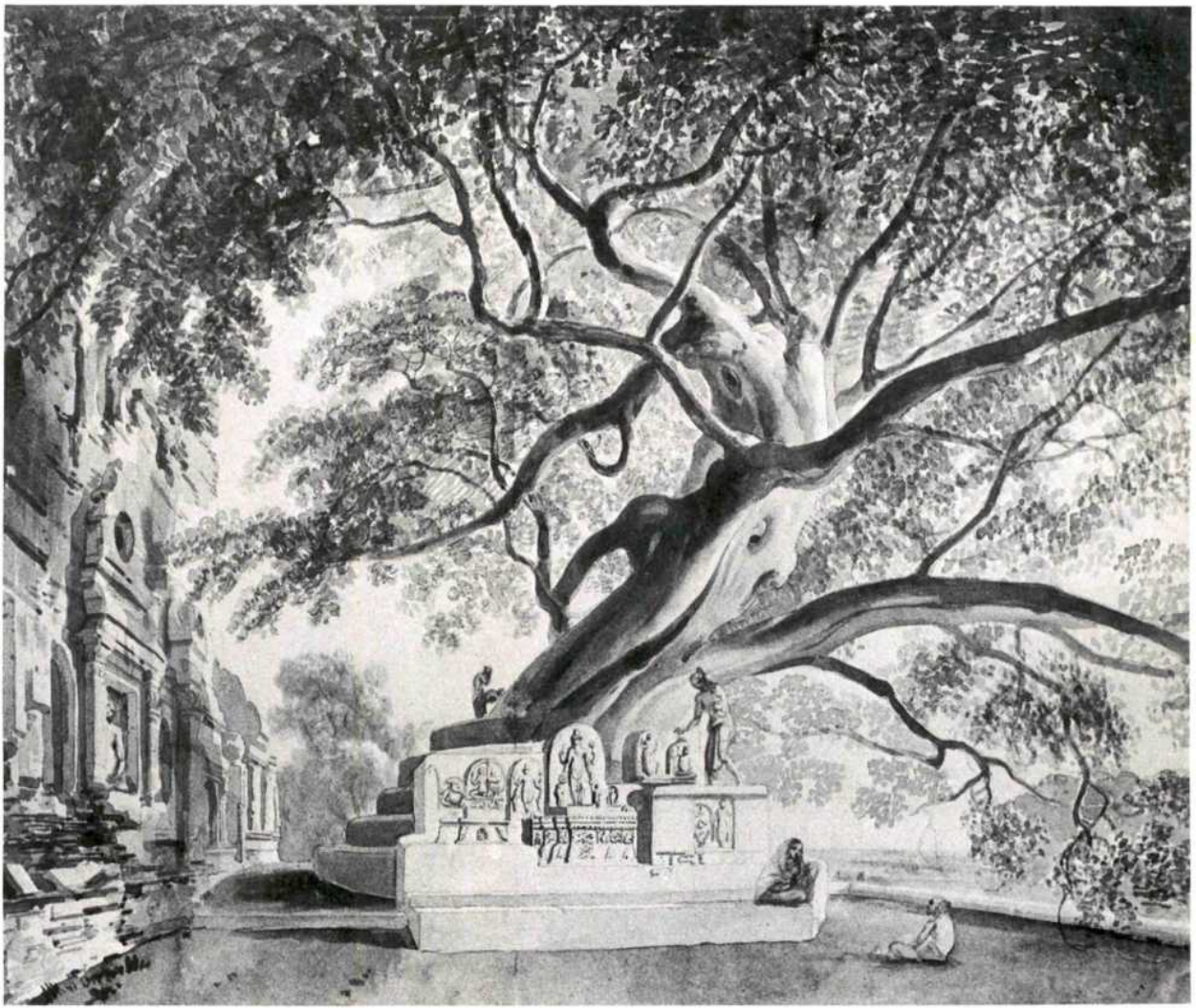
Finally, an accurate view of Bodhgaya must also consider its international importance. Even though incomplete, the record of foreign visits to Bodhgaya demonstrates that major efforts were made to see the site of enlightenment. Because of the great regard accorded Bodhgaya, it wielded tremendous influence upon the imagery and practices found elsewhere in the Buddhist world. Copies of the Mahabodhi temple and other images as well as the importation of actual works from Bodhgaya are only the most obvious signs of an interest to replicate the site elsewhere. Far more pervasive is the conceptual influence exerted by Bodhgaya. Although this influence is often acknowledged, its actual manifestation in different countries has not been fully explored. In his article Robert Brown surveys the different responses to Bodhgaya and its imagery

2. Nineteenth-century engraving from a drawing of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya by William Daniell. Private Collection.

3. Worship of the pipal tree behind the Mahabodhi temple. 18th-century water-colour by Thomas Daniell. Victoria Memorial, Calcutta.



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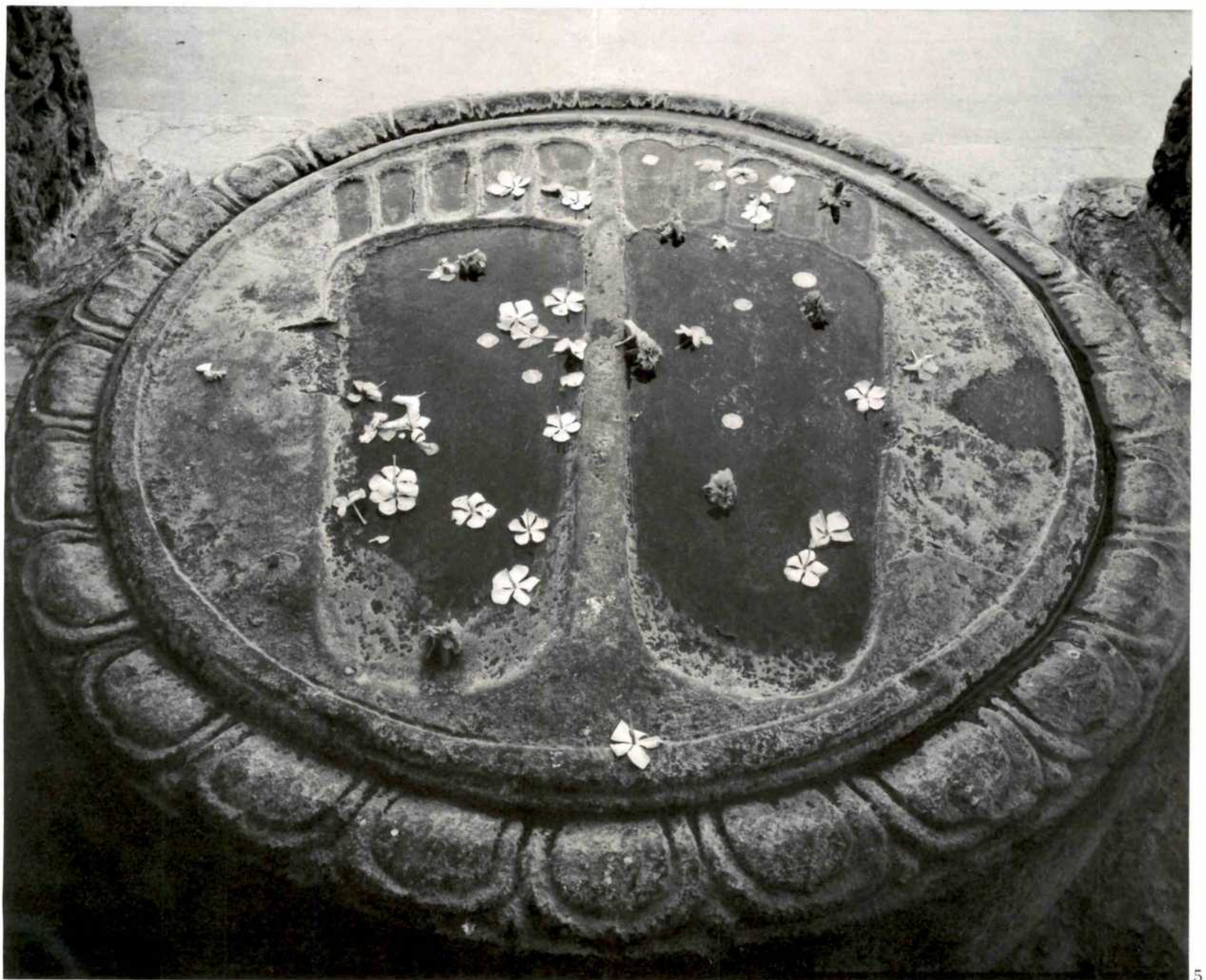


4. Tibetan monks at worship by the side of the Mahabodhi temple.

in South-east Asia where multiple copies of the Mahabodhi temple were erected and actual ties with the site were maintained by some countries.

In the late nineteenth century, along with the restoration of the site, attention was focused on Bodhgaya by the writings of Sir Edwin Arnold. His famous poem about Sakyamuni entitled "The Light of Asia" and an impassioned newspaper account of the sad neglect of this most sacred Buddhist site proved effective tools for reawakening an interest in Bodhgaya throughout the world. Sir Arnold's writing helped to inspire Angarika Dharmapala from Sri Lanka to dedicate his life to the struggle to put Bodhgaya and especially the Mahabodhi temple under Buddhist ownership rather than under the Mahant's control. It was a long struggle, enduring far beyond the lifetime of Angarika Dharmapala. The extensive litigation surrounding this question of ownership was concluded only in 1949 when the State Government of Bihar passed the Bodh Gaya Temple Act which placed the operation of the Mahabodhi temple under the direction of a management committee made up of both Buddhists and Hindus.⁴

Since 1953 when the committee assumed actual control, many improvements have been made and new services have been established for the growing number of visitors. In the last few decades, various Asian countries have erected temples and monasteries at



Bodhgaya, and Buddhist pilgrims and devotees can regularly be seen there. The international character of the religious activity at Bodhgaya today is probably quite similar to that which took place there a thousand years ago during the Pala period when visitors from many parts of Asia also travelled to this sacred Buddhist site. The ancient remains are an important part of the spiritual resonance which pervades the site. As recent images by the American photographer Linda Connor demonstrate, the surviving monuments and works of art at Bodhgaya remain powerful markers of the homage paid to this place of enlightenment. It is not surprising that the site continues to inspire the world, for as Xuanzang characterized Bodhgaya's importance in the seventh century: "If you wish to plant a superior root of merit, then seek a superior field".⁵

NOTES

1. Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang* (A.D. 629) 2 vols. (London, 1884), 2:114.

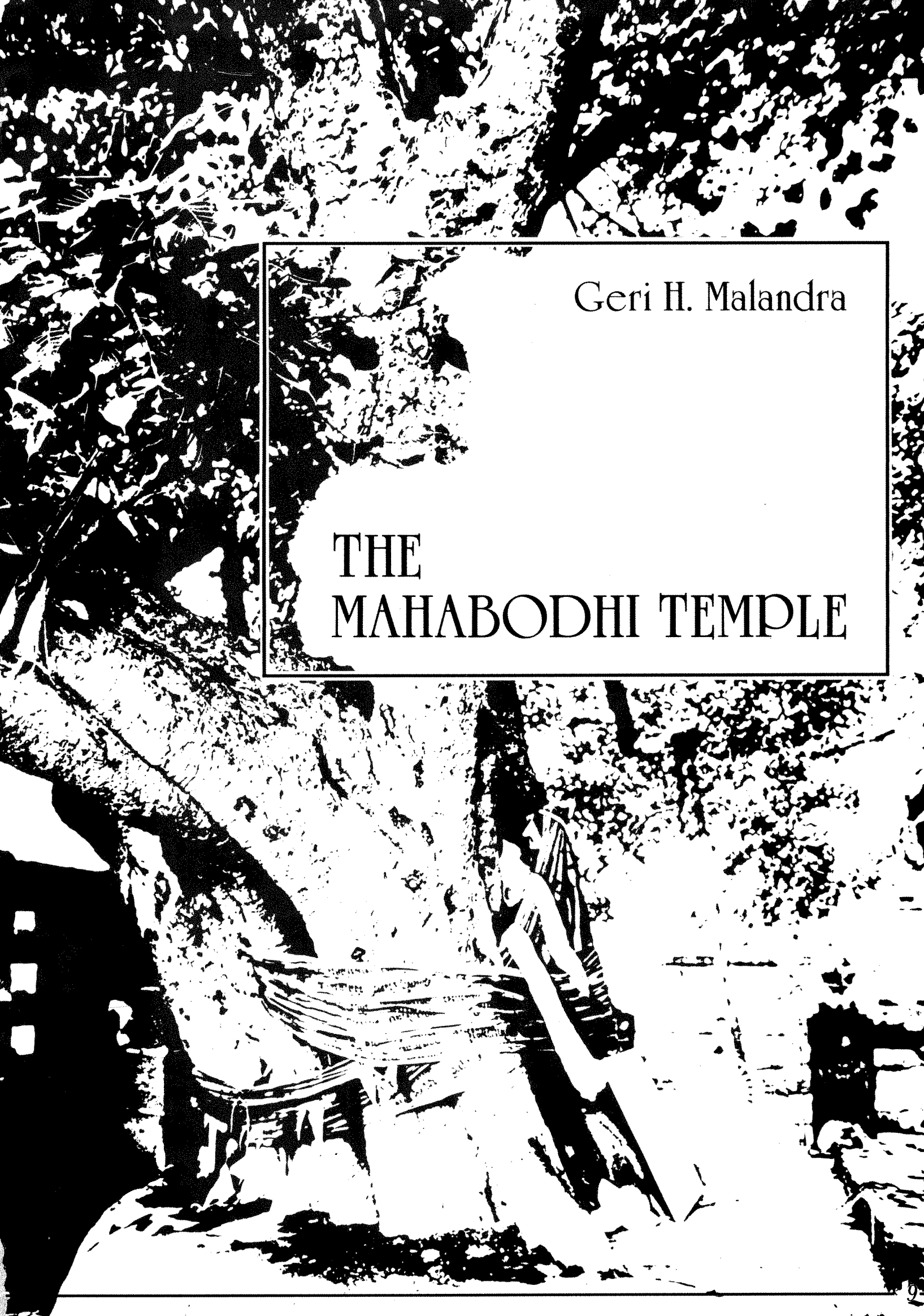
2. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12* ed. by John F.W. James, 2 vols. (Patna, 1934), 2:139.

3. Abu Imam, *Sir Alexander and the Beginnings of Indian Archaeology* (Dacca, 1966), 82-91.

4. The activities that have taken place at the site in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been fully outlined in Dipak Barua, *Buddha Gaya Temple: Its History* (Buddha Gaya, 1981). See also John C. Huntington, "Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus, A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage sites of Buddhism, Part I", *Orientalism* 16, (November 1985), 46-61.

5. Beal, op. cit., 2:120.



A black and white photograph of a person in a white robe sitting on a large tree root in a forest. The person is looking down at a book or a set of papers they are holding. The background is filled with dense foliage and trees. The image is framed by a thin black border.

Geri H. Malandra

THE
MAHABODHI TEMPLE

The Bodhgaya temple, one of the most important monuments of ancient India, has been fraught with controversy since the late nineteenth century, when restorations gave it its present form.¹ Built over earlier temples, it stands on the site of the Buddha's enlightenment. Those with an interest in uncovering and restoring an "authentic" record of India's past have argued that its present form at best only preserves the temple as it would have appeared after the last ancient restorations of the twelfth century. Earlier forms of the temple, as described by pilgrims of ancient times, have all but vanished, leaving only traces now covered by the modern floor, tower, walls, and railing. Fig. 1

Modern Restoration—The Temple Today

The revival of interest in Bodhgaya began in 1802, when the Burmese sent a mission to the temple.² It soon attracted the attention of British administrators as well.³ Francis Buchanan-Hamilton visited the site in 1811, and published a report in 1836.⁴ Alexander Cunningham first visited the site in 1861, and recommended that excavations be conducted.⁵ These were undertaken by Major Mead, but no report was published. Cunningham returned to Bodhgaya in 1871, and then published a comprehensive report.⁶ In 1875 the Burmese sent a mission to clear "debris" from the temple complex. By 1880 the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal had appointed J. D. Beglar to repair the temple thoroughly, in co-operation with a second Burmese mission.⁷ Unfortunately, this clearance and restoration destroyed much of the original fabric of the temple.⁸ It appears that the archaeologist attempted in good faith to restore the temple to its medieval appearance, based on the small model excavated near the temple, and on others found elsewhere.⁹ Following these models, the front pavilion and the four corner towers were "restored". Cunningham wrote¹⁰ that: Fig. 2

this additional work has been much criticised, and I have been roundly abused for it in company with Mr. Beglar, although I had nothing whatever to say to it. At the same time I must confess that, since I have seen it, I think his design of the front Pavilion is a very successful completion of the entrance in the style and spirit of the original work as shown in the model. It is of course a *Restoration*, which, as it was based on the double authority of existing remains and an ancient model, I consider legitimate and justifiable.

For a site so important, documentary evidence is relatively scarce: various dedicatory inscriptions ranging from the first century BC to the fourteenth century AD and legends embedded in Buddhist texts. We are most fortunate, however, to have records of monks who actually visited the temple in the early fifth, mid-seventh and thirteenth centuries. Our understanding would not be so complete without their observations, which weave together descriptions of the temples and the precincts with the enlightenment story. Still, as Rajendralala Mitra put it:¹¹

For a place of such remote antiquity as Buddha Gaya, which was the earliest seat of Buddhism, which has been held the most sacred on earth for nearly five and twenty centuries, which was enriched by the largest number of monuments ever dedicated in any Buddhist place of pilgrimage, the number of ancient inscriptions hitherto discovered there is exceedingly small. Of the thirty-nine monuments noticed by Hiouen Tshang there is not a single lapidary record extant; nor is there any of those which the pilgrim saw, but could not, on account of their number, describe in detail. And even of the few inscriptions that have been found by antiquarians, none belongs to any of the larger monuments, nor were they intended to record the erection or the dedication of those structures. On the whole, they are not only few in number, but of comparatively little interest.

Material evidence is available in the numerous sculptures and architectural fragments found on the premises, augmented by rudimentary archaeological finds reported by Alexander Cunningham. There has been, however, no systematic excavation, which might help us understand the relationship of sculptural remains and architectural features and, further, could contribute to a clearer understanding of the way the temple changed over the past two millennia.

Of course, for Buddhists, the question of architectural authenticity is not so important as



1. View of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya, from the east.

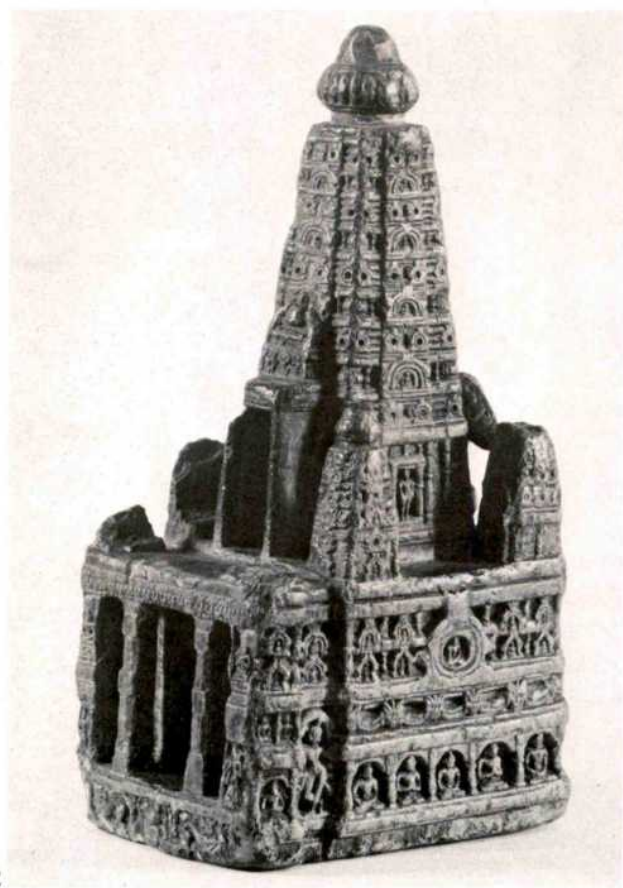
the spiritual resonance of the place. Clearly Bodhgaya has reassumed its position as one of the most important pilgrimage sites for Buddhists, who travel, as they did centuries earlier, from all corners of the world, to pay homage to the place of the Buddha's enlightenment. For them, the temple is preserved as a sacred place of active worship, where archaeological excavation would be inappropriate. Understanding the nature and history of the Bodhgaya temple requires an expedition through many layers of fact, legend and belief. We cannot simply believe our eyes; there is much more to the historical and spiritual substance of the temple, which we will explore here.

Earlier Forms of the Temple

The *Bodhi-ghara*: Maurya and Sunga Periods

Originally, the spot of the Buddha's enlightenment was identified by the bodhi tree, most likely surrounded by a platform, like ancient and contemporary tree shrines throughout the subcontinent. Faxian, in the fifth century, described the Buddha's approach to the sacred place.¹² He found the places where the Buddha practised austerities, bathed, received milk and rice from village girls, meditated on a stone under a great tree and in a stone cell. In the latter, "the heavens and the earth were shaken, and all the devas in space cried out and said, "This is not the place appointed for the Buddhas . . . to arrive at perfect wisdom; at a distance less than half a *yojana* southwest from this, beneath the Pei-to tree, is the spot where all the Buddhas should arrive at that condition"". The devas, singing, led him to the spot, and offered him *kusa* grass, which the Buddha spread under the bodhi tree, where he then sat, facing east. Here, he faced Mara's attack. Faxian notes that at each significant spot, "men in after times raised towers and placed figures which still remain".

Moving on to the bodhi tree and temple, the monk continues: "Buddha having arrived at supreme wisdom, for seven days sat contemplating the tree, experiencing the joys of emancipation. On this spot they have raised a tower, as well as on the following, viz., where he walked for seven days under the Pei-to tree, from east to west; where all the devas, having



2



3

2. Model of the Mahabodhi temple, from eastern India. 11th century. Soapstone. 13.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Benjamin Rowland, Jr. in memory of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

3. View of the *vajrasana* when excavated in the 19th century.

4. View of the bodhi tree and the seat behind the Mahabodhi temple.



caused the appearance of a hall composed of the seven precious substances, for seven days paid religious worship to Buddha”

The *Asokavadana* and related legends recounted by Chinese pilgrims describe Asoka's conversion and worship of the bodhi tree after either he or his queen attempted to cut it down.¹³ According to Faxian, Asoka's queen was angered that the king spent so much time in worship at the tree, and sent men to cut the tree down. When Asoka saw the damaged tree, he piled up earth “on four sides of the stump” and moistened its roots with milk. The tree miraculously revived, and according to Faxian, continued to grow until it reached a height of somewhat less than thirty-seven metres. This story is important because it suggests that there was some kind of support around the tree, separate from the temple nearby.

It is noteworthy that, whereas Faxian says that Asoka piled up earth on four sides of the stump, Xuanzang attributes to Asoka a tall protective stone wall around the tree. In this version of the story, it was Asoka himself who first tried to destroy the tree, cutting through its roots, and then burning them. But the tree appeared in the flames, upon which Asoka repented and bathed the roots with milk. His queen, upset that he did not return to the palace, sent a messenger to cut the tree down again. Asoka then worshipped and bathed the tree once more and it was restored in less than a day. He surrounded the tree with a stone wall three metres high, which, according to Xuanzang, “still remains visible” (in the mid-seventh century).

Equally important, Xuanzang also attributes to Asoka the first vihara at Bodhgaya which, the pilgrim said, was later reconstructed on a larger scale by a brahman. He thus provides us with very important ancient testimony to the tradition of rebuilding in the temple complex.

A polished stone throne, now located at the base of the present tree behind the temple, decorated with a Mauryan style palmette-and-goose frieze, is the earliest physical evidence of a shrine at this spot. Because of its style, it has been connected with the legend of Asoka's revival of the tree and construction of a shrine around it. The slab, originally in the temple, was moved outside when it was enlarged in the Gupta period (hence the much later style figures in the slab's base).¹⁴ Figs. 3, 4

Cunningham also found column bases resting on the earliest sandstone floor of the temple, and a semicircular threshold stone which he attributed to Asoka. Although most scholars now place these other remains in the last century BC or somewhat later,¹⁵ it is likely that they are parts of the earliest stone shrine.

A Sunga period relief sculpture from Bharhut provides the best evidence for the original appearance of the tree shrine (*bodhi-ghara*).¹⁶ It depicts an elaborate two-storeyed construction built on a brick base. An elephant pillar, similar to Asoka's columns, stands in front. Inside, the “throne” slab is easily seen, supported by four small pilasters. Worshippers stand here and at the tree's crown level on the second storey, which is decorated with a series of complex gabled arches. The structure clearly surrounds the bodhi tree. Ironically, the inscription on this relief takes precedence as the oldest epigraphic evidence about Bodhgaya. It reads: *bhagavata saka munino bodho* (“The Enlightenment of Lord Sakyamuni”), assuring us that the scene represents the enlightenment of the Buddha at Bodhgaya.¹⁷ It is important because it shows that an open-air storeyed shrine was built around the bodhi tree as early as the first century BC. Fig. 5

If the polished stone slab was originally “inside” the temple, and if the construction surrounded the tree as it does in the Bharhut relief, then the tree must have been in a different position, closer to what is now the centre of the temple. Relocation of the tree may not have been problematic since, as Coomaraswamy points out, even in the earliest reliefs, it was the *vajrasana* (adamantine or diamond seat), not the tree, that was intended to be the exact centre of the *bodhimanda*, place of enlightenment.¹⁸ It is clear from Xuanzang's description that although the tree was initially Sakyamuni's destination, it was the seat—later a throne—which was the actual *axis mundi*. Fig. 6

Combining information from the Bharhut relief with the location of three pillar bases and the semicircular “threshold” slab found on the earliest floor of the temple, Cunningham reconstructed a cruciform, sixteen-pillared *bodhi-ghara*. His conclusions, however, are far from secure since he admitted that the third pillar base was not found *in situ*, but instead overturned to form part of the pavement.¹⁹ Despite this, he used that base as the north-west corner of the cross-shaped shrine in his reconstructed plan. By contrast, Coomaraswamy proposed a more conservative reconstruction, based on the Bharhut relief,²⁰ in which the *bodhi-ghara* had a circular plan interrupted at the cardinal points by doorways framed by pillars. In either case, it seems clear that the *vajrasana* was in the centre of the shrine, which encircled

5. View of the relief of the railing pillar from the Bharhut stupa showing the Mahabodhi temple. c. 100-80 BC. Stone. Indian Museum, Calcutta.



both throne and tree. The exact configuration of the shrine, however, is less certain than Cunningham's plan suggests.

Other important remains include the oldest parts of the stone railing, probably erected in the period between the first century BC and the first century AD, perhaps a stone replacement of an original wooden structure that encircled the *bodhi-ghara*.²¹ The pillars and architraves were decorated with a variety of floral, animal, and mythological symbols. Medallions on the pillars portray themes typical of early Buddhist art: the bodhi tree, a stupa and many more.²² These pillars suggest that the temple would have been completely surrounded with images of many realms of existence from the animal to the human to the divine as, for example, the stupas at Sanchi were.

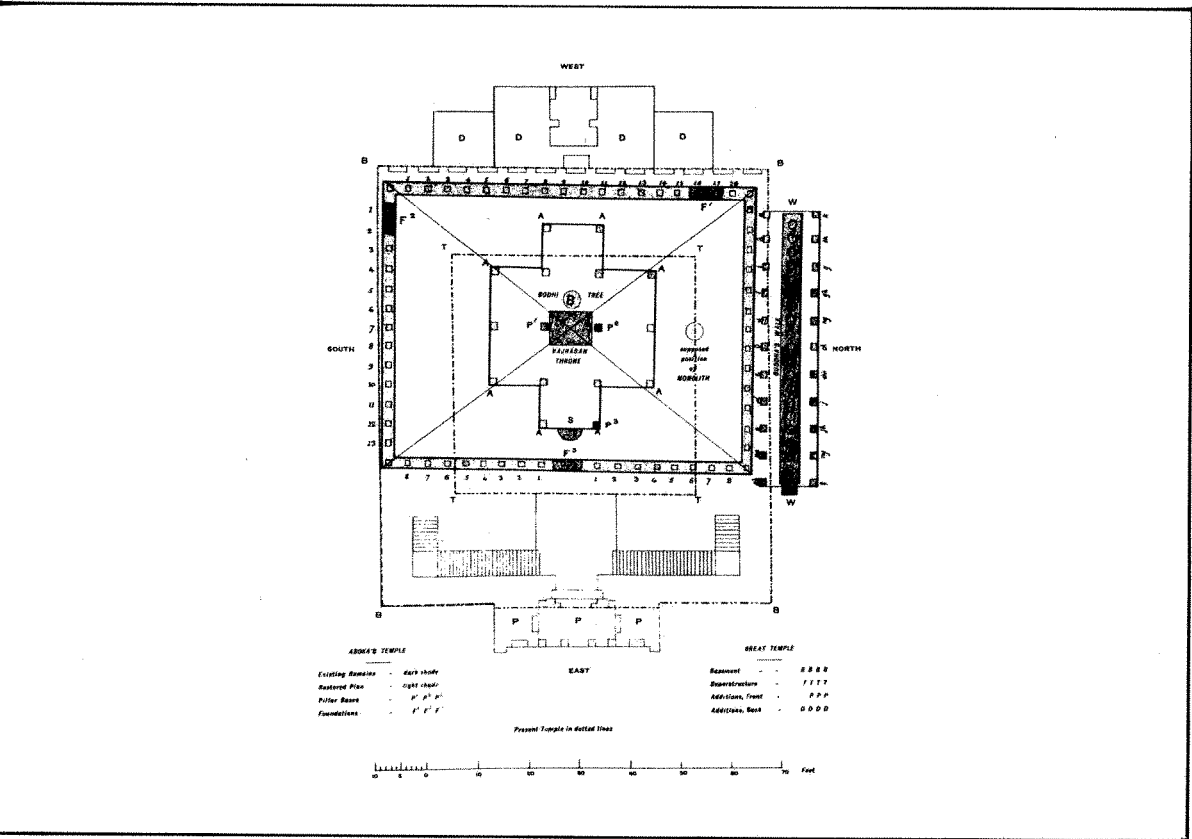
The earliest inscriptions from Bodhgaya itself, also from the Sunga period, were found on this railing. They record gifts of the female devotees, Kurangi (the sister-in-law of a ruler, Indragrimitra), Sirima, and Nagadevi. Inscribed in letters of the first century BC, they and associated relief sculptures may be compared with the remains at Bharhut and Sanchi.²³ It is noteworthy that these dedications were made by *women*. This contrasts with the Asoka legend, where his wife is the one who tries to destroy the bodhi tree. Evidence of early pilgrimage and patronage from afar comes from another railing inscription, recording the gift of Bodhiraksita of Tambaparna (Sri Lanka).²⁴

Cunningham also found traces of a brick plinth (now covered by the temple base) for the oldest stone railing, and pillar bases for the long, narrow "jewel-walk shrine" just to the north of the temple. Masons' marks found on these pillar bases are contemporary with the railing inscriptions. Although Cunningham may have exaggerated their legibility, it does appear that the marks follow the Sanskrit alphabetic order, and would have served to link bases and pillars (now missing).²⁵

According to Cunningham's reconstruction, the entire complex in the Sunga period would have been impressive. The tree/throne shrine measures nearly twelve metres wide and about fourteen metres long, with an encircling brick plinth and pillared railing more than twenty-one metres wide and just over fifteen metres from front to back.

The Vajrasana Gandhakuti: Kushana and Gupta Periods

Unfortunately, later artists were not as diligent as those at the turn of the millennium in recording the appearance of the temple. There are no images of temples from the Kushana period to the Pala period that can be associated as securely with the structure at Bodhgaya as can the Bharhut relief. (From the late classical period onwards, Bodhgaya was more commonly represented through images of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*). Since it was during this time that the temple underwent at least one dramatic reconceptualization and rebuilding, the absence of comparative material is particularly unfortunate. The debate about the authenticity of modern period reconstructions really refers to questions about these much earlier changes.



As noted above, according to Faxian, the earliest recorded observer, in the fifth century the spot of the Buddha's enlightenment was marked by a tower, as was the place where he walked for seven days. There were in addition a hall decorated with seven precious substances where the gods worshipped the Buddha, and three monasteries nearby. When was this "tower" built?

Cunningham's investigations show that the earliest sandstone floor and altar were covered with plaster, into which a relic deposit, including impressions of coins of the Kushana king, Huvishka, was placed.²⁶ These he associated with a new throne, forty-eight centimetres longer than the sandstone one. (The plaster, composed of fragments of semiprecious gems, applied over the new throne, must have been made from the remains of the older ornamentation—a fascinating example of "recycling" on the part of the ancient restorers).²⁷

Some have argued that these changes are evidence of major rebuilding during the late Kushana period, when the open *bodhi-ghara* was replaced by a brick, towered temple.²⁸ No signs remain at Bodhgaya of such an early tower. However, indirect confirmation that towered temples existed this early comes from a terracotta plaque excavated at Kumrahar (Patna), depicting a five-tiered temple surrounded by an open railing. A small image of the Buddha in *abhaya mudra* is visible through a large arched doorway (it was only later that *bhumisparsa mudra* became the symbol of the Buddha at Bodhgaya). The tower has a slanting profile and a flat roof on which are corner finials and a central *amalaka*-like (fruit) hemisphere surmounted by several umbrellas. An inscription in Kharosthi letters suggests a date for the plaque no later than the second or third century. This image indicates that some Buddhist temples did have straight-sided towers, presenting the possibility that the Bodhgaya temple was reconstructed in this way before the Gupta period.²⁹ A relief sculpture of a three-storeyed tower surmounted by a large *amalaka*, found on a Kushana period throne base from Mathura, adds additional support to this possibility.³⁰

Fig. 10

At some point after the *bodhi-ghara* was transformed into a structural temple, a *vajrasana-vrhad-gandhakuti* as it is called in the Gupta period inscription recording additions of plaster and paint to the temple, its area was greatly expanded. The inscription on the edge of the "outer *vajrasana*", found by Cunningham under the tree to the west of the present temple, may belong to this period as well. He placed its faint letters in the late Kushana or early Gupta period;³¹ Prudence Myer agrees that its Kharosthi script places it in the Kushana period.³²

Fig. 11

Unfortunately it is too abraded to provide any historical information. It is important to note that the *carving* of the throne is clearly Mauryan in style, with a palmette-and-goose frieze typical of the period, while the frolicking dwarfs on the throne base are carved in the vibrant high relief of Gupta period sculpture.³³ The inscription is a later addition; Myer has argued that it was added when the slab was moved outside, when the first towered temple was erected in the Kushana period.³⁴

Fig. 3

The expansion may, however, have been related to the patronage in the Gupta period. From this time come several very significant records, attesting a new configuration for the temple, and increasing patronage from abroad. First, on the inner side of the railing's coping-stone, in Gupta period letters, is the inscription referring to new plaster and paint for the *vajrasana-vrhad-gandhakuti*, naming it the great perfumed hall that enshrines the diamond throne; this is the first reference to a structure at Bodhgaya.³⁵ Equally significant is a stone inscription of the Sri Lankan monk Mahanaman, dated the year 269 (probably of the Gupta era), or AD 588/89. The monk recorded his donation in the *bodhimanda* of a palace of the teacher—*kantah prasadah . . . loka-sastuh*.³⁶ On the pedestal of a Buddha image found also at Bodhgaya is another inscription of Mahanaman.³⁷ These inscriptions clearly attest the presence of a Sri Lankan community at Bodhgaya in the Gupta period, whose patronage of the monastery was described by Xuanzang (see below). The walls were thickened, so that on the north they encroached upon the "jewel-walk shrine". Inside, a new sandstone floor was laid and the throne enlarged. It seems likely that it was at this time that the original *vajrasana* was moved, since the figures on its "new" base are typically Gupta in style.³⁸

Xuanzang also provides some evidence of these changes. According to his account, Sasanka (a local ruler) attacked Buddhism, destroying convents and cutting down the bodhi tree. Although he tried to destroy its roots with fire and poison, he did not get them all. Shortly after this, Purnavarman, the king of Magadha, tried to restore the tree by bathing the roots with "the milk of a thousand cows". Again, the tree revived overnight, growing to a height of three metres. The protective wall was then rebuilt and was, in Xuanzang's time about "six metres high".



Outside, the railing was enlarged with the addition of new granite pillars. Although carved in the sixth-century Gupta, rather than the earlier Sunga style, there was some attempt to follow the same format. On each a round centre medallion frames a typically Gupta face; a three-quarter floral medallion is carved at the base. On the top, the three-quarter medallion is filled almost to overflowing with a sinuous flying figure, another common Gupta period motif.

It is probable that this was part of the temple as Xuanzang saw it in the mid-seventh century. If his historical comments can be trusted, it would appear that King Purnavarman (only known from Xuanzang's account) was responsible for restoring the temple after Sasanka's depute tried to wall in the Buddha image within the temple. In the mid-seventh century Xuanzang also followed the Buddha's legendary path to Gaya and up the mountain as he approached the place of enlightenment. His description, far more detailed than Faxian's, provides the best testimony for the late classical appearance of the temple and its precincts.³⁹ Although lengthy, it is worth repeating:

Going southwest from Mount Pragbodhi about 14 or 15 *li* we come to the Bodhi tree. It is surrounded by a brick wall of considerable height, steep and strong. It is long from east to west, and short from north to south. It is about 500 paces around. . . . The principal gate opens to the east opposite the Nairanjana river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access. The northern gate opens into the great *sangharama* [monastery]. Within the surrounding wall the sacred trees touch one another in all directions.

To the east of the Bodhi tree there is a *vihara* about 160 or 170 feet high. Its lower foundation-wall is 20 or more paces in its face. The building is of blue tiles covered



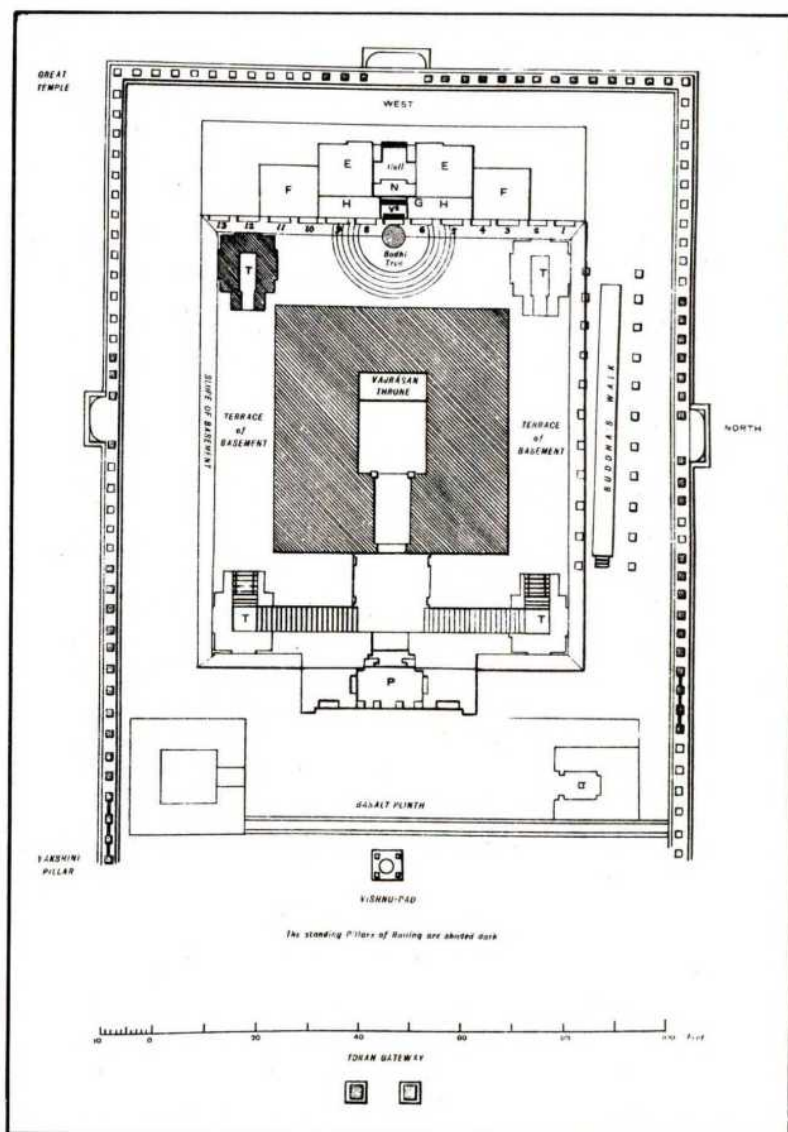
9

with chunam; all the niches in the different storeys hold golden figures. The four sides of the building are covered with wonderful ornamental work; in one place figures of stringed pearls, in another figures of heavenly *rishis*. The whole is surrounded [surmounted] by a gilded copper *amalaka* fruit. The eastern face adjoins a storeyed pavilion, the projecting eaves of which rise one over the other to the height of three distinct chambers; its projecting eaves, its pillars, beams, doors, and windows are decorated with gold and silver ornamental work, with pearls and gems let in to fill up interstices. Its sombre chambers and mysterious halls have doors in each of the three storeys. To the right and left of the outside gate are niche-like chambers; in the left is a figure of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva, and in the right a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva. They are made of white silver, and are about 10 feet high.

To the north of the Bodhi tree is a spot where Buddha walked up and down. [After obtaining enlightenment, he did not get up immediately, but remained there for seven days]. Then, rising, he walked up and down during seven days to the north of the tree; he walked there east and west for a distance of ten paces or so. Miraculous flowers sprang up under his foot-traces to the number of eighteen. Afterwards this space was covered in by a brick wall about three feet high. Within the walls of the Bodhi tree at each of the four angles is a great *stupa*. Formerly, when Tathagata received the grass of good omen he walked on the four sides of the Bodhi tree from point to point; then the great earth trembled. When he came to the diamond throne, then all was quiet and peaceable again. Within the walls of the tree the sacred traces are so thick together that it would be difficult to recite each one particularly.

In addition, Xuanzang gives some evidence of patronage of a miraculous Buddha image in the temple. A brahman and his brother, converts to Buddhism, constructed a vihara and excavated a tank. The brahman, who became minister to the king, wanted to erect an image of the Buddha as he appeared when he first achieved enlightenment, but could find no artist who could do so. Finally, another brahman came, who sequestered himself for four months in the vihara. When the priests opened the doors, they found:

a beautiful figure of Buddha in a sitting position, the right foot uppermost, the left



hand resting, the right hand hanging down. He was sitting facing the east, and as dignified in appearance as when alive. The throne was 4 feet 2 inches high, and 12 feet 5 inches broad. The figure was 11 feet 5 inches high; the two knees were 8 feet 8 inches apart, and the two shoulders 6 feet 2 inches. The signs and marks were perfectly drawn.

The detail of this description suggests that the pilgrim actually saw and measured an image; so far, however, none on this scale has been recovered.

Elsewhere, ⁴⁰ Xuanzang reports that Sasanka, having cut down the bodhi tree, also wished to destroy the miraculous image of the Buddha but, having seen it, he could not do so. He ordered an officer to remove the statue and replace it with one of Mahesvara. The officer was afraid to destroy the image and instead had someone build a brick wall in front of it, covering up the entrance to the temple chamber. He then drew a figure of Mahesvara on the brick wall. When this was reported to Sasanka, he was filled with terror, his body rotted, and he died shortly thereafter. The officer then ordered the wall to be pulled down.

King and Monks from Sri Lanka

Xuanzang also described the influential presence of a Sri Lankan monastic community at Bodhgaya, residing in the great monastery there which was established by a previous king of that island.⁴¹ It was built after the brother of the king of Sri Lanka, a Buddhist, went on pilgrimage to India, but was treated inhospitably. The king decided to build convents for Sri Lankan monks and pilgrims at the chief sites in India. A king of India agreed to this, allowing the Sri Lankan king to decide where to build a monastery. He selected Bodhgaya as the best place, and thus had a monastery built there.

Outside the northern gate of the wall of the bodhi tree is the Mahabodhi *sangharama*.

It was built by a former king of Simhala. This edifice has six halls, with towers of observation of three storeys; it is surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high. . . .

The statue of the Buddha is cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The *stupas* are high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented; they contain relics of the Buddha. . . .⁴²

It is likely that the four corner towers of the present temple were already in place in the seventh century. At Nalanda, the main temple has such towers,⁴³ and Xuanzang acknowledged the similarity between the temple there and the one at Bodhgaya. Although he does not describe the tower in detail, his "sombre chambers" and "mysterious halls" perhaps refers to the arched doorways on the second and third storeys. Pre-restoration photographs show that the upper arch was vaulted with a technique common in Assyria and Iran.⁴⁴ As Rowland has pointed out, it would have been structurally impossible for this niche to have been constructed after the tower was built.⁴⁵

Figs. 12,
13

Fig. 14

From the eighth century, that is, after Xuanzang visited Bodhgaya, is the magnificent stone gateway marking the entrance to the sacred space of the temple precinct. Not mentioned by the seventh-century traveller, and stylistically like doorways of the eighth century at other sites, it was probably erected after he was there.⁴⁶

Restorations: Pala-Sena Periods

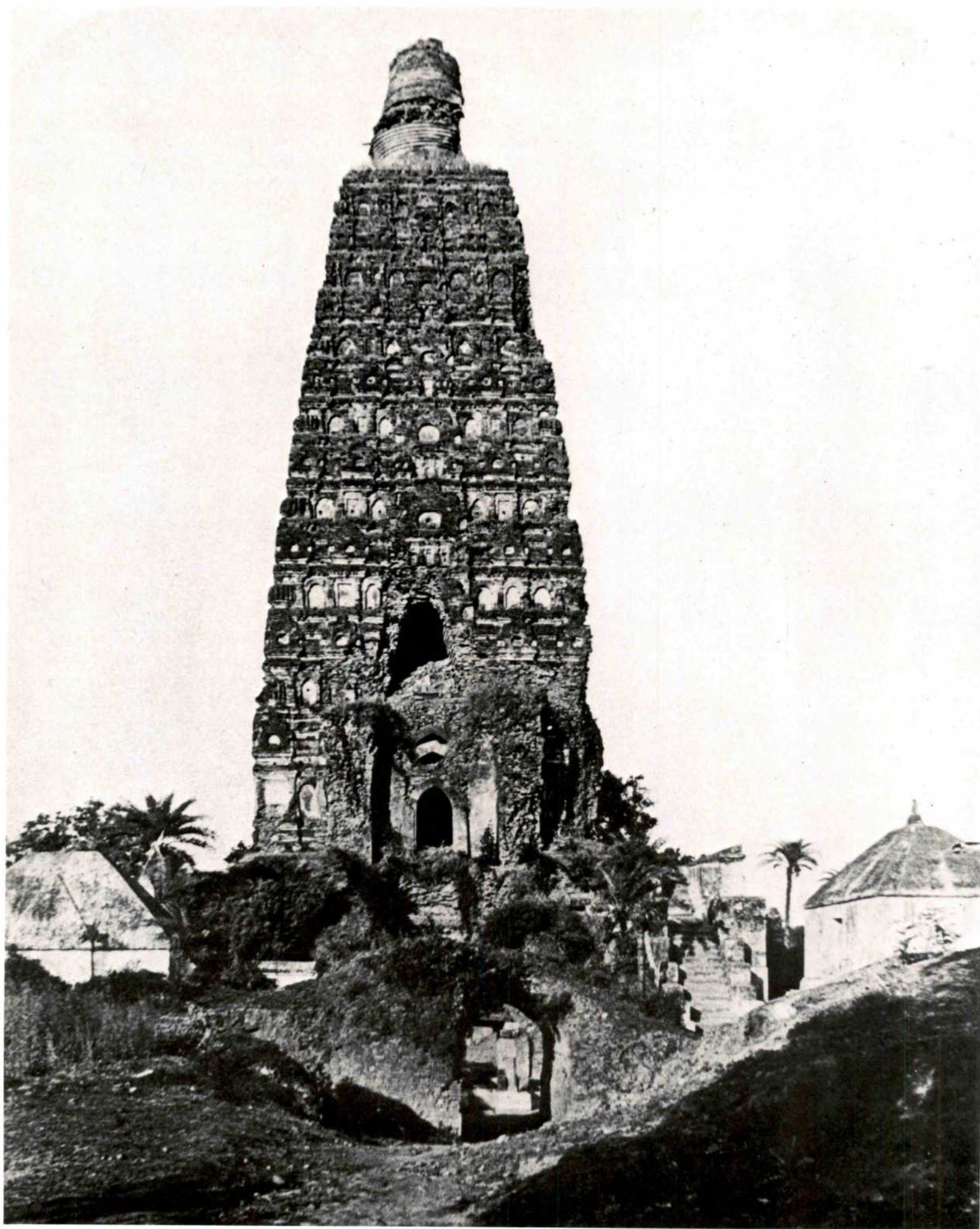
An AD 850 inscription in the regnal year of Dharmapala dedicates an image of Mahadeva "for the benefit of the inhabitants of Mahabodhi,"⁴⁷ indicative of continued patronage during this period. Although little architectural material can be ascribed to this time, support from outside the region did not disappear. For example, slightly later, in the tenth century, Tunga, grandson of Nanda, a Rashtrakuta prince (the Rashtrakutas ruled from the Deccan), dedicated a *gandhakuti*, a "lofty perfumed house".⁴⁸ Thereafter, royal support seems to have increased again, as we may infer from various inscriptions.⁴⁹ These do not, however, refer to any architectural activity.

The Chinese monk Yunshu eulogized Bodhgaya, including the shrines of *nirmanakaya*, *sambhogakaya* and *dharmakaya*, in his AD 1021 inscription.⁵⁰ This epigraph records his worship of the site, but says nothing specific about the appearance of the site. More important evidence of the condition of the temple comes from two Burmese inscriptions, dated 1035 and 1086, recording repairs by the Burmese.⁵¹ The earlier one records on a copper umbrella the visit of Dharmaraja. The latter, on a stone slab, gives an important history of the temple

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10. Plaque depicting a temple, from Kumrahar. Terracotta. c. 10 cm. Patna Museum, Patna.

11. Plan of the Mahabodhi temple. Photo after Cunningham, *Mahabodhi: or the Great Buddhist Temple Under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (London, 1892), pl. XI.



12

12. Photograph of the eastern side of the Mahabodhi temple before restoration.

13. Photograph of arches on the eastern side of the Mahabodhi temple before restoration.

14. Gateway in front of the Mahabodhi temple.

itself. According to the Burmese, there were five stages:

1. Asoka built the temple.
2. The temple was rebuilt by Naik Mahanta.
3. The temple was restored by Raja Sado-Meng.
4. Raja Sempyu-Sahken-tara Mengyi sent his guru Sri Dharmaraja Guna to superintend restoration of the temple, but the work was not completed.
5. Varadasi Naik Thera petitioned the king to undertake the work, which was then entrusted to the younger king and his minister Ratha in 1086.

Because of the length of time the Burmese devoted to work at Bodhgaya, Cunningham said this included the complete restoration of the building. However, in the same place, he adds that "the alterations were apparently confined to the mouldings and ornaments, while all the main features of the building remained unchanged".⁵² It seems likely that the most visible changes would have been new stucco and images on the exterior, construction of the rear cell of the temple basement, and restoration of the tower.⁵³

Fig. 15



The arches and corner towers have been perhaps the major source of controversy in the modern restoration that rebuilt the towers and covered both the arched doorway and corbelled arch above despite the physical evidence that the latter had existed at an earlier stage. It is possible that the arches had already been covered when the temple received its last major ancient restoration in the Pala period. At that time, a third sandstone floor was laid, the inner throne was refaced and the tower was rebuilt and replastered.⁵⁴ It seems most probable that portable models of the temple (that formed the basis for the modern restoration) were made no earlier than this period.⁵⁵ The most elaborate of these depicts a temple with a tall straight-sided tower surmounted by a large *amalaka*, and surrounded with four smaller corner towers of similar design. A large rectangular doorway provides entrance to the second storey. Above the doorway is a false *chandrasala* filled with images, not a true window as the corbelled arch in the original temple might have been. Little evidence of the corner towers remained when restoration began in the 1800s. However, one photograph of the temple during clearance reveals a ribbed object near the south-east corner of the plinth, that might be the remains of a small *amalaka*.

Fig. 2

Fig. 16

At this stage it seems that the bodhi tree was moved again. According to the models⁵⁶ it now grew on the temple plinth, as it continued to do into the mid-1800s. In 1811 Francis Buchanan-Hamilton found a vigorous tree growing on the plinth; Charles D'Oyly painted a view of it in the early nineteenth century. In 1862 Cunningham found it to be "very much

Fig. 17



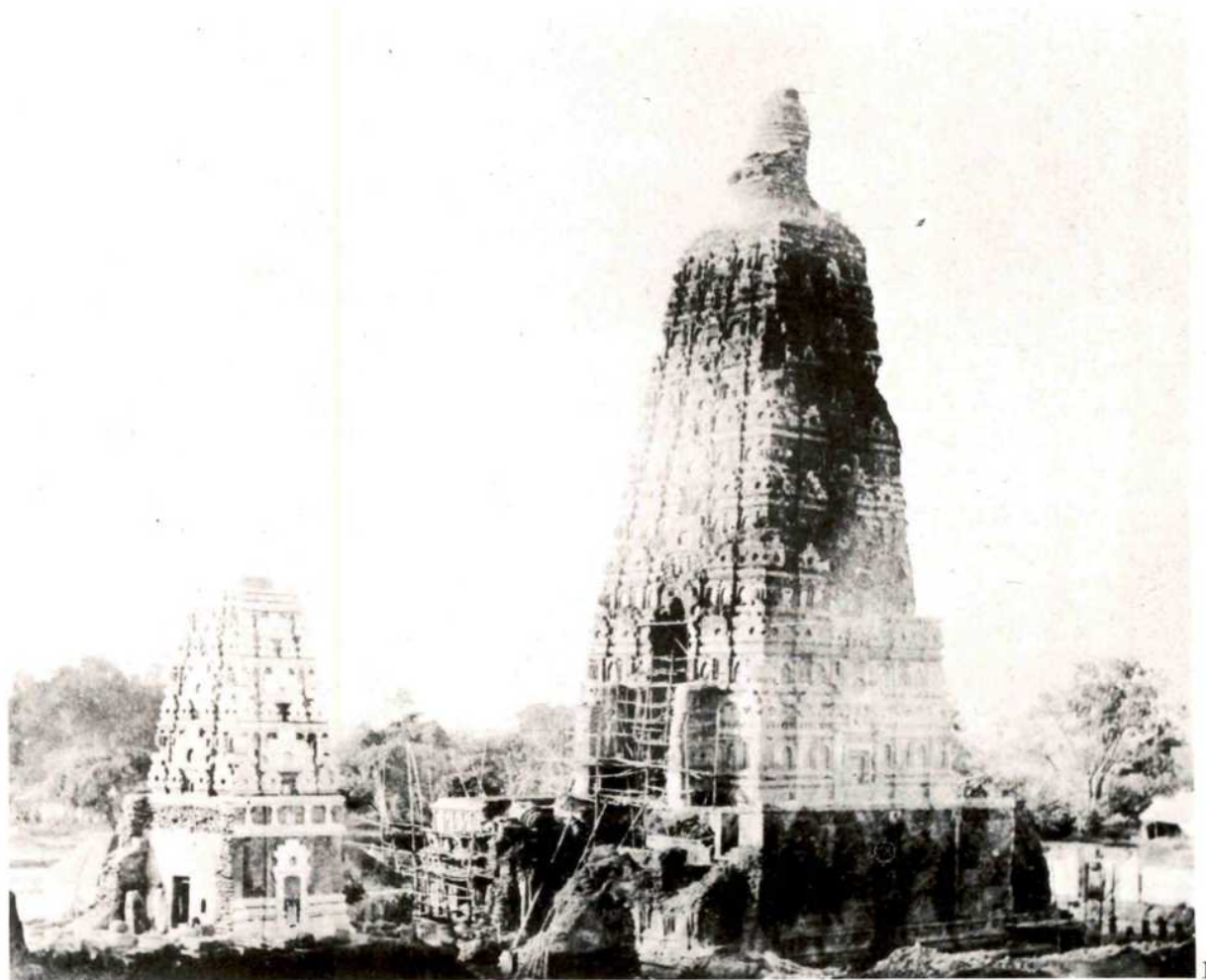
15. Photograph of stucco images on the west exterior wall of the Mahabodhi temple before restoration.

16. Photograph of the Mahabodhi temple from the north-east during restoration.

decayed".⁵⁷ He even attributed the separation of sections of the west buttress of the plinth to the tree roots that worked their way into the temple foundations. He ascribed this move to the seventh century, associating it with Purnavarman's restorations which, according to Xuanzang, included the construction of a seven metre high stone wall around the tree. Cunningham believed that this account referred to the placement of the tree on the plinth.⁵⁸

Dharmasvamin, the famed Tibetan monk, who visited Bodhgaya in 1234, provides important information about the appearance of the Mahabodhi temple soon after these last ancient restorations were made.⁵⁹ At this time, the bodhi tree, with two trunks, was behind the *gandhakuti*, surrounded by a "fort-like structure". He observed people worshipping the tree with offerings like curd, milk, and perfumes such as sandalwood and camphor. The temple itself, which Dharmasvamin says was erected by King Asoka, was surmounted by a pinnacle of "glittering white" that "looked like a flame . . . that . . . shone like a shield placed flat on the ground in the sunshine". In front of the eastern door (the main entrance) there were three covered passages.⁶⁰ Inside, was a large image of the Mahabodhi, its face alone two cubits (ninety-one centimetres) high. His account, like Xuanzang's, attributes the creation of the image to miraculous means. Dharmasvamin reported that when he arrived at Bodhgaya, it was deserted by monks who had fled the Muslim invaders.⁶¹ To protect the Mahabodhi image, a brick wall was built over it and a different image placed near it. Seventeen days later, the monks returned to Bodhgaya and resumed worship of the image (after, we must assume, the brick wall was dismantled).

Surrounding the tree, its railing and the temple, was a circular stone railing with open spaces large enough to accommodate a "large Tibetan bullock" between the pillars. He comments on its sturdiness: so strong a mad bull could not destroy it, surmounted by a "stone netting" and based on a foundation well supported with stones. Inside the courtyard of this railing, there were twenty stone pillars, well fashioned and ornamented with leaves and other figures. These were probably the pillars of the meditation ("jewel") walk to the north of the temple which have since been almost totally destroyed. He also saw "the empty throne of Sakyamuni of the 'Phrul-snan Temple of Tibet" which was in worship. Perhaps this refers to the external *vajrasana* which, as noted above, was probably moved outside the temple during restorations of the Kushana or Gupta period. Large stone footprints of the Buddha were also in this courtyard, and near them, a large stone gate through which people passed to get water for worship. This circular compound was surrounded by a larger square wall, with three gates on the east, west and north sides.



Reproductions and Influence of the Temple

As the reliefs of *bodhi-gharas* from Bharhut and elsewhere demonstrate, the *image* of the sacred place at Bodhgaya was reproduced from a very early period in many different places. The inscription on the Bharhut relief identifies beyond any question the original source of the image. However, even in this relief, and more so in others, such as those from Andhra Pradesh,⁶² the *style* of the enclosure varies considerably. Important elements may be consistent: a tree, a throne, a structural enclosure, worshippers and/or divine beings, but no two images of “Bodhgaya” are identical.

Later, imagery of the temple itself disappeared as the focus of worship shifted from the tree-and-throne to the images of the Buddha himself. I would suggest, however, that certain Buddhist sites were meant to represent the temple and, by association, to be Bodhgaya-elsewhere. For example, at Ellora after the mid-600s, most images of the Buddha were no longer portrayed in the *dharmachakra mudra*, the gesture of teaching, that predominated in most of the western cave temples up to that time. Instead, Buddhas were portrayed in the *bhumisparsa mudra* position associated with the Buddha’s enlightenment at Bodhgaya. These later images were carved in multi-storeyed shrines whose doorways themselves depict multi-storeyed temple towers. There is really no close precedent for such “architectural” details. I would suggest that this combination of unique architecture and Buddha images was intended to represent the temple at Bodhgaya, not as an exact replica but with detail enough to suggest the concept of that temple: a multi-storeyed structure housing Buddha images in *bhumisparsa mudra*.⁶³

Later, attempts were made abroad to construct more literal copies of the Mahabodhi temple. As was the case with Indian representations of the Bodhgaya temple, stylistically these temples do not closely resemble the original. However, key elements are emphasized: a tall cubic terrace decorated with rows of images in niches, with a straight-sided central tower surrounded with four corner towers. Beyond this, time and local practice created *representations*, not *duplicates*, of the temple.

To a degree perhaps greater than any other significant monument of Buddhism, the Mahabodhi temple has been from the start a dynamic structure, altered by an extraordinary series of enlargements, renovations and restorations. The original tree-and-throne could not



have been a clearer, or simpler, representation of an *axis mundi*—a meaning which was easily interpreted by worshippers even in the seventh century, when a complex structural temple had already replaced the open-air *bodhi-ghara*. There was, of course, much more to the meaning of the temple, which was also meant specifically to embody the event and substance of Sakyamuni's defeat of Mara and subsequent enlightenment. In its later form, housing an image of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*, the temple preserved, as if frozen in time and space, the moment of his enlightenment. Moreover, it was constructed to be the place where this enlightenment could most easily be apprehended and replicated by the faithful. Worship of the numerous images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, placed on ascending levels of the temple base and tower, could guide the worshipper in an ascent to personal enlightenment. The potential of the temple is, perhaps, best expressed in the words inscribed at Bodhgaya in the eleventh century by the Chinese monk Yunshu, describing his worship there:⁶⁴

... I proceeded to eulogise the shrine of the *Nirmana-kaya* as follows:—

there are wondrous footprints in the Five Heavens,
Produced within the limits of the six cardinal points,
In depth descending to the bottom of the golden *chakka*,
In height reaching to the surface of the earth,
Never do any mortal cares mingle there,
For how can fire and water blend?
Sometimes the armies of Maitreya and Mara fight
Until the latter are quelled by the roar of the lion.

I then eulogised the shrine of *Sambhoga-kaya* as follows:—

This shrine towers above the limits of the *Trilo-kaya*,
Its shapely summit rests above the sky,
The *kala* of fire exercises no influence over it,
On earth how should we seek to model its like?
The reputation of King Asoka extends far:
He rested in wonderful perception of the doctrine.

A jewel among grains of sand,

Immortal, he will permeate the Great Void.

I then eulogised the shrine of the *Dharma-kaya* as follows:—

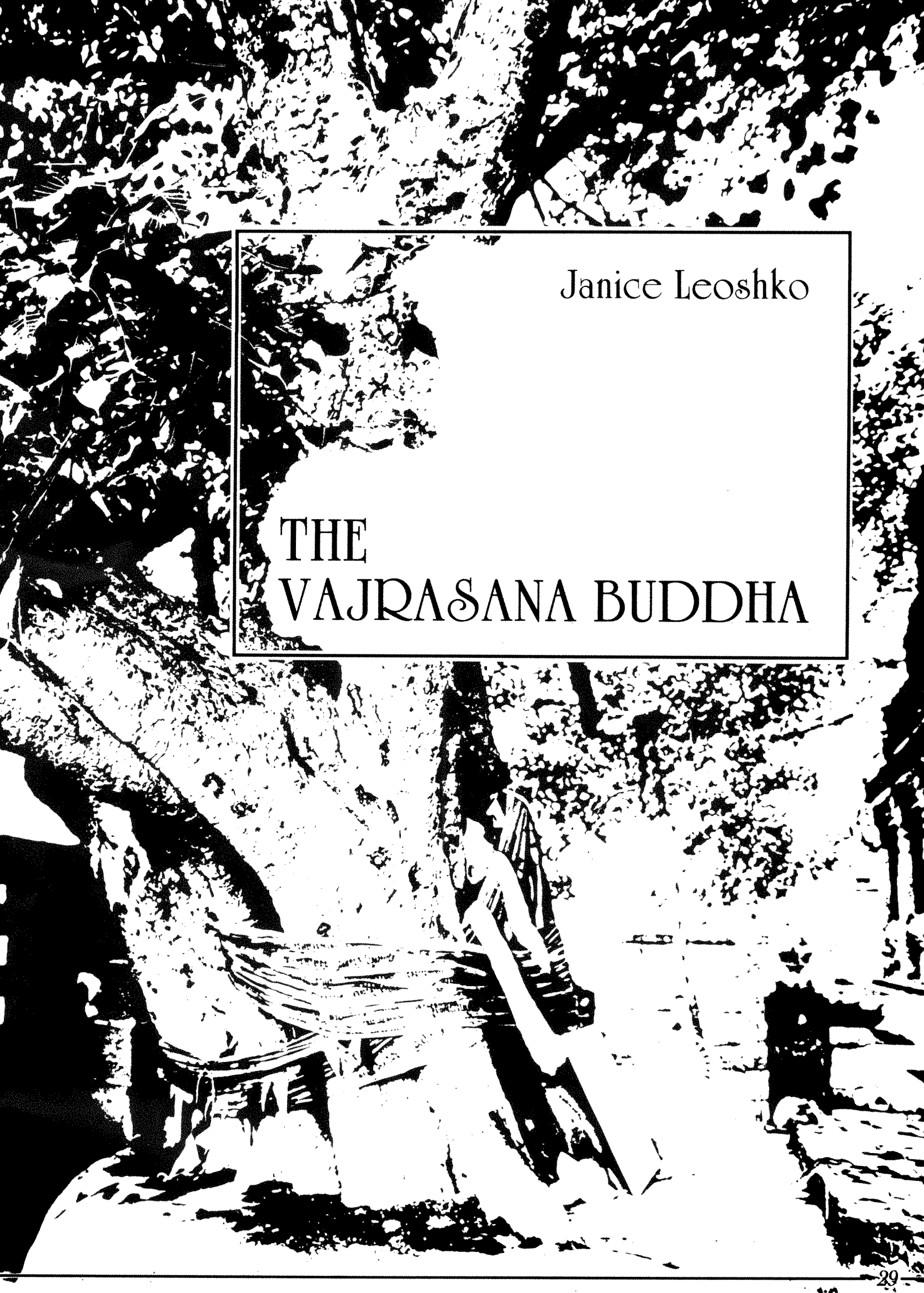
No beginning, no birth, no death,
All distracting influences at an end;
Steadily perusing the five *gati*,
Quietly entering into the *kalpa* of the Three Plagues
O supremest manifestation of wisdom,
Pure essence separated from the gross,
Even though passing through a hundred myriad *kalpas*,
Thou wouldst still be removed far from the dust of this earth.

NOTES

1. Alexander Cunningham, *Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple Under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (London, 1892). Hereafter, Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*.
2. Prudence M. Myer, "The Great Temple at Bodhgaya", *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958), 298 (hereafter, Myer, "The Great Temple"); W. S. Desai, "History of the Burmese Mission to India", *Journal of the Burma Research Society* XXVI (1936), 96.
3. Rajendralala Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya, The Great Buddhist Temple, the Hermitage of Sakya Muni* (Calcutta, 1878; reprint New Delhi, 1972), iv-v. Hereafter, Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya*.
4. Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-1812* vol. 2 (Patna, 1936).
5. Alexander Cunningham, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. XXXIII; *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* vol. I.
6. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* III.
7. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, i-ii.
8. Myer, "The Great Temple", 277-278.
9. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, iv.
10. *Ibid.*, iv.
11. Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya*, 180.
12. Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki; Buddhist Records of the Western World Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)* (London, 1884), lxi-lxvi. Hereafter, Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*.
13. Myer, "The Great Temple", 278.
14. Frederick Asher, *The Art of Eastern India, 300-800* (Minneapolis, 1980), 27. Hereafter, Asher, *Art of Eastern India*.
15. Myer, "The Great Temple", 281; Asher, *Art of Eastern India*, 27.

16. A. K. Coomaraswamy thoroughly documented the many variations in relief images of these *bodhi-gharas* in "Early Indian Architecture II. Bodhi-gharas", *Eastern Art* II (1939), 225-235. Hereafter, Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture".
17. Myer, "The Great Temple", 282; Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture", 229.
18. Loc. cit., 231.
19. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 5.
20. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture", 29-31, figs. 22 and 37.
21. Myer, "The Great Temple", 283.
22. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 12-14.
23. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 15; Benimadhab Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya: Early History of the Holy Land* vol. II (Calcutta, 1934), 66-67 (Hereafter, Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya*). Cunningham thought these were Asokan period inscriptions, but sculptural and epigraphical styles place them at least a century later.
24. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 16.
25. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 8; Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya* vol. II, 66.
26. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 20, pl. VI.
27. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 20.
28. Myer, "The Great Temple", 283. She associates this with the removal of the original altar slab to its present position. The faint Kharosthi inscription on the edge would have been added at this point, and is, for her, another indication that the change in temple structure took place in the Kushana period (p. 286).
29. Ibid., 283-284.
30. Umakant P. Shah, "Beginnings of the Superstructure of Indian Temples", in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture* ed. by Pramod Chandra (New Delhi, 1975), 88 and pl. 14.
31. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 58.
32. Myer, "The Great Temple", 86; Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 19-20 and pl. X.
33. Asher, *Art of Eastern India*, 27.
34. Myer, "The Great Temple", 282-286.
35. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 22-23; Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya* vol. II, 70-71; Asher, *Art of Eastern India*, 28.
36. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 42-43, 60-62.
37. Ibid., 55, 60-62.
38. Asher, *Art of Eastern India*, 27.
39. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, II: 114-137.
40. Ibid., 121-122.
41. Ibid., 133.
42. Ibid., 133-136.
43. Asher, *Art of Eastern India*, 46.
44. Myer, "The Great Temple", 285.
45. Benjamin Rowland, "A Miniature Replica of the Mahabodhi Temple", *Journal of the Indian Society for Oriental Art* VI (1938), 75.
46. Ibid., 75.
47. Ibid., 3, 63-64.
48. Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya*, 194-197.
49. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 64-66.
50. Ibid., 68-71.
51. Ibid., 27-28, 75-77.
52. Ibid., 28-29.
53. Burmese records confirm this activity. As Myer has pointed out, an inscription at the Shwesandaw Pagoda at Prome, Burma, records two missions to rebuild the temple, one sent by King Kyanzittha (1048-1112) and one, initiated by Kyanzittha's son Alaungsitthu, by Letyaminnan of Arakan. (Myer, "The Great Temple", 296).
54. Even the *amalaka* was worked on; Cunningham notes a short Burmese inscription on one of the bricks composing it. *Mahabodhi*, 28. See also Myer, "The Great Temple", 291.
55. Rowland, "A Miniature Replica", 73-76.
56. See also the model excavated at Bodhgaya, Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, pl. XVI. It is now in the British Museum.
57. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 30.
58. Ibid., 28-30.
59. George Roerich, trans., *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (Patna, 1959), xxxi-xxxvi, 66-79.
60. Ibid., 66. In note 6, the translator notes that the Tibetan *kham-khrag* is the equivalent of the Sanskrit *chankrama*, that is, a passage for walking.
61. Ibid., 67.
62. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture", 225 ff. and plates.
63. Buddhas in these caves at Ellora are also portrayed in *dhyani*- and *dharmachakra mudra*. Taken together, these images and attendant bodhisattvas most likely represent a mandala of Vairocana in the five-Buddha system, similar to the one most elaborately reproduced at Borobudur.
64. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, 70-71.

□

A black and white photograph of a person sitting in a meditative pose (Padmasana) under a large, leafy tree. The person is wearing a light-colored, long-sleeved robe and is holding a long, thin object, possibly a staff or a musical instrument, in their hands. The background shows the dense foliage of the tree and a glimpse of a building in the distance.

Janice Leoshko

THE
VAJRASANA BUDDHA

By the tenth century in Bihar and Bengal the most common form of a Buddha image displayed the *bhumisparsa mudra* (earth-touching gesture). Numerous stone and bronze sculptures such as a twelfth-century work from Fatehpur, a site near Bodhgaya, as well as paintings and terracotta plaques testify to its widespread and sustained popularity. The form is a reference to both the enlightenment and the place where it was attained, the *vajrasana* (diamond seat) at Bodhgaya. Drawn from the tale of the Maravijaya, the victory over Mara, the gesture of touching the earth symbolizes the moment before Sakyamuni's enlightenment when he defeats Mara, the god of death and desire, while seated on the *vajrasana* beneath the bodhi tree. The purpose of this essay is to discuss this form in the art of Bodhgaya.

Fig. 1

Certainly the sanctity of Bodhgaya as well as the images located there must have influenced the development of the popularity in Bihar and Bengal of the image of the Buddha displaying the *bhumisparsa mudra*. As numerous texts and pilgrim records reveal, the site was regarded as the only place where Sakyamuni could have become a Buddha. Textual sources frequently elaborate on the significance of the *vajrasana* where Sakyamuni became a Buddha. For instance, it is lauded by Asvaghosha in his *Buddhacharita* as the navel of the earth, the only spot that could bear the profound meditations of enlightenment.¹ The fifth-century Chinese pilgrim Faxian's account also notes that it was the place where all past Buddhas obtained perfect wisdom and where all future Buddhas must go in order to achieve the same goal.² Its importance is similarly commented upon in later accounts such as that of the thirteenth-century Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvamin.³

While pilgrim records also reveal that many of the images located at Bodhgaya were held in special regard, the figure of the Buddha enshrined in the Mahabodhi temple was considered especially wondrous. The legends reported by Xuanzang and Dharmasvamin concerning the miraculous origins and powers of this image are strikingly similar despite the difference in the dates of these two pilgrims.⁴ In addition to noting the unusual unfinished nature of the image, both accounts detail its troubled history, emphasizing its power to endure (usually by striking awe into the hearts of those about to damage it or causing harm to those who actually try).

Despite the fact that such records demonstrate the importance of the form of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* at Bodhgaya, there is no extant evidence to indicate that the gesture was invented in eastern India let alone Bodhgaya. No surviving reliefs or sculptures from Bihar or Bengal using this *mudra* date before the sixth century, long after it had appeared elsewhere in Indian art. However, it is only with the increased art production in this region during the Pala period (c. eighth through twelfth centuries) that the gesture became a favoured one in single sculptures of the Buddha whereas previously it had been mostly used in narrative reliefs. Thus it seems that both changes in religious practices and increased artistic patronage at Buddhist sites in eastern India after the sixth century resulted in the greater popularity of the form. A brief discussion of some pre-Pala works provides a useful starting-point for examining the developments of this form during the florescence of eastern Indian art in the Pala period, which is also when Bodhgaya witnessed its greatest activity in terms of artistic patronage.

In the earliest surviving examples of Buddhist art, the attack of Mara is absent. However, one first century BC relief from Bharhut suggests that Mara was of some significance by an early date. Beneath the famous depiction of the Bodhgaya temple on a Bharhut railing pillar appears another, lesser-known relief that presents Mara with other gods. Twenty figures divided into four groups by trees are identified by three surviving inscriptions as the gods of the eastern, northern and southern realms.⁵ A fourth may have appeared on the damaged portion of the relief to serve as the label for the gods of the western realm. Ananda Coomaraswamy perceptively explained this relief as a representation of the assembly of the divine beings who came to the bodhi tree to pay homage to Sakyamuni after he had defeated Mara.⁶ What is particularly interesting is the single figure seated at the left, who can be identified as Mara. The depiction of him sitting on rocky land and holding a stick relates to passages in Buddhist texts such as the *Nidanakatha* and *Mahavastu* which describe Mara after he was defeated as inconsolately writing on the ground that the sage will escape his realm.⁷

Figs. 2, 3

Depictions of the Maravijaya are found frequently in Gandhara and Mathura reliefs from the Kushana period (c. first-third centuries), and the subject also appears in the contemporaneous works from Andhra Pradesh.⁸ The distinctions among such works produced in these three

1. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*, from Fatehpur. 12th century. Bronze. 27.2 cm. Bodhgaya Site Museum, Bodhgaya.



areas is quite interesting, reflecting different choices concerning which aspects of the story to emphasize. These variations may be related to differences in textual traditions, although rarely can images be completely linked to a specific text.

In Gandhara, reliefs such as the example now in the Freer Gallery emphasize the attack with elaborate portrayals of the members of Mara's ferocious army. Such depictions express the difficulty of the task of escaping from the realm of desire, Mara's domain, by their focus upon the seemingly overwhelming forces of Mara. Mathura reliefs from the Kushana period, on the other hand, portray the strength of Mara primarily in terms of Mara himself and his daughters whom Mara sent to entice Sakyamuni when other weapons had failed.⁹ Mathura reliefs generally stress the power of desire as an impediment to enlightenment by presenting Mara with a bow and arrow which are the weapons of Kamadeva, the god of desire. In some texts Mara is specifically identified with Kama, and desire is repeatedly mentioned as the significant obstacle to enlightenment.¹⁰

Fig. 4

Depictions of the Maravijaya in the well-known Sarnath steles dating from the Gupta period (c. fourth-sixth centuries) mostly continue trends already established.¹¹ These steles present groupings of life scenes that include the Maravijaya. In a manner similar to earlier works, Mara with his bow and one of his daughters stand by the Buddha, while a few ferocious figures representing Mara's army hover by the Buddha's head. A greater disparity in the scale between the Buddha and the other figures, however, renders these examples more iconic. Furthermore, figures depicted at the bottom of the relief appear emblematic rather than narrative due to their even smaller size. These include a second depiction of Mara sitting disconsolately. Although sometimes shown in this manner in earlier works such as the Bharhut relief, in the Gupta period it becomes a more regular feature. His daughters are often depicted in front of him, attempting, according to the texts, to determine the reason for his despondency. And below the seat of the Buddha appear two earth goddesses. Only occasionally was an earth goddess depicted in earlier reliefs. But in the Gupta period two are usually shown. Sometimes half-emerging from the ground, one holds a water-pot, while the other makes gestures of warning. The earth goddess with the pot is the one more popularly known who rose to be Sakyamuni's witness. Another, however, was described by the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang as running to Sakyamuni to warn him about Mara.¹² In addition to the Sarnath steles, a few independent images of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* survive from the latter part of the Gupta period. The narrative details present in these sculptures, however, mean that they simply look like larger-scaled versions of the Maravijaya scene as found in the Sarnath steles presenting a group of life scenes.

Fig. 5

The earliest images of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* from Bodhgaya as well as other sites in Bihar date from the sixth or seventh centuries.¹³ Among the relatively few Buddha sculptures at Bodhgaya of an earlier date, none displays the *bhumisparsa mudra*. Thus the appearance at Bodhgaya of single sculptures depicting the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* does not seem to have preceded such developments elsewhere. Perhaps the earliest example is a sculpture which has lost its base. Now housed in the Narada Museum at Nawada, Bihar, its style and the palaeography of its inscription indicate a date in the seventh century.¹⁴ For sculptures like this one dating from the seventh century and later, narrative details are often — although not always — rather limited. Frequently only the gesture of touching the earth and maybe a few pipal leaves above the Buddha's head remain as references to the event of the Maravijaya.

Fig. 6

It is interesting that the Chinese pilgrim Faxian did not mention the *bhumisparsa mudra* in his fifth-century description of Bodhgaya. While he stated that shrines and images had been erected at the site by the faithful, when he actually described the events that happened there he only related that:

Then king Mara sent three beautiful young ladies, who came from the north, to tempt him, while he himself came from the south to do the same. The Bodhisattva put his toes on the ground, and the demon soldiers retired and dispersed, and the three young ladies were changed into old (grand) mothers.¹⁵

But Xuanzang's elaborate account from the seventh century concerning the creation of the image in the Mahabodhi temple specifically describes the gesture as the *bhumisparsa mudra* and explains that it represents the Buddha's conquest of Mara when he called upon the earth to bear witness to his right to enlightenment.¹⁶ Thus, the records of the Chinese visitors along with the visual remains suggest that sometime between the fifth and seventh centuries the image of the

2. Railing pillar, from the Bharhut stupa. c. 100-80 BC. Stone. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

3. Detail of figure 2 showing Mara seated.

4. The Maravijaya, from Gandhara. 2nd century. Stone. 67 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian, Washington, DC.



2



3



4

Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* gained greater importance at Bodhgaya.

Another seventh-century sculpture further indicates that the form had indeed achieved some prominence at Bodhgaya by this time. It is a large work measuring approximately one and a half metres, which is now without its head. Housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, its provenance is listed as unknown. However, the inscription on the base was published in the nineteenth century by Rajendralala Mitra who noted that he had taken it from a sculpture he saw at Bodhgaya in 1863 that was approximately life-sized and well-preserved except for its missing head.¹⁷ He recorded that the work had been excavated from a small temple east of the Mahabodhi temple. Thus it seems that this sculpture now in the Indian Museum was originally located at Bodhgaya. Not only is this the largest extant pre-Pala sculpture from Bodhgaya, but no other comparably-sized seated Buddha image survives from Nalanda or any other site in Bihar or Bengal from such an early date. The simple but well-executed form and the attention to details such as the auspicious symbols inscribed on the hands and feet mark it as a major early work from Bihar. And its impressive stature as well as its inscription, which mentions the Buddha as the destroyer of worldly passions and victorious over Mara, demonstrate that the importance of this form of the Buddha was established at Bodhgaya before the reign of the Palas commenced in the eighth century.

Despite all the different events that occurred at Bodhgaya which could have been depicted in art, the image of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* was almost exclusively rendered as the image of the site during the Pala period. This is true not only at Bodhgaya but elsewhere in Bihar and Bengal. But the number of surviving stone examples of the form at Bodhgaya is particularly great. And although none is now known, it is likely that metal sculptures were also once there since such works have been found at nearby sites. Although many of the surviving images simply present the Buddha seated and displaying the *bhumisparsa mudra*, other configurations with distinct details or attendants were also created. Thus, such works can be discussed in terms of the development of different forms.

An early Pala period sculpture now in the Mahant's compound at Bodhgaya dating from the first half of the ninth century demonstrates the artistic inventiveness employed in the creation of such works. The Buddha is shown seated on a double lotus with a throne-back composed of simple uprights and a crossbar surmounted by a plain halo adorned with pipal leaves. Rampant leogryphs appear below the crossbar, which is a common feature in Pala period works. Three compartments are arranged across the front of the sculpture's base, each holding a figure. A

Figs. 7, 8

Fig. 8

Figs. 9, 10



5. Detail of stele showing the Maravijaya scene, from Sarnath. 5th century. Stone. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

6. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*, from Bodhgaya. 7th century. Stone. 74 cm. Narada Museum, Nawada, Bihar.

fourth figure, a devotee who is possibly the donor, appears on the far left side. The two females represent the two earth goddesses who stood as witnesses for Sakyamuni against Mara. One emerges half-way from the ground and holds a pot. The other assumes a crouching posture and raises her hands in threatening gestures—she is the earth goddess who came running forth to warn Sakyamuni that Mara was coming.

The male figure holding an arrow is Mara. The arrow relates to earlier works which emphasize Mara as a god of desire, although in Gupta period depictions he usually held both a bow and an arrow. The absence of the bow particularly brings to mind a verse from Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* where the author unambiguously identifies Mara with Kama when he makes an unsuccessful Mara lament:

He [Buddha] does not even notice that arrow by which the god Sambhu (Siva) was pierced with love for the daughter of the mountain and shaken in his vow; can he be destitute of all feeling? Is this not that very arrow?¹⁸

In the Bodhgaya sculpture Mara's pensive mood and downward gaze, as if he is examining the useless arrow, convey his sense of despondency over his failure as imagined by Asvaghosha. Although the inactive pose and the placement beneath the Buddha to represent a defeated Mara are common features for Pala period sculptures, usually Mara's weapons are not included. The



artist of this work has thus portrayed Mara in a unique manner, and may well have been guided by a monk who admired Asvaghosha's biography of the Master—merging characteristics more commonly found separately in the Gupta and Pala periods.

A more typical Pala period treatment of Mara is presented in the twelfth-century bronze from Fatehpur. The representation of a single earth goddess—the one who bears the pot—below his lotus seat is also typical. A more unusual feature of this bronze is the *nagaraja* (serpent-king) appearing at the side of the pedestal. It is a feature, however, encountered in some Burmese examples of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*. Although the pedestal upon which the Buddha sits is quite elaborate, the Fatehpur bronze demonstrates the continuation of a simple presentation of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* throughout the Pala period.

An example of an important variation that developed in figures of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* at Bodhgaya and elsewhere in Bihar and Bengal is now housed in the Patna Museum. It was the subject of a drawing made by Thomas Daniell during the Daniells' visit to Bodhgaya in the late eighteenth century which shows the base that is now missing. Dating from the late ninth century, it depicts the Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas, Avalokitesvara and Maitreya. Pipal leaves at the top of the halo and a *vajra* (thunderbolt) on the lotus seat are references to the *vajrasana* at Bodhgaya. The work is an early example of a sculpture that conforms to a description given of the Vajrasana Tathagata in several *sadhanas*, textual descriptions that were meant to aid a devotee's visualization of particular deities.¹⁹ The detailed descriptions found in the *sadhanas* were also useful for artists, and surviving *sadhanas* can often provide identifications of the particular forms depicted in images. Although a date for the formulation of Vajrasana Tathagata *sadhanas* is difficult to pin-point precisely, the form does not appear commonly in art until the end of the ninth century. It is interesting, however, that Xuanzang noted the presence of silver images of Avalokitesvara and Maitreya in niche-like chambers outside the gate of the Mahabodhi temple.²⁰ Thus, the two bodhisattvas who are described in the Vajrasana *sadhanas* were paired in the seventh century at the temple that housed an image of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*.

Three *sadhanas* from the collection known as the *Sadhanamala* describe a vision of a Buddha who is named Vajrasana Tathagata. One of the *sadhanas* also mentions the name of Sakyamuni, which, incidentally, is the only place that his name appears in the *Sadhanamala*.²¹ Each describes a Buddha who is yellow, wears red robes, displays the *bhumisparsa mudra* and sits upon a lotus marked by a *vajra* (thunderbolt). He is attended by a gold-coloured Maitreya and a white-coloured Avalokitesvara. One *sadhana* also states that the Buddha's lotus is above a lion seat which is supported by the four *maras*.

The Vajrasana image is not a narrative depiction, though its basic elements are derived from the event of the Maravijaya. Mara's diverse forces have been condensed into four concepts—*maras*—to symbolize the obstacles to be overcome. While the bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Maitreya are not specifically mentioned in the surviving narrative accounts of the Maravijaya, the *Lalitavistara* presents a concept to which they do relate. This text states that Sakyamuni was suffused with *maitri* (friendliness) and *karuna* (compassion) towards Mara and the Mara-assembly before he touched the ground.²² Maitreya and Avalokitesvara are certainly well known to symbolize the concepts of *maitri* and *karuna*, respectively. Thus, their presence in such images may have evolved as personifications of the actions of the Maravijaya.

The *vajra* signifies the *vajrasana* upon which Sakyamuni sat when he became enlightened. It may be significant that the *vajrasana* but not the pipal tree is mentioned in the Vajrasana *sadhanas*. All who wish to become Buddhas must sit on the *vajrasana*, but since each Buddha was identified with a different bodhi tree, the omission of this detail may result from a desire to emphasize a non-particularized aspect of enlightenment. Nonetheless, many Vajrasana images include a representation of pipal leaves above the Buddha's head.

In addition to numerous sculptures surviving from different sites in Bihar and Bengal which conform closely to the *sadhana* descriptions, extant paintings from the period also depict the Vajrasana form. And sculptures and paintings from outside India further demonstrate its continued and widespread popularity.

While the vision of the three figures mentioned in the Vajrasana *sadhanas* was conceived there as forming a single image, another mode of visually presenting the concept involved grouping separate sculptures of the three. Although few specific instances of this practice

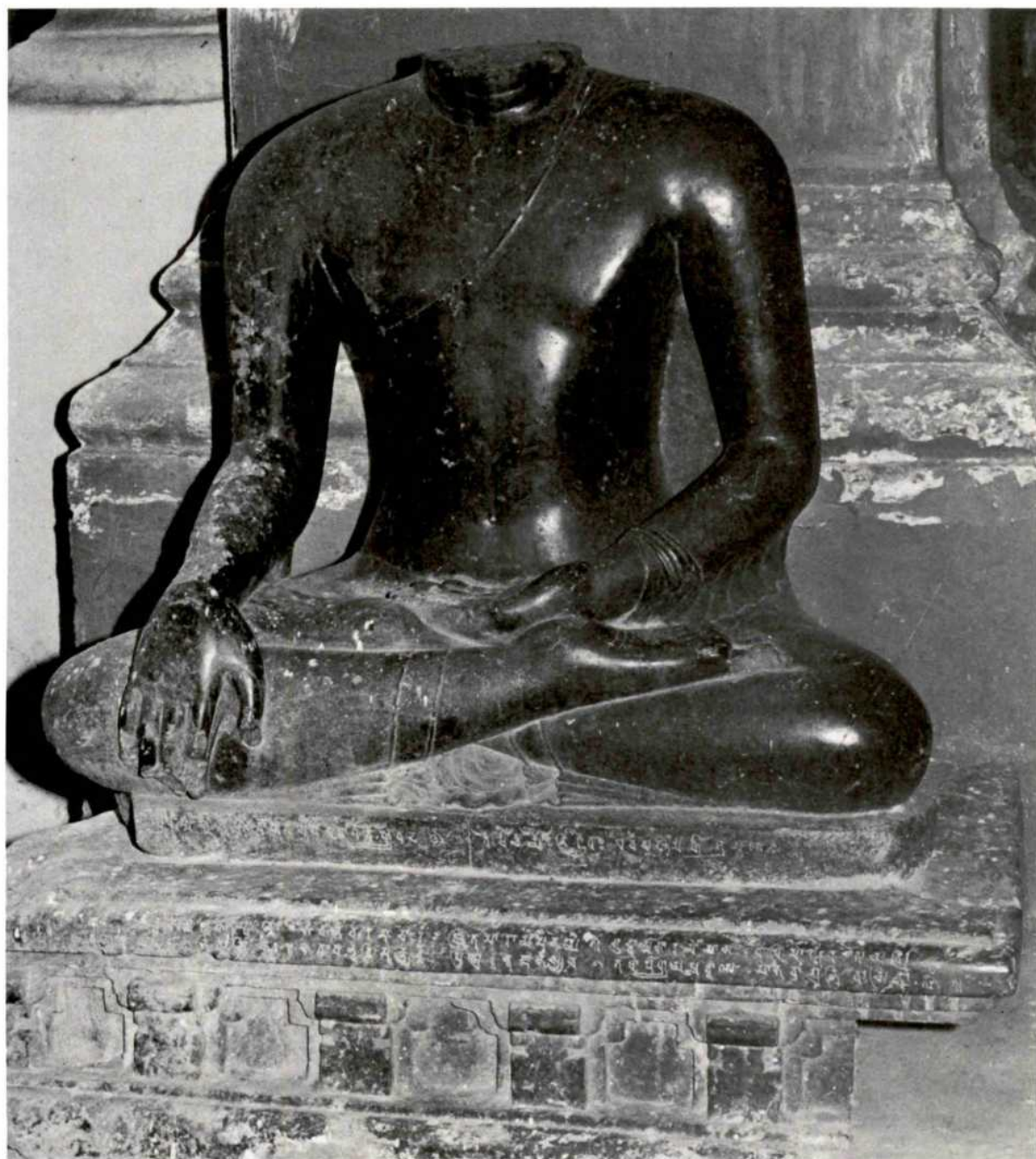
Fig. 1

Fig. 12

Fig. 11

7. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*, from Bodhgaya. 7th century. Stone. 1.45 m. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

8. Detail of figure 7.



7



8



9. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* in the Mahant's compound, Bodhgaya. 9th century. Stone. 1.18 m.

10. Detail of figure 9.

11. Drawing of a sculpture at Bodhgaya by Thomas Daniell. Late 18th century. Paul F. Walter Collection.

12. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* with bodhisattvas, from Bodhgaya. 9th century. Stone. 1.39 m. Patna Museum, Patna.



can be cited today, certainly many of the single sculptures now existing in various collections were originally combined in such meaningful ways. One well-known group forming the vision of the Vajrasana *sadhana* is now located in the Patna Museum; the three works originally came from Hasra Kol, a site near Bodhgaya.²³

Consideration of the context of sculptures of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* may be particularly important with regard to the one now housed inside the main shrine of the Mahabodhi temple. Dating from the late tenth century, it shows the Buddha sitting on a patterned cushion instead of a lotus; the earth goddess appears in the middle of the pedestal which is also ornamented with lions alternating with elephants. An effaced inscription on the edge of the pedestal noted by Rajendralala Mitra and Alexander Cunningham in the nineteenth century gives the Buddhist creed and an account of the donor Purnabhadra.²⁴ Cunningham stated that it also records that Purnabhadra made a *gandhakuti* with three images. Whether this *gandhakuti* (perfumed hall) refers to the Mahabodhi temple where a restoration or renovation rather than an actual construction might be meant, or whether the images were housed in another temple altogether, unfortunately cannot be ascertained. The mention of three images suggests an analogy to the form described in the Vajrasana *sadhanas* with Maitreya and Avalokitesvara serving as attendants to the Buddha.

Fig. 13

This Buddha sculpture was not in the Mahabodhi temple when the nineteenth-century explorations of the site were undertaken. Rajendralala Mitra noted that it was in the Mahant's compound. Later in the century, at the request of Beglar and Cunningham, it was moved to its present location in the main shrine of the Mahabodhi temple. Its height of more than two metres makes it the largest surviving seated image from Bodhgaya. Its great size may indicate that it once served as the central image of the Mahabodhi temple, replacing an earlier work for some reason in the late tenth century. As has been previously pointed out, the patterned cushion is a feature encountered in other sculptures of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* from eastern India which might have been copies of this Bodhgaya image.²⁵

Unfortunately, none of the known bodhisattva sculptures from Bodhgaya can be clearly identified as works that served in a triad with this Buddha sculpture. But two fragments of a large throne-back preserved in the Mahant's compound are quite likely part of an ensemble for the main shrine's Buddha sculpture. And a drawing from the nineteenth century shows that a relief of the seven symbols of the *chakravartin* (world king) originally appeared at its base.²⁶

In addition to presenting the Buddha in the *bhumisparsa mudra* alone or attended by bodhisattvas, another popular configuration in Bihar sculptures showed this figure surrounded by other figures who represented life scenes, usually forming a group of eight. One well-known example from Bodhgaya is a late tenth-eleventh century work dated in the reign of Mahipala I. As in this example, the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* is most often the central and largest figure in these works. Evolving from Gupta period groupings of life scenes and probably a reflection of a greater interest in the eight pilgrimage sites represented by these scenes,²⁷ the emphasis on the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra*—and thus Bodhgaya—by its larger size and central placement only developed in the Pala period. The format has a mandala-like appearance which accords with viewing the Buddha's life as a paradigm of the path to enlightenment.

Fig. 14

This configuration seems to have only become visually popular in the late tenth century. The importance then of the concepts embodied in such images is reflected by the creation at that time of an extremely large work still located at Jagdishpur, part of the famous monastic site of Nalanda, and the many miniature sculptures that have been found at Nalanda which are likely replicas of this impressive image. The form does not seem to have been as popular at Bodhgaya. The Mahipala I work and one that is virtually its twin, lacking only the base and an inscription bearing a date in the regnal years of a Pala king, are the two substantially sized examples now known from the site.

Fig. 15

But another particularly interesting Bodhgaya example of this form dating from the twelfth century presents the central Buddha with a crown and torque, while the subsidiary Buddhas are unornamented. Clearly this is still an image of Sakyamuni, but one whose jewels reveal in a concrete fashion his divine and kingly nature. The use of ornaments for Buddha figures is perhaps more popularly known for the depictions of Jina and other non-mortal Buddhas rather than for the historical Buddha Sakyamuni, but such practices were also appropriate for images of Sakyamuni. Although crowned images of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* did not become popular in Bihar until the eleventh century, Xuanzang's seventh-century

Fig. 16

13. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* in the main shrine of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya. Late 10th century. Stone. c. 2 m.

description states that the sculpture in the Mahabodhi temple was adorned with a necklace and a crown. Such ornamentation emphasizes the connections rather than the distinctions between Sakyamuni in his historical context and the general notions of enlightenment often symbolized by the celestial Buddhas who are ahistorical. David Snellgrove has noted that an addition sometimes made to the event of the enlightenment of Sakyamuni fits into this broader presentation of the notion of Buddhahood.²⁸ In some texts Sakyamuni's fourth and last stage of meditation results in Buddhahood when the Buddhas of the ten directions take him up to the celestial realms to bestow various consecrations upon him, which includes a coronation. These are the same consecrations as those performed for a devotee in his initiation to the attainment of *bodhi*. The number of crowned Buddha images that survive from Bodhgaya suggests that this was a particularly significant form at the site.

Besides its popularity in single sculptures, the figure of the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* appeared in other contexts. Votive plaques that depict a Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* inside a temple probably replicate the main image at the site. The form also adorns steles bearing inscriptions, such as the eleventh-century work that carries an elaborate eulogy by a Chinese pilgrim named Yunshu. The hymn praises the three bodies of the Buddha and their three shrines or seats. The hymn is directed at the site, meant to record how important this visit was to this Chinese pilgrim. At one point he states:

To witness the source and wander over the sphere of the law

It was well to travel through dust and desert . . .

For I have at length met with the Immaculate Body.²⁹

At the summit of this stele appears a Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* flanked by two figures of Marichi, a Buddhist goddess who symbolizes aspects of the sun. The imagery is executed in

Fig. 17





14

14. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* with life scenes in a shrine in the Mahabodhi temple compound. Dated 10th or 11th year of Mahipala (I)—late 10th or early 11th century. Stone. 1.65 m.

15. Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* with life scenes at Jagdishpur, Nalanda. Late 10th century. Stone. Over 3 m.

16. Crowned Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* with life scenes, from Bodhgaya. Early 12th century. Stone. 46 cm. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.

17. Inscribed slab with Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* and two figures of Marichi, from Bodhgaya. Dated AD 1021 (calculated from Chinese). Stone. 91 cm. Indian Museum, Calcutta.



5



16



17

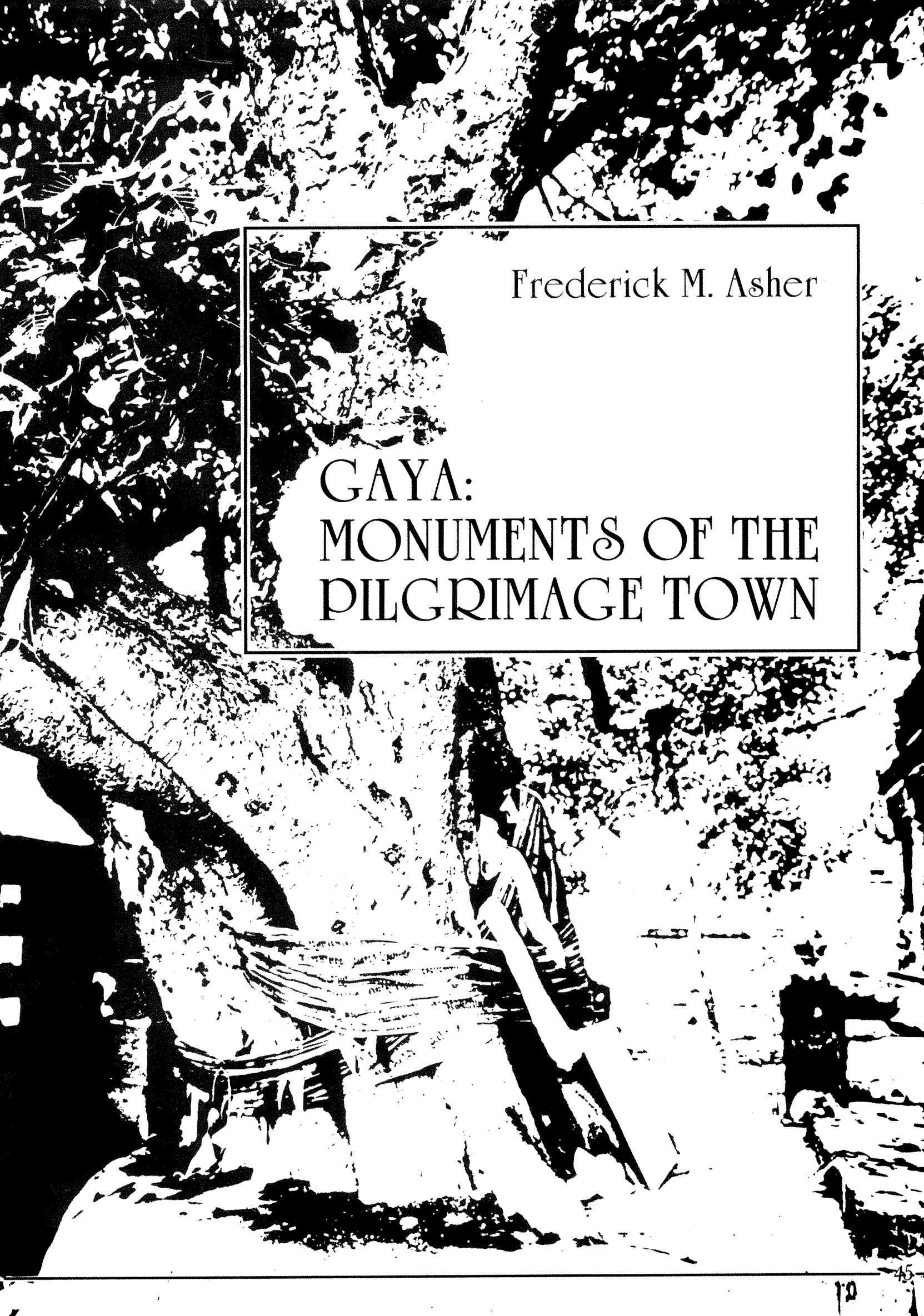
Pala style, although the hymn is inscribed in Chinese. The appearance of Marichi with the Buddha in *bhumisparsa mudra* is not common, but the combination may result from a connection between the concept of enlightenment and the rising of the sun which are often compared in Buddhist texts.³⁰ The meaning of the double depiction of Marichi in this stele, however, remains unclear.

The surviving works from Bodhgaya certainly demonstrate the sustained pre-eminence given to the form of the Buddha in the *bhumisparsa mudra*. This regard, firmly established throughout Bihar and Bengal, inspired Buddhists from other parts of Asia to create similar works of art that celebrated the experience of Bodhgaya. And although this legacy was not strongly sustained in India after the twelfth century, it certainly endured elsewhere in the Buddhist world.

NOTES

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2. James Legge, trans., *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms; Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 394-444) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline* (Oxford, 1886; rpt. ed. New York, 1965), 68. Hereafter, Legge, *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*.
3. George Roerich, trans., *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (Patna, 1959), 60-70.
4. Ibid., 69-70; Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)* 2 vols. (London, 1884), 2: 120-121. Hereafter, Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*.
5. Alexander Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument* (London, 1879), 134, pl. LIV. See also Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut* (Paris, 1935), 44-45.
6. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Some Early Buddhist Reliefs Identified", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April, 1928), 392-393.
7. J. J. Jones, trans., *The Mahavastu* 3 vols. (London, 1956), II: 281; T. W. Rhys Davids, trans., *Buddhist Birth-Stories (Nidana-katha)* (Oxford, 1925), 106-107.
8. Ratan Parimoo, *Life of the Buddha in Indian Sculpture (Ashta-maha-pratiharya): An Iconological Analysis* (New Delhi, 1982), 17-24. See also Geri Malandra ("Image and Text in Early Indian Art", *East and West* N.S. 31 [December, 1981], 121-130).
9. For an example of a Mathura relief, see Susan L. Huntington, *Art of Ancient India* (Tokyo, 1985), 154.
10. See James Boyd, *Satan and Mara: Christian and Buddhist Symbols of Evil* (Leiden, 1975), 111-122 for aspects of Mara's *kama* nature.
11. Joanna Williams ("Sarnath Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life", *Ars Orientalis* 10 [1975], 171-181) discusses these steles.
12. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 2: 121.
13. The pre-Pala sculptures of eastern India have been thoroughly discussed by Frederick M. Asher (*The Art of Eastern India, 300-800* [Minneapolis, MN, 1980]).
14. Ibid., 76.
15. Legge, *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, 88.
16. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 2: 120-121.
17. Rajendralala Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya, The Great Buddhist Temple, the Hermitage of Sakya Muni* (Calcutta, 1878; rpt. ed. Delhi, 1972), 132, 192-193, pl. LI. Hereafter, Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya*.
18. Cowell, trans., *The Buddhacarita*, 139.
19. Marie-Therese de Mallmann, *Introduction a l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique* (Paris, 1975), 418.
20. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 2: 119.
21. Alfred Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'apres des documents nouveaux* 2 vols. (Paris, 1900-1905), 2:15.
22. Alex Wayman, "Studies in Yama and Mara", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 3 (1959), 117. Gwendolyn Bays, trans., *The Voice of the Buddha: The Beauty of Compassion* 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1983), 2: 481.
23. See Susan L. Huntington, *The "Pala-Sena" Schools of Sculpture* (Leiden, 1984), figs. 52-54. Hereafter, Huntington, *The "Pala-Sena" Schools*.
24. Mitra, *Buddha-Gaya*, 198; Alexander Cunningham, *Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (London, 1892), 64-65.
25. Huntington, *The "Pala-Sena" Schools*, 99-100.
26. These unpublished drawings of Francis Buchanan-Hamilton are in the collection of the India Office Library, London, mss. # Eur. D95.
27. John C. Huntington, "Pilgrimage as Image; The Cult of the Astamahapratiharya, Part II", *Orientalism* 18, 8 (August, 1987), 56-68.
28. David Snellgrove, "Buddhism in North India and Western Himalayas—Seventh to Thirteenth Centuries" in *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path* ed. by Deborah Klimberg-Salter (Los Angeles, 1982), 74-76.
29. The complete hymn is published in Huntington, *The "Pala-Sena" Schools*, 246-249.
30. See, for example, Jones, *The Mahavastu*, 2: 369; Cowell, *The Buddhacarita*, 157. The Buddha's victory over Mara is likened to the sun that destroys the darkness of delusion.

□

A black and white photograph of a person lying in a hammock, surrounded by dense tropical foliage. The person is wearing a light-colored, patterned shirt and dark shorts. The hammock is strung between two trees. The background is filled with various types of leaves and branches, creating a lush, natural setting. The overall tone is peaceful and serene.

Frederick M. Asher

GAYA:
MONUMENTS OF THE
PILGRIMAGE TOWN

Hardly a century ago, Gaya consisted of two parts: Sahibganj, the modern town where administrators lived, and Andar Gaya, the religious centre. Although the line between these parts has blurred, the area once known as Andar Gaya also appears relatively modern. The Vishnupad temple, Gaya's largest and most important monument, is a product of the eighteenth century. And not one of the temples that dot this important and ancient pilgrimage centre, where Hindus come to perform sraddhas for their ancestors,¹ dates earlier than the thirteenth century. The images enshrined in most of these temples are older, though none dates before the Pala period, the most ancient having been carved in the eighth century. Does that suggest that Gaya is relatively newer than Bodhgaya, just six kilometres south, perhaps developed in response to the flourishing pilgrim traffic to the site of the Buddha's enlightenment? The other way round, I would suggest.

The oldest texts that mention the sraddha indicate that the ceremony was best performed at Gaya. The *Mahabharata*, for example, both advocates sraddhas at Gaya and indicates places in Gaya at which those who undertake the sraddha pilgrimage should stop.² This special sanctity probably drew Sakyamuni to the outskirts of Gaya where he engaged in meditation that resulted in the attainment of Buddhahood. Just as pilgrims today flock to Bodhgaya to visit the site of the enlightenment and there pay special homage to the pipal tree beneath which the Buddha gained final release from life's fetters, so Hindu pilgrims today flock to nearby Gaya, concluding their ritual at a shrine constructed beneath the spreading limbs of a banyan tree known as the Akshayavat.

The sraddha ceremony begins on the ghats leading to the Phalgu River just below the Vishnupad temple. There the worshipper goes accompanied by a Gayawal brahmin, a priest whom he probably has just met in the temple's environs; this priest serves as his leader and interpreter in the course of performing the sraddha. Following the initial rites, the worshipper offers rice balls known as *pindas*, an offering he will make subsequently at each of the stops in Gaya, then at last he is prepared to ascend the ghat's steps to the great Vishnupad temple.³

Fig. 1

The huge complex comprises several shrines plus the monumental Vishnupad temple itself within a compound. It is relatively new, a product of the patronage of Ahalya Bai Holkar in the late eighteenth century. She brought in her own artists from Rajasthan to work on the temple; their descendants still work at Patharkatti, about forty kilometres north-east. Probably she also imported her architect for this temple that was to be Gaya's largest.⁴ Vishnu's footprint, whose replica in stone is today enshrined in the sanctum of this temple, had long been associated with Gaya and prescribed as one of the many stops on the sraddha pilgrimage there. But it paled beside the Gayasiras, earlier the most important stop on the route but today identified simply as a small shrine just south of the Vishnupad temple.⁵ The sanctity ascribed to Vishnu's footprint may provide another indication of symbiosis between Gaya and neighbouring Bodhgaya. Most argue that the conception of Vishnu's footprint—distinct from the current Gaya temple that enshrines the sculptured impression—is older than that of the Buddha's footprints rendered in stone at Bodhgaya.⁶ While there is no material evidence of the Buddhapada early at Bodhgaya, the Master's footprints were carved in stone and served as an object of devotion at other Buddhist sites as early as the second century BC,⁷ before Vishnu's footprint is documented at any Hindu site. It is possible, then, that Buddhist stone renderings of the footprints stimulated the depiction of the footprint at Gaya but as an affirmation of a different presence.

The Vishnupad temple concisely presents the puzzle of Gaya. This late eighteenth-century temple enshrines dozens of images dating from the eighth through the twelfth centuries but none earlier or later. It also preserves inscriptions that provide snippets of Gaya's history, generally from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries, though a few, mostly pilgrims' graffiti, date later. But neither in image nor in written word is there record of Gaya's earlier history, although earlier texts attest its importance, even its pan-Indian importance. Nor is there any indication of what happened to the temples that enshrined the sculptures today preserved in the Vishnupad erected so many centuries later than those icons were carved.

Nowhere in Gaya do more inscriptions remain than in and around the Vishnupad temple. Here we have Gaya's earliest written record,⁸ commemorating the dedication of a house that was provided for ascetics about AD 872, during the reign of the Pala monarch Narayanapala. This is about the date of the earliest sculptures that remain enshrined in the Vishnupad, or anywhere in Gaya for that matter. For example, the Gaya Museum preserves a Vishnu image

1. Vishnupad temple, Gaya, view from the north.

- of about this time that was collected from the Vishnupad temple.⁹ Also from about this time is
- Fig. 2 a Siva linga inside the Pasupatinath temple that forms part of the Vishnupad compound. Generally, however, the sculptures in and around the Vishnupad date somewhat later. Rather, it is from the Mangala Gauri temple and the nearby Markandeyasthan temple that we find
- Fig. 3 Gaya's earliest images clustered. Among these is an eighth-century Mahishamardini from the latter temple, a frontal four-armed figure who has just slain the buffalo demon but shows no motion of combat. Up the road in the Janardhana Mandir of the Mangala Gauri complex are
- Fig. 4 several sculptures that may be assigned to the ninth century, among them a Vishnu that follows in time other figures of the god that may be found in the Dharmaranya near Bodhgaya.¹⁰ Probably still earlier, indeed one of Gaya's most intriguing images and possibly its earliest, is a
- Fig. 5 rock-cut Vishnu that is carved on a boulder in a shrine called the Gau Prachar located on a path leading up to the Mangala Gauri temple. The back arms are raised above the head in a manner that recalls Kushana Vishnu images, though the fashion continues occasionally into the Gupta period and still later.¹¹ It is a crudely rendered figure by any account, and so what might pass for indications of real antiquity may be little more than archaisms.

We know almost nothing about Gaya's history before the eighth or ninth century, nor of its earlier monuments even though its prior sanctity is well attested. By the fifth century, as recorded in the *Vishnumriti*, it was *the* place to perform sraddhas,¹² yet no material remains of that time survive in Gaya. And from subsequent centuries up to the beginning of the Pala period, still no monuments or inscriptions¹³ are known from Gaya, even though the *Puranas* of this time provide abundant reference to the sraddha stops in Gaya. In fact, not until the mid-eleventh century do we learn about considerable building activity. At that time, as we read in a record dated equivalent to c. 1058 now preserved in the Narasimha shrine of the Vishnupad compound,¹⁴ a ruler of Gaya named Visvarupa built a temple of Gadadhara, perhaps a precursor of the Gadadhara shrine that today forms part of the Vishnupad complex. The very



image of Gadadhara today in that shrine is said to bear a fragmentary inscription suggesting *Fig. 6* Visvarupa as its patron.¹⁵ Visvarupa also built several other temples, as if he were truly concerned with embellishing Gaya's appearance, and is in an inscription credited with having raised Gaya from the impurity of the Kali age.¹⁶ His considerable generosity is attested by other inscriptions, for example one at the nearby Krishna Dvarka temple dated the same year as the inscription in the Narasimha shrine, *c.* 1058.¹⁷ It records his construction of a temple for Janardhana, probably a precursor of the early nineteenth-century monument in which the inscription was found. The main image of the Krishna Dvarka temple, then, possibly dates to *Fig. 7* this time. This large image, with finely articulated jewellery and crisply delineated features, elevates the mace and lotus above his left and right shoulder respectively, not the wheel and mace commonly depicted.

Visvarupa also erected a third temple, the Prapitamahesvara, says an inscription of about 1062 today at the Akshayavat temple where the sraddha rites usually conclude.¹⁸ This must be a precursor of the Prapitamahesvara temple that stands immediately north of the Akshayavat. In fact, the inscription says that Visvarupa also installed several images at the Akshayavat.

Thus by the middle of the eleventh century, antecedents of the very shrines so important in Gaya today were established. They were largely Vaisnava monuments, so it was not just the relatively recent construction of the Vishnupad temple that focused Gaya as a Vaisnava *tirtha*. But even the Vishnupad is not without monuments to recall Siva's presence. For example, in the temple's compound, on the south side, is a platform, essentially a very long altar elevating a dozen Siva lingas above a row of niches each with an image of Vishnu. Nevertheless, in Gaya, Vishnu dominates, perhaps even more so since the construction of the Vishnupad temple. This is probably stimulated by the Gayawal brahmins, and it is manifest by images provided with revised identity, for example, innumerable images of Siva and Parvati at the *Fig. 8* Ramgayabedi temple that are identified by the attendant priests as images of Rama and Sita.

What about pre-Pala monuments at Gaya? We have no record, either written or material. At nearby Bodhgaya, several sculptures of the fifth through mid-eighth centuries survive, indicating that artists then were at work in the area. But just as work in stone at Gaya apparently began in the Pala period, so at Bodhgaya there is a dramatic change from sporadic production—one or two sculptures in an entire generation, if the surviving record tells the story—to prolific artistic activity. While one might plead for excavations at Gaya, as we would for the opportunity to turn soil around the Mahabodhi temple, it is hard to believe that no sculpture or architectural fragment would survive at a site that was used continuously for centuries prior to the earliest surviving monuments. Were, then, stone temples and sculptured images essential to the sraddha



earlier? Or was it performed without the aid of temples and sculptures but rather at locations denoted by Gaya's natural landmarks: the Phalgu River, its ghats and the surrounding hills?

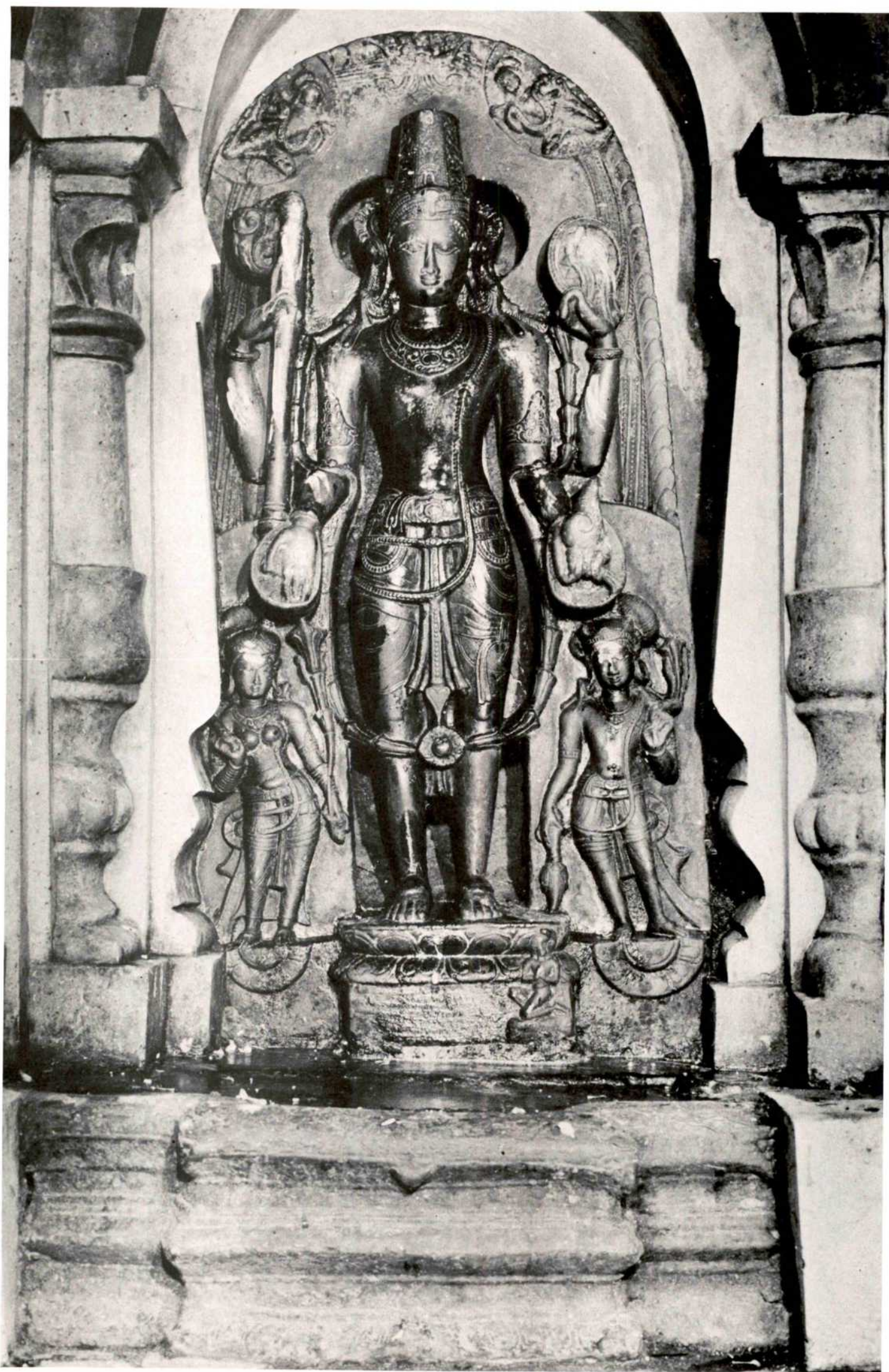
On several architectural members that now comprise the Vishnupad temple are inscriptions that chronicle parts of the history of Gaya's monuments after the time of Visvarupa. Among these is the record of a Dwivedi brahmin who gave money for the Gadadhara temple,¹⁹ undoubtedly the temple Visvarupa had built. This inscription, dated AD 1175, is on the upper portion of a slab whose lower half carries a relief depiction of a four-armed Parvati, one of the latest sculptures of Gaya, in fact one of the latest of all Pala period figures. It is not an especially elegant work, more an emblem for the inscription, but nevertheless evidence that artists were still at work here in the late twelfth century. Also from about this same time, or perhaps a short while later, is a twelfth- or thirteenth-century record in Kannada,²⁰ as well as another of about that same date recording the pilgrimage of a South Indian to Gaya specifically to perform a sraddha.

Records of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries attest continuing pilgrimage to Gaya even during periods of Muslim rule. Among those whose pilgrimage is recorded on the Vishnupad temple's slabs and architectural members is a priest sent by Achyutaraya, the Vijayanagara king.²¹ What all these records collected here suggest is that the Vishnupad temple replaced a monument that had been ruined by the time of its construction. The architectural members that comprise the Vishnupad temple, some believe, were brought from Bodhgaya, taken from an older monument there. However, the explicit reference to the sraddha in inscriptions on several of the temple's reused architectural members indicates that Ahalya Bai's workers had no need to appropriate pieces from any distance, even from places as close as Bodhgaya. Many were available right on the spot at Gaya.



5

2. Siva linga in the Pasupatinath temple of the Vishnupad compound. Grey stone. 86 cm.
3. Mahishamardini in a niche of the Markandeyasthan temple, Gaya. Grey stone. 41 cm.
4. Vishnu image from the Janardhana Mandir, Mangala Gauri complex, Gaya. Grey stone. 1.13 m.
5. Rock-cut Vishnu in a shrine called the Gau Prachar, on a path leading to the Mangala Gauri complex. 84 cm.





7

6. Standing Vishnu, main image of the Gadadhara temple, Gaya. Dark grey stone. 1.6 m.

7. Vishnu figure, main image of the Krishna Dvarka temple, Gaya. Dark grey stone. 1.18 m.

What can we make of Ahalya Bai's reuse of old architectural members, sculptures and even inscriptions? Surely she could have had new building components carved; money was no object. Similarly, she could have had new sculptures fashioned, although there may not have been local artists to do so since there are virtually no eighteenth-century sculptures from the whole of eastern India. The old inscriptions incorporated into the temple are especially curious since it has none at all of the patron whose role is preserved only by tradition, not by written record. We must assume, then, a conscious sensitivity to antiquity represented by this reuse or resurrection of Gaya's past, a belief that antiquity lent sanctity. Even today, pilgrims to Gaya are told with special reverence that this or that monument is old, very old.

This reuse of the past, so apparent here at the Vishnupad temple but frequently seen elsewhere in Gaya as well, may be a sort of material parallel to a practice in literature that is perhaps better known and understood. There quotes from the great works of India's past are routine and lend authority as well as sanctity to the work. This we see, for example, in a work composed only a century before the Vishnupad temple's construction, the *Tristhalisetu* by Narayana Bhatta,²² which speaks at length of Gaya as well as Kasi and Prayag. There the text is essentially a matrix for quotes from epic and Puranic sources much as the temple provides an architectural matrix for the material references to the past.

Beside Gaya's premier temple, the Vishnupad, others are clustered in proximity. The Krishna Dvarka, whose antecedent was constructed by Visvarupa, the great Gaya builder, already has been mentioned. A third nearby is the Surya temple, important for many reasons even though it does not draw a great number of the pilgrims who come to Gaya to perform





9

8. Marriage of Siva and Parvati, stone sculpture in the Ramgayabedi temple, Sita Kund, Gaya.

9. Inscribed plaque with figure of Parvati, located immediately north of the Vishnupad temple. AD 1175. Grey stone. 58 cm.

sraddhas; perhaps that is because its custodians are Sakadvip brahmins, not Gayawals.²³ In the temple is a record of Visvarupa's son, Yakshapala, that commences with homage to the Sun and draws upon solar imagery to convey a sense of the resplendent city that his father had built.²⁴ The fine image of Surya in the temple's *garbha-griha* probably dates to the mid-eleventh century, the time of Yakshapala. This tautly modelled erect figure stands against a back slab carved with flying figures and, the seldom found *grahas* (planets) above his head. Several other images of Surya in the temple's *mandapa* appear to be contemporary.

Fig. 10

Other images of Surya are nearby, for example, Gaya's largest sculpture in a shrine not much taller than the figure itself; it faces the Phalgu at Brahmani Ghat. Like so many images in Gaya, it is now cloaked in a Vaisnava mantle by a popular identification—Narayana in this case—that most likely belies the intention of its maker and has altered the way it is received by most devotees today. Also testimony to the more important position Surya worship once held here before Gaya became so closely linked with Vishnu's presence as manifest by his footprint is an inordinate number of slabs depicting the *grahas*. They may be seen at almost every *vedi* (stopping place) throughout the town.

Fig. 11

The Surya temple's antecedent probably dates back to the eleventh century, when Yakshapala's inscription was composed. It certainly existed in AD 1373, when a ruler of Gaya, Kulachanda, repaired it.²⁵ This record, more importantly, is dated during the reign of Firoz Shah Tugluq, who here is lavished with praise, although both medieval and modern historians





11

10. Surya image, main figure in the Surya temple, Gaya. Grey stone. 1.5 m.

11. Surya image in a shrine at Brahmani Ghat, Gaya. Grey stone. 2.44 m.

generally credit this Muslim sultan with the desecration of Hindu monuments. Earlier Gaya records, too, refer to Muslim overlords. For example, a pilgrim's inscription dated AD 1200 identifies the ruler as Sri Suratana Mojina, that is, Sultan Muizzuddin, almost surely Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad Ghuri, the Ghurid conqueror of Delhi.²⁶ Diplomatically or perhaps in truth, the inscription praises this king's great qualities. Hardly more than a half century later, from AD 1268, we have an inscription of a local ruler, Vanarajadeva, who pays great homage to his overlord, the "Turuska" king Biruban, none other than Balban, the Mamluk Sultan of Delhi, whom the inscription describes as master of the earth to whom homage is ceremoniously paid by all noble and grateful kings.²⁷ How, then, could there be building at Gaya while temples were destroyed elsewhere? The answer is probably manifold, but we are possibly correct if we recognize that Gaya was at this time already in a Muslim realm,²⁸ where desecration would have served no practical purpose. Only in a realm newly conquered would rampages undertaken in the name of iconoclasm serve a political end.

If that is the case, then we probably cannot attribute to Muslim iconoclasts the destruction of temples in Gaya, thus explaining the relatively late temples replete with much earlier sculptures and architectural members. Rather, it is likely that Gaya's earlier temples, like the relatively recent ones that still stand, were of brick, a building medium far more widely used than stone for religious architecture throughout eastern India. This is a medium, however, that requires frequent renovation. If neglected for even a few decades, the temples would disintegrate, requiring subsequent rebuilding. The stone sculptures and stone-cut architectural members such as doorways, however, would be unaffected.

Though Gaya is Hindu and Bodhgaya Buddhist, the two share much, as we have already seen. It was Gaya that drew Sakyamuni to the place that has come to be called Bodhgaya, and devotion to the Buddha's footprints that probably served as a model for devotion to Vishnu's. But that is not all. Bodhgaya itself is a stop on extended sraddha routes. It may have been incorporated into the routes at a time when Bodhgaya was essentially a Saiva site, its Buddhist affiliation significantly diminished. But that is not likely, for even the *Agni Purana* (115) identifies the Mahabodhi-taru as a place to pay obeisance in the course of a sraddha. We may assume, then, that the site continued to serve both Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims until relatively modern times, when tension over ownership of the Mahabodhi temple resulted in a court case.²⁹

And so once again, Bodhgaya is not exclusively Buddhist, nor are the site's sculptures exclusively imagery of that faith. Perhaps best known among Bodhgaya's Brahmanical imagery is a relief dated in Dharmapala's twenty-sixth year (c. AD 807) depicting Surya, Lakulisa and Vishnu. Its inscription commemorates the dedication of a four-faced Siva linga at the Mahabodhi.³⁰ That sculpture no longer survives, but in the compound of the Saiva Mahant of Bodhgaya is a large collection of sculptures, many of them Hindu images. Among these, figures illustrating Uma-Mahesvara are certainly most numerous. One of the many seated figures of Siva and Parvati shows the pair, as typical of such images at both Gaya and Bodhgaya, seated with their feet resting upon their *vahanas* below; Parvati sits on Siva's left knee, his four arms employed both to embrace her and to hold his *trisula*. This image, dating from the tenth century, is one of a great many sculptures at Bodhgaya datable between the ninth and eleventh centuries, as if there were then a virtual explosion of activity, one generating both Hindu and Buddhist imagery and almost precisely paralleling the activity at Gaya. While the activity was resurgent at Bodhgaya, it was, so far as the material record indicates, nascent at Gaya.

Fig. 12

Fig. 13





13

12. Relief with Surya, Lakulisa and Vishnu, from Bodhgaya. Dated year 26 of Dharmapala's reign, c. AD 807. Grey stone. 19 cm. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
13. Uma-Mahesvara image in the collection of the Bodhgaya Mahant. Dark grey stone. 71 cm.

Many of Bodhgaya's Hindu sculptures are in the collection of the Mahant, but others remain in the many shrines of this Buddhist site. Some were even beside the Mahabodhi temple, under the tree. They were illustrated there by D'Oyly in the nineteenth century.³¹ Many of the same pieces are now located under a tree just north of the temple, receiving homage from devotees who come to the Mahabodhi-*taru* as one of the *sraddha* stops.³²

Fig. 14

Beside such sculptures that even initially were intended as Brahmanical, some Buddhist images at Bodhgaya have been given Hindu identities. Claude Jacques notes a shrine beside the Mahabodhi temple that contains nine Buddha images dressed in cloth and presented as the five Pandavas with Krishna, Draupadi, Kunti and Abhimanyu.³³ And when first I saw Hindu pilgrims passing through the Tibetan temple at Bodhgaya being told by their Gayawal guide that an image of Avalokitesvara was Rama, my impulse was to offer a scholar's correction and chastise the Tibetans for collecting the offerings in a mercenary fashion. In truth, however, we must ask whether there is only one interpretation of any sculpture. Is the image any more correctly and precisely Avalokitesvara than Rama, or is its identity fluid, dependent on the viewer? For that matter, does an image that two different persons might agree represents Rama carry the same meaning for both of them? It is not just the relativism that is so inherently Indian and permits varying interpretations but the obvious fact that different beholders may read an image differently. This should serve as a warning to those who imagine that we have discovered an absolute truth when we find a text whose description of a deity corresponds precisely with a stone or metal representation. The textual word does not offer an ultimate interpretation.

As we seek correspondences between the monuments of Gaya and those of Bodhgaya, we might finally note the one at which *sraddhas* conclude, the Akshayavat. The name refers to a great banyan tree (*vata*). Its spreading branches shade a small temple whose exterior walls carry many sculptures and, to the right of the doorway, a single inscription. The shrine, a relatively modern structure, preserves the Saiva dedication of an older structure on the spot,³⁴ unusual given the effort elsewhere in Gaya to cloak the *sraddha* with a Vaisnava mantle.

Fig. 15

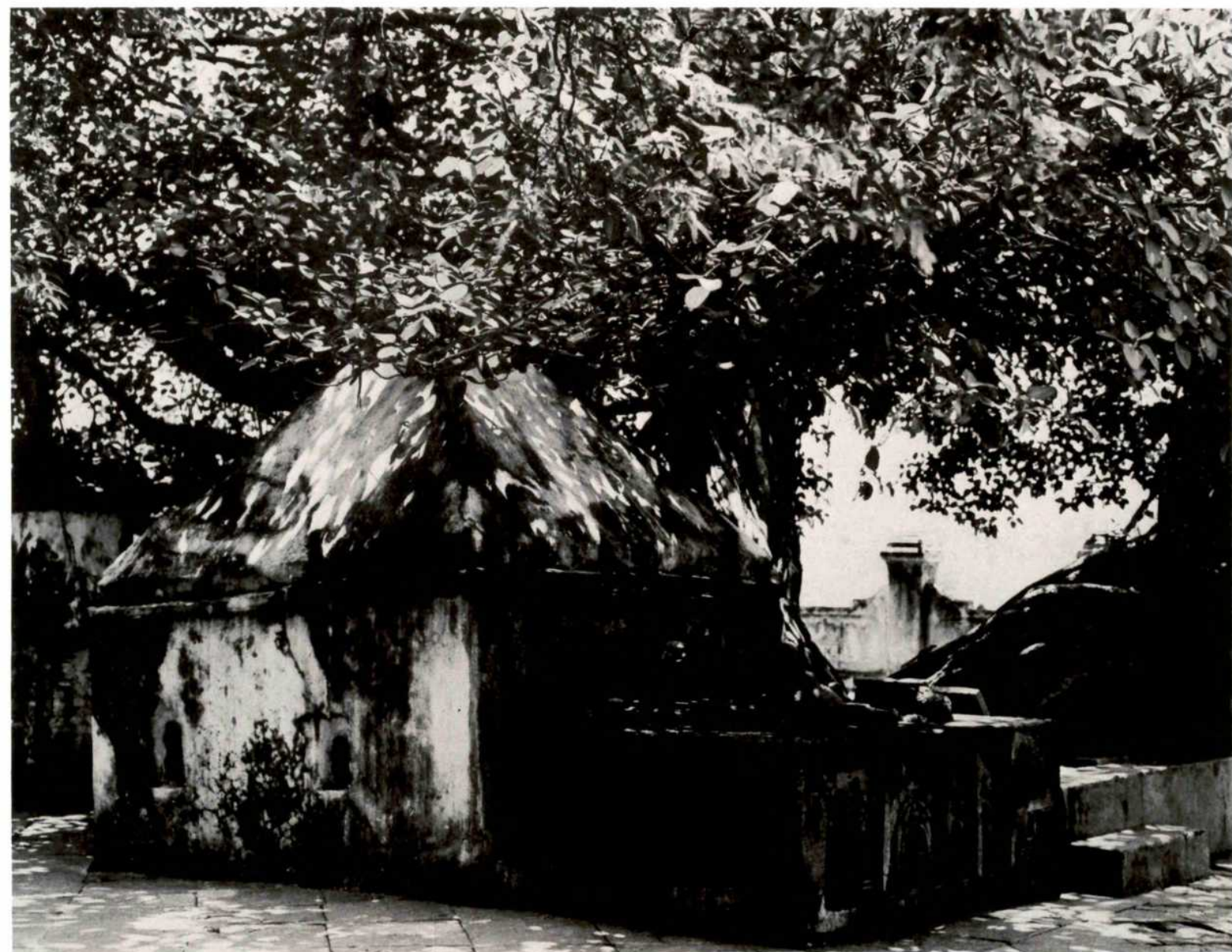
The size of the banyan tree, enhanced by its many great prop roots and the contrast with the diminutive temple beneath it, suggests that it has been in place for a very long time. As the name of the place (*akshaya*) suggests, it appears to be undecaying, perpetual, an appropriate point of conclusion for a ceremony intended to propitiate the spirits of the deceased. That sense of the tree's eternity is underscored in the many textual references to it.³⁵ Further, a tree—like a pillar or post—serves as a symbolic link between the heavens and the earth,³⁶ again an appropriate point of conclusion for the *sraddha*.



One cannot help but recall the great tree at Bodhgaya, the one beneath which the Buddha's quest concluded. It is a pipal, not a banyan, but the two are differentiated only by the former's absence of prop roots. While they differ in detail, the quest of the sraddha pilgrim and that of the Buddha bear remarkably similar structures. Overcoming death is a feature of each, and they both conclude beneath a tree of identical genus (*Ficus*), indeed very closely related species. But which served as a model for the other? In this case, I would surmise that Gaya's Akshayavat served as a model for Bodhgaya's tree, though there is no evidence to verify the guess. At least from the time of the *Mahabharata*, however, literature cites Gaya's tree. Possibly, then, the Buddha came to the outskirts of Gaya specifically because it was the place where pilgrims sought an escape from the fetters of death—albeit on behalf of deceased relatives rather than themselves.

NOTES

1. The sraddha, usually performed for a parent who has died within the year, involves the offering of rice balls known as *pindas* at a series of shrines and other stopping points (*vedis*) around Gaya.
2. See the *Tirtha Yatra* section, particularly III. 82.73-88. The text is translated by J.A.B. van Buitenen, *The Mahabharata* vol. II (Chicago, 1975), 390. Although the sraddha is not mentioned explicitly in the text, it is clearly implied, for the rescue of deceased family members is said to result from pilgrimage to Gaya.
3. At least that is what those with little time to spare do. Others with more time to devote to the pilgrimage may go on far more circuitous routes covering a considerably more expansive Gaya—*ksetra*. See Claude Jacques, *Gaya Mahatmya* (Pondicherry, 1962), 385-390, for some of the routes; see also Monier Williams, "Sraddha Ceremonies at Gaya", *The Indian Antiquary*, V (1876), 200-204.
4. This is conjecture. There is virtually no written documentation for the construction of this temple that changed the face of Gaya.



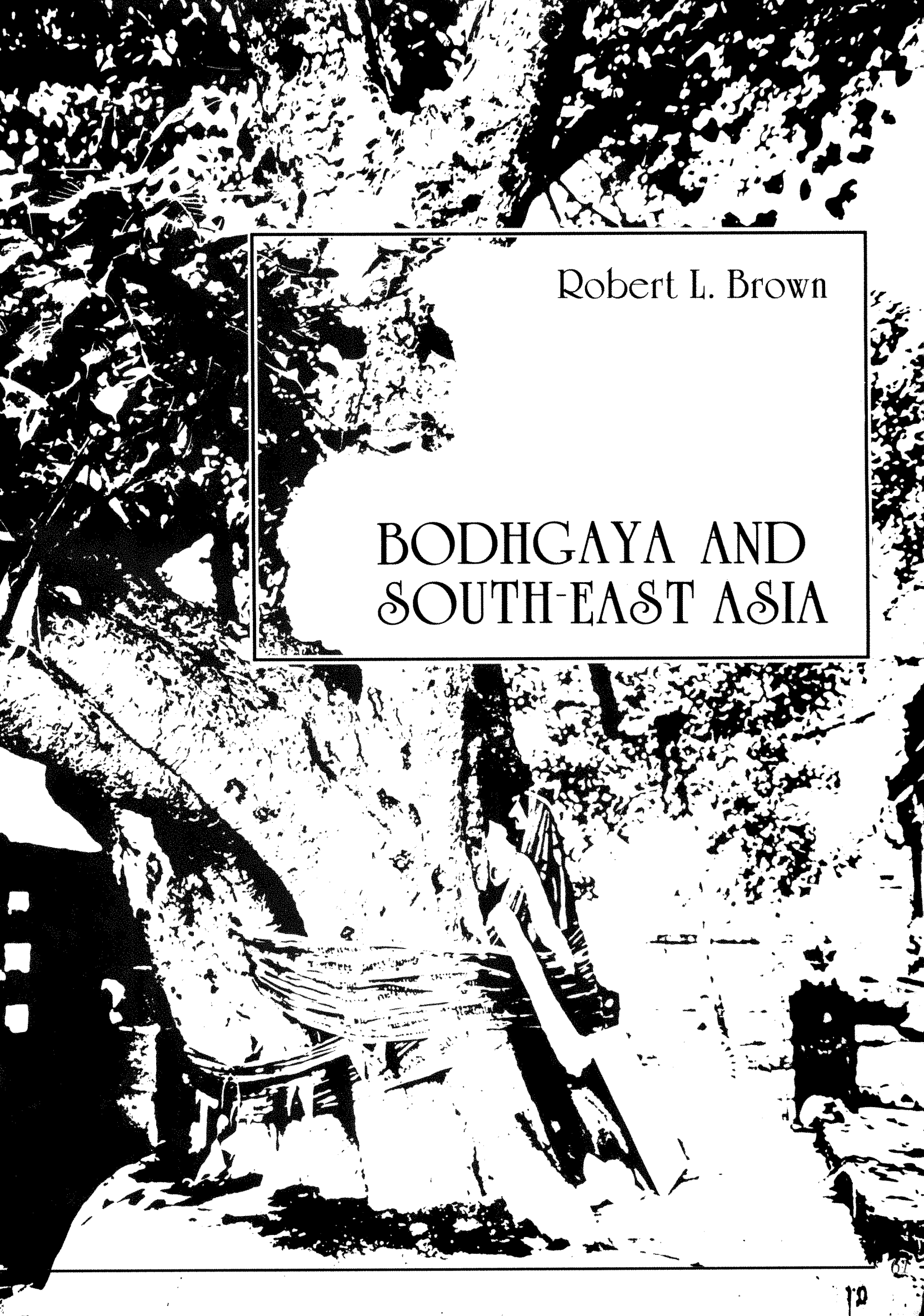
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14. Painting by D'Oyly illustrating Hindu images at the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya. Photo after Charles D'Oyly, *Sketches of the New Road on a Journey from Calcutta to Gya* (Calcutta, 1830).

15. Akshayavat temple, Gaya, view from the north-west.

5. The location of the Gayasiras is a matter of dispute. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* III, 107, identified it with Brahmayoni Hill, as did Benimadhab Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya: Early History of the Holy Land* 2 Vols. (reprint Varanasi, 1975), I: 11, 137. Jacques, (op. cit., xxiii), however, is almost surely right in identifying it with the small shrine called Gayasiras located just below the Vishnupad temple, implying that the site of the Vishnupad was selected for its longstanding sanctity. Barua (op. cit., II: 64), erroneously cites H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (reprint Varanasi, 1968), 98, as arguing that "Vishnupada and Gayasira were originally astronomical terms." Nevertheless, it is appropriate to see a link between feet (*pada*) and head (*siras*).
6. See, for example, Barua, op. cit., II: 62-64, and Debjani Paul, "Antiquity of the Vishnupada at Gaya", *East and West* N.S. 35, 1-3 (September, 1985), 103-141. Dr. Paul makes an especially convincing case for the antiquity of the Vishnupada. Certainly, as she argues, it was not initially carved as a footprint of the Buddha and subsequently regarded as Vishnu's footprint.
7. See, for example, the Ajatasatru relief at Bharhut illustrated in Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut* (Paris, 1956), fig. 33. The Buddha's footprints also were a popular object of veneration in South India. See James Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, IV (London, 1887), pls. LII, LIII.
8. An inscription purportedly of Samudragupta's time is almost ubiquitously acknowledged to be a copy, although it may record a tradition that dates to his time. J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings* vol. III of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (reprint Varanasi, 1970), 254-257.
9. Frederick M. Asher, *The Art of Eastern India, 300-800* (Minneapolis, 1980), pl. 157.
10. For photographs, see Asher, plates 149-150. One figure still closer to the Dharmaranya images is also enshrined in this temple and illustrated in Asher, plate 151.
11. For Gupta examples see Joanna G. Williams, *The Art of Gupta India* (Princeton, 1982), pls. 54, 218, 222. An example of about the eleventh century is from Seor in Sultanpur District, U.P., now in the Lucknow Museum, No. 0.199.
12. Julius Jolly, *The Institutes of Vishnu* (Oxford, 1880), 256-259.
13. An inscription dated in the ninth year of Samudragupta's reign, as indicated in note 8, is a later forgery.
14. R. D. Banerji, *The Palas of Bengal, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* V (Calcutta, 1915), 78-79. Hereafter, Banerji, *The Palas of Bengal*. See also D. C. Sircar, "Inscription of Visvarupa, Year 15 of Nayapala", *Epigraphia Indica* XXXVI (1965), 86-88.
15. Rama Chatterjee, "Members of a Medieval Brahmana Family Ruling in Gaya, And Their Religious Activities", *Journal of the Asiatic Society* II (1965), 7. Earlier, however, Banerji (*The Palas of Bengal*, 83) had suggested that this inscription dates a generation later.
16. D. C. Sircar, "Three Pala Inscriptions", *Epigraphia Indica* XXV (1963-64), 237-238.
17. M. M. Chakravarti, "Inscription of Nayapala Deva", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* LXIX, 1 (1901), 190-195. See also D. C. Sircar, "Inscription of Visvadiya, Year 15 of Nayapala", *Epigraphia Indica* XXXVI (1965), 84-86.
18. Banerji, *The Palas of Bengal*, 80-82. See also D. C. Sircar, "Fragmentary Inscription of Visvarupa or Visvadiya, Year 5 of Vighrahapala", *Epigraphia Indica* XXXVI (1965), 89-92.
19. Sircar, "Three Pala Inscriptions", 237-238.
20. D. C. Sircar, "Inscriptions from Gaya", *Epigraphia Indica* XXXIII, 3 (1959), 108-109.
21. D. C. Sircar and K. H. V. Sarma, "Inscription of Achyutaraya, V. S. 1588", *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIII, 3 (1959), 113-116.
22. Richard Salomon, ed. and trans., *The Bridge to the Three Holy Cities* (Delhi, 1985).
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24. F. Kielhorn, "A Gaya Inscription of Yakshapala", *The Indian Antiquary* XVI (1887), 63-66.
25. F. Kielhorn, "Gaya Stone Inscription of the Reign of Sultan Firuz Shah; the Vikrama Year 1429", *The Indian Antiquary* XX (1891), 312-315.
26. Hasan Nishat Ansari, "An Inscription from Gaya of Vikrama Samvat 1257 Referring to the Reign of Sultan Muizzuddin (Ghori)", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* LII (1966), 71-95.
27. Hasan Nishat Ansari, "Gaya Epigraph of V. S. 1325 Noticing Balban As Biruban", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* LIII (1967), 170-181.
28. The inscriptions cited above provide that evidence. For additional inscriptional evidence that this part of Bihar fell within the territory of Muslim dynasties, see Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar* (Patna, 1973), 1-29.
29. This was resolved in 1952, when the temple was transferred from the Bodhgaya Mahant to a Temple Management Committee consisting of both Buddhists and Hindus as well as government representatives. See Bukku Silabhadra, "Buddha Gaya Temple Question", *Mahabodhi Society of India. Diamond Jubilee Souvenir* (Calcutta, 1952), 177-181.
30. Alexander Cunningham, *Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-gaya* (reprint Varanasi, n.d.), 64.
31. Janice Leoshko drew my attention to this illustration.
32. The *Gaya-mahatmya*, among other texts, prescribes the inclusion of the Mahabodhi tree. See Jacques, op. cit., 386. Current practice certainly brings a great many pilgrims performing sraddhas to Bodhgaya.
33. Jacques, op. cit., xv.
34. It is recorded in the temple's inscription, from the time of Vighrahapala III (1058-1075), which marks the installation of a linga called Vatesa, meaning Lord of the Banyan Tree.
35. P. K. Gode, "The History of the Aksayavata (Undecaying Banyan Tree) at Prayaga and Gaya As Revealed by Some Sanskrit Texts—Between the First Century A.D. and 1900", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XXXVIII (1957), 82-92.
36. Recently Giovanni Verardi ("Avatarana: a Note on the Bodhisattva Image Dated in the Third Year of Kaniska in the Sarnath Museum", *East and West* N.S. 35 [1985], 67-101) has elaborated this point with regard to the post supporting the umbrella of the "Friar Bala" bodhisattva.

□

A black and white photograph of a person sitting on a large, gnarled tree root in a forest. The person is wearing a striped garment and is looking down at something in their hands. The background is filled with dense foliage and trees.

Robert L. Brown

BODHGAYA AND
SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Bodhgaya's importance for South-east Asian art becomes most apparent beginning in the eleventh century and is tied to developments in the Theravada form of Buddhism in Burma and Thailand. The South-east Asians' interest in Bodhgaya inspired, among other manifestations, at least four re-creations of the Mahabodhi temple in Burma and Thailand. Art from other areas of South-east Asia—for example from Cambodia, Vietnam and Indonesia—is not so directly and closely linked to Bodhgaya as that from Burma and Thailand; but one can identify, as I shall suggest below, at least conceptual influence from Bodhgaya on the art of these areas. The larger part of the article thus deals with material from Thailand and Burma, which I have divided into categories of temples, sculptures and votive tablets, and which is introduced by a brief sketch of some of the



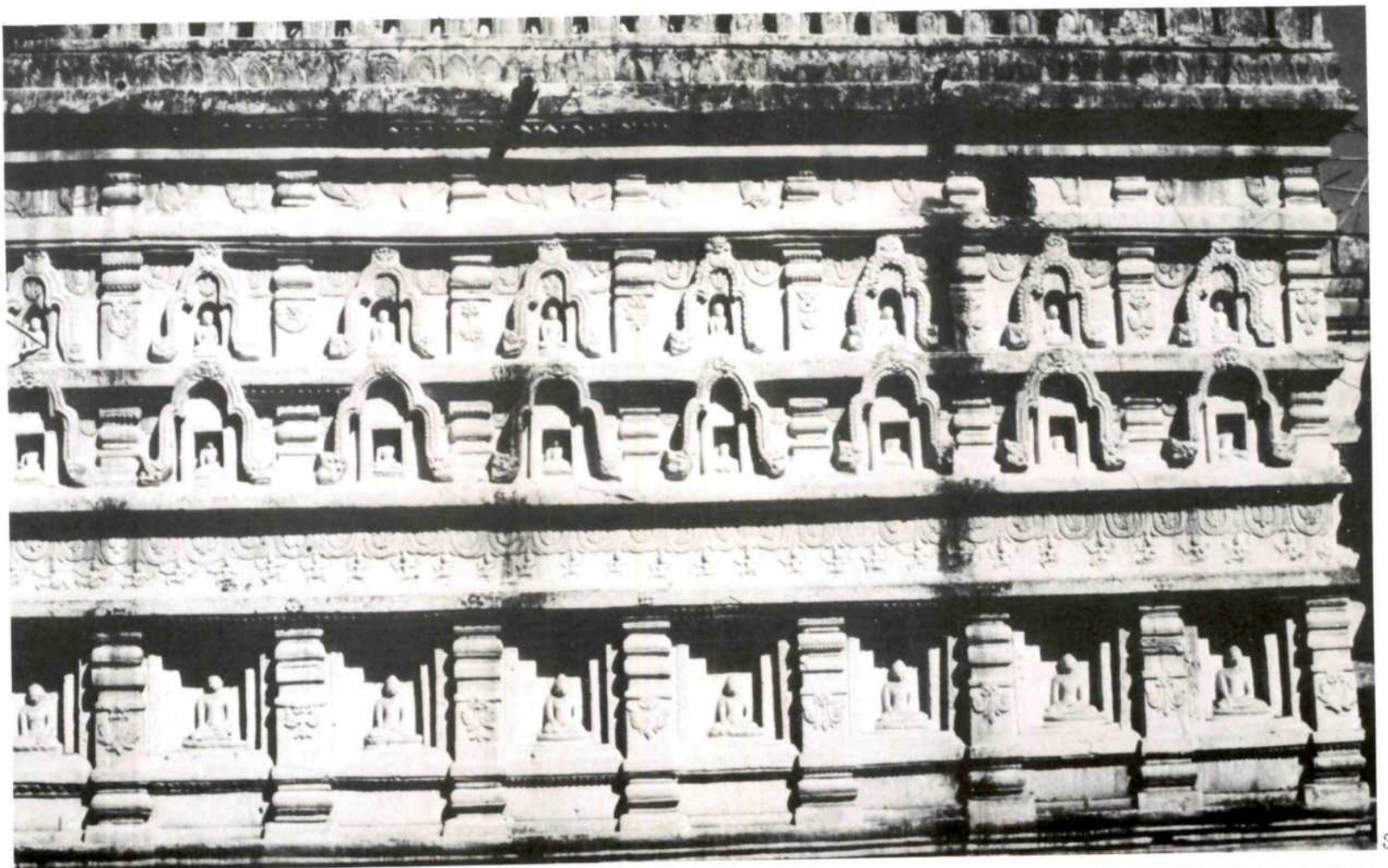
1. Mahabodhi temple, Pagan, Burma. 13th century. Brick and stucco.

2. Buddha image in the main cella, Mahabodhi temple, Pagan, Burma. 13th century, with restorations. Brick, stucco, gold and paint.

3. Detail of wall, Mahabodhi temple, Pagan, Burma. 13th century. Brick and stucco.



2



3

historical and religious background that helps explain why the Burmese and Thais looked to Bodhgaya for inspiration. A final section discusses some of the more ambiguous conceptual influences that Bodhgaya had on South-east Asian art.

Thailand and Burma: Historical Background

Perhaps the most important historical occurrence that led to the focus on Bodhgaya for Buddhists in Burma and Thailand was the adoption in both countries of Sinhalese Theravada Buddhism. Many of the events that chronicle the period of adoption, falling roughly between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, are well recorded. The beginning can perhaps be placed during King Aniruddha's reign (1044-1077). In 1057 King Aniruddha was in the midst of expanding his Burmese kingdom of Pagan when he conquered the city of the Mon kingdom, Thaton. Later official textual sources—inscriptions and chronicles—give as Aniruddha's objective for attacking Thaton a desire to obtain Buddhist relics and texts. While several scholars find a more political motivation for the attack likely, it is nevertheless clear that Aniruddha brought back Buddhist materials to Pagan from Thaton. He brought back, in fact, much more: he returned with a great part of the local population, including Buddhist monks. This massive transfer of Buddhist devotees to Pagan must have had a significant impact on the future of Buddhism in Pagan.

The Buddhism in Thaton was Theravada, its texts written in Pali; and although its exact sources and connections are debatable, it was clearly linked to Sinhalese Theravada Buddhism. Aniruddha requested a relic of the Buddha from the king of Sri Lanka, and the Sinhalese king, Vijayabahu, requested monks from Aniruddha to perform the *upasampada* ordination ceremony, as the monkhood in Sri Lanka was in disarray due to the war between Sri Lanka and the Indian Cholas. We can see in these events during Aniruddha's reign the basic characteristics that will define the mutual interchanges among Burma, Thailand, Sri Lanka, and Bodhgaya for centuries to come. There is first the desire for a pure form of Buddhism, most often achieved by appropriating primary texts or properly ordained monks, often in order to purge the present texts or monastic groups. Aniruddha, for example, looked to Thaton for pure texts, while Vijayabahu required monks from Burma with whom, according to an inscription at Polonnaruwa, he "effected the purification of the Buddhist Order . . ."¹

The need for pure texts and monks continued to motivate interchanges between Sri Lanka and South-east Asia. Aniruddha, however, was searching for something else as well: relics of the Buddha. Relics, their finding, propagation and use, became a constant feature of later Theravada Buddhism in South-east Asia. The desire for primary texts, correctly ordained monks and Buddha relics is based on the notion that the validity and effectiveness of the relic objects, teachings and monks (corresponding essentially to the Three Jewels—Buddha, *dharma*, and *sangha*) are determined by how "close" they are to the *historical* Buddha. This search, then, for pure and true texts, monks and relics, initiated primarily under Aniruddha's reign, became characteristic of Burmese and Thai Buddhism. The search focused on Sri Lanka, but it also led, I think, to Bodhgaya.

Bodhgaya had become by the eleventh century the most important Indian site associated with the Buddha Sakyamuni's life. It had always had something of a priority among pilgrimage sites associated with his life, being the place where Mara was finally defeated and enlightenment was reached. These connected but separate events are only two (although the most important) of a whole constellation of life episodes associated with Bodhgaya, many of which had their own geographical areas and shrines at the site. This narrative variety and richness was perhaps an advantage Bodhgaya had over other sites. Another advantage was the bodhi tree, as no other site had a living relic that could forever renew and perpetuate itself.

The focus on Sakyamuni and his life at Bodhgaya is clearly seen in the artistic imagery at the site. While other important contemporary Buddhist centres such as Nalanda and Ratnagiri (in Orissa) produced images of esoteric Buddhas and tantric deities, Bodhgaya concentrated on images of Sakyamuni. This is not to say that the Buddhism at Bodhgaya was always Theravada. It was not. Mahayana schools proposed that Sakyamuni has a transcendent body (the *sambhogakaya*), frequently indicated in art by jewels and a crown. Paul Mus points out that initially the jewels and crowns were separate objects that could be added or removed from the image, in effect transforming it from the earthly to the transcendent form of the Buddha.

4. Wat Chet Yot, Chiangmai, Thailand. 15th century. Laterite, brick and stucco.



Interestingly, Mus places the locus of the cult of the crowned Buddha at Bodhgaya, based in part on Xuanzang's testimony that mentions the removable jewellery used there. Mus suggests a second concept, that of Sakyamuni as a *chakravartin* or universal king, as another explanation for the crowned images. The crown and jewels are the regalia of a king. The *chakravartin* concept was shared by both Theravada and Mahayana Buddhists, and Mus proposes that the Buddha Chakravartin developed into the Sambhogakaya Buddha surrounded by bodhisattvas.² Mireille Benisti has recently shown that *chakravartin* imagery, rarely found in Indian art, was in fact popular at Bodhgaya, which strongly supports Mus' argument.³ For our purposes what is important is that these ideas enabled both Theravada and Mahayana Buddhists to worship the same images at Bodhgaya.

Bodhgaya drew South-east Asian Buddhists mentally as well as physically, as it was the site that allowed them to get the closest to the historic Buddha. We will turn now to what they brought back from, and took to, Bodhgaya.

Thailand and Burma: Temples

The first record we have of an official South-east Asian contact with Bodhgaya was in the reign of the Pagan king Kyanzittha (r. c. 1085-1113) who had been Aniruddha's general. Kyanzittha sent a mission to Bodhgaya, not to bring back relics, but to repair and support the Mahabodhi temple. Kyanzittha's was the first of several Burmese delegations sent to repair the Mahabodhi temple. A second mission was sent by a Pagan king at the end of the thirteenth century, and then other Burmese-sponsored restorations took place in the nineteenth century. Artistic influence thus had an opportunity to move from Burma to India, and the initial questions to ask are, what was the extent of the repairs made by the Burmese, and were these repairs Burmese in character? The questions are important especially for the restorations made by Kyanzittha's mission, as these repairs were done before the Burmese first built a copy of the Mahabodhi temple in Burma in the first half of the thirteenth century. Were the Burmese making copies of an essentially Burmese monument?

Several scholars have made careful studies of the two early Burmese restorations. Unfortunately, the evidence is equivocal and opinions vary considerably as to the nature and extent of the repairs. The restoration under Kyanzittha, however, appears to have been extensive. Alexander Griswold has suggested that the repairs included, among others, (1) the inner buttresses at the west end and a connecting vault, emphasizing the outer *vajrasana* shrine, (2) the east porch with an added vault and supporting abutments and two added stupas on top (bringing the number to four), (3) the radiating arches and vaults, replacing corbelling, (4) the cella, converting it from a square into an oblong, and (5) almost all the stucco decoration on the exterior, including the Buddha images in the niches.⁴ Griswold throughout his lengthy discussion stresses the Burmese nature of the repairs, although he points out the restoration's overall faithfulness to the Indian original. He assumes the temple was badly ruined at the time (c. 1100), and that the Burmese relied on tiny models and obelisk-shaped votive shrines at the site for aid in reconstructing the monument, much as modern scholars have done.

Most scholars would perhaps agree with Griswold as to the general areas of repair—the outer *vajrasana* shrine and western buttresses, the entrance porch, podium cella, vaulting, and outer stucco decoration.⁵ The question is their Burmese character. We must ask who did the work, as Burmese artists and architects would have to have been extensively involved to introduce a Burmese character to the temple. This is particularly true for the style of the stucco decorations and images and the expertly constructed vaulting. It is difficult to imagine only a few Burmese artisans, even if they were master sculptors and architects, retraining the local Indian artisans to build using Burmese construction methods and to sculpt using Burmese styles. For one thing, local artists were available. Furthermore, the Burmese restorers would have had no interest in changing the Indian temple to a Burmese one. It would be logical, then, that the Burmese would fund the restoration, but use local artists, with the results being mostly Indian in character.

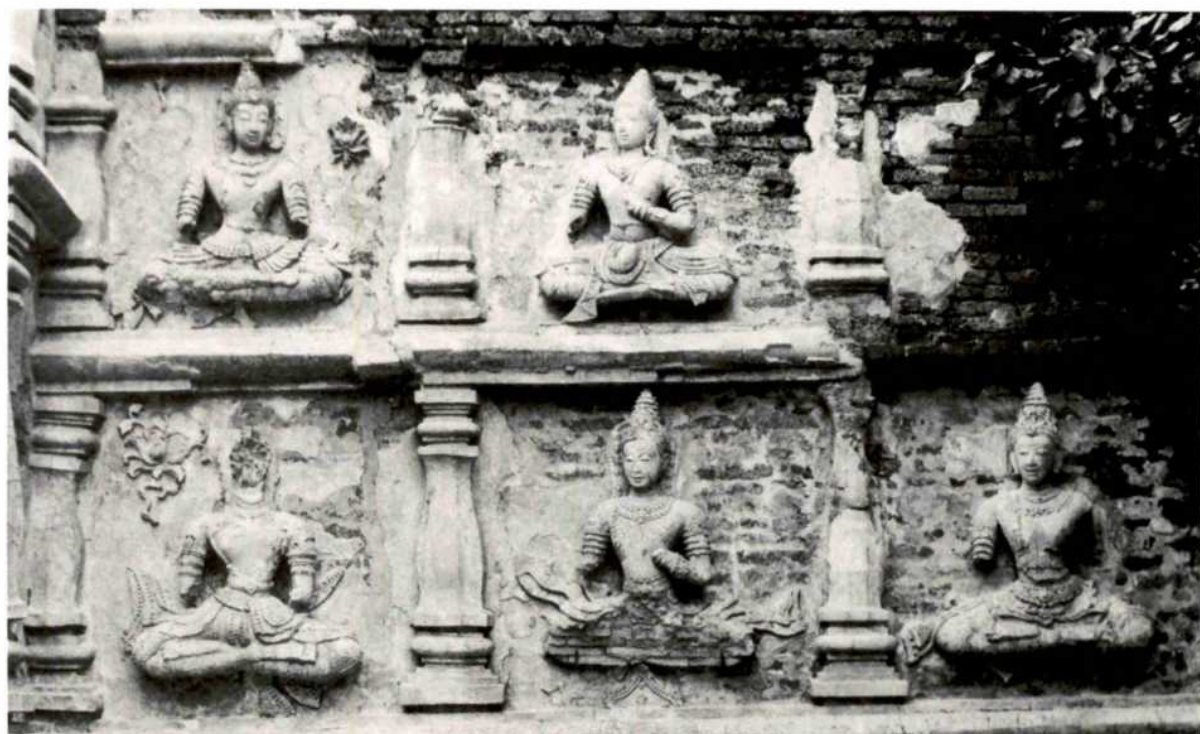
Judging this supposition, however, is not that easy. This is partly because by the 1870s and 1880s, when the earliest studies of the temple were published, much of the evidence of these early Burmese restorations was lost (particularly the stucco decoration) or was confused by

5. Detail of wall, Wat Chet Yot, Chiangmai, Thailand. 15th century. Laterite, brick and stucco.

6. Detail of figure on wall, Wat Chet Yot, Chiangmai, Thailand. 15th century. Brick and stucco.

the rather indiscriminate nineteenth-century Burmese restorations. Inscriptional evidence, however, tends to support the supposition. Kyanzittha's mission is mentioned in a Mon inscription from Prome, which says that because the temple of Sri Vajrasana (the Mahabodhi temple) had been "destroyed by other kings," Kyanzittha "got (together) jewels of divers kinds (and) set (them on) a ship with intent to build up the holy (temple) . . ."⁶ The inscription continues that the funds are to be used for supporting the upkeep and functioning of the temple as well, for digging a reservoir, cultivating rice-fields, supplying musical instruments, singing, dancing, and so on. There is no mention of sending Burmese to carry out any of these jobs, only of the funds to pay for them.

The inscription that mentions the second Burmese mission was found at Bodhgaya and states that the repairs were completed in 1295. It gives the names of two Burmese monks as comprising the mission, and says that they ran out of funds and had to appeal to a local Indian ruler for additional funding.⁷ Again, it appears likely that Burmese artisans were not being used. Cunningham reported finding Hindu masons' names on some of the bricks of the pinnacle of the central obelisk (which he considered reconstructed by the Burmese), and concluded that most of the workmen had been Hindus. But he also found one brick with a Burmese name.⁸ While no absolute conclusions are, I think, possible, we can say that the early Burmese-sponsored



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restorations were extensive but that they need not necessarily be considered Burmese in character.

There are four important South-east Asian re-creations of the Mahabodhi temple. The earliest was built at Pagan sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century, thus a century or so after Kyanzittha's Bodhgaya mission. Three were built in the fifteenth century, one in Burma and two in Thailand. The Schwegugyi in Pegu (Burma), dating to c. 1460-1470, is unfortunately mostly in ruins. The Wat Chet Yot in Chiangmai (Thailand) built at about the same date (c. 1455-1470) is, on the other hand, in surprisingly fine condition, particularly its stucco decoration. The last of the South-east Asian copies was also built perhaps at the same time, but at least before 1500, in Chiengrai, a city some 150 kilometres from Chiangmai in northern Thailand.

The Mahabodhi temple in Pagan is, of the three extant South-east Asian copies, the closest in most ways to that at Bodhgaya. (We may perhaps leave out of our consideration for now the Chiengrai temple as being the farthest from the model; I will return to it later). Both the Pagan and Bodhgaya temples are made of brick covered with stucco, whereas the Chiangmai temple is made of laterite with a facing of brick and stucco. The general proportions of the Pagan temple are close to those of the Bodhgaya temple, particularly the relative proportion of the towers to the podium; the towers of the Chiangmai temple are very much reduced in size, especially the central obelisk, giving more emphasis to the podium. The ground-plans of the Burmese and Indian temples are quite similar, while the Thai temple makes a major change by elongating the ground-floor cella into a rectangular hall and moving the major shrine to the cell of the central obelisk on the terrace. It is difficult to guess why this was done. Both the Pagan and Bodhgaya temples have cells in their central obelisks entered off the terrace. (There was actually a third cell above the second at Bodhgaya). I know of no evidence for how these upper cells were used at Bodhgaya and Pagan, but the major images were on the ground floor; the one at Pagan nearly fills the end of the chamber today. Access to the terrace and main shrine at the Wat Chet Yot is not easy, up two narrow ("their width is barely sufficient to admit a big man"⁹) stairs. A curious feature of the Wat Chet Yot shrine is that women are not allowed to enter it, or in fact to go up to the terrace. I have no idea how long this custom has been in practice. Hutchinson mentions it in 1951¹⁰ and I encountered it during my visits in the 1970s and 1980s. I would suspect it has to do with not wanting women's underclothes to be above the heads of any monks or Buddha images in the hall below, a strong prohibition in popular Thai belief.

One might, in looking at the ground-plans of the three temples, note that the east (main) entrance of the Pagan temple is very different from the entrances of the Bodhgaya and Chiangmai temples.¹¹ The Pagan entrance is made up of large abutments that are wider than the podium itself and are topped by four stupas. At one point these abutments must have supported a roof and façade of wood that is now lost, which would have given the temple a very different look than it has today. While this entrance is different from that of the Bodhgaya temple, Griswold argues that at one time the Bodhgaya temple's entrance was close in form to that of the Pagan temple.¹² The Indian temple's present entrance was reconstructed almost completely by Cunningham and Beglar in the late nineteenth century. It may be, indeed, that the Pagan temple, built about a century after Kyanzittha's mission was sent to repair the temple at Bodhgaya (that is, c. 1100), closely reflects what the Bodhgaya temple looked like after these repairs. Thus, we may be justified in using the temple at Pagan as the measure to determine how similar the present temple at Bodhgaya is to its twelfth-century form. And if so, we can conclude that the present form of the Bodhgaya temple is, with a few exceptions such as the east entrance, close to its twelfth-thirteenth century form.

Returning to the comparisons among the Bodhgaya, Pagan, and Chiangmai temples, we can point out another major difference in the Chiangmai temple: its exterior stucco decoration. Both the Bodhgaya and Pagan temples have basically the same organization and type of stucco decoration. (Here we can compare the present Pagan decoration with not only the present Bodhgaya decoration but also with the small sections of apparently thirteenth-century decoration revealed by Cunningham's excavations). On the podium there are three rows of niches filled with seated Buddha images, the larger ones in the bottom row, and separated from the upper two rows, whose niches are topped by *chaitya*-like arches, by decoration including swags and supporting figures. The obelisks are similarly divided into eight storeys, with niches and images in the lower storey, and so forth.

Figs. 1-3

Figs. 4-6

Fig. 2

Fig. 1

7. Ambulatory, Schwegugyi temple, Pegu. Modern restoration.

- Figs. 5 and 6 The stucco decoration of the Chiangmai temple has a completely different arrangement. The podium is divided into two equal horizontal sections decorated with large male adorants (not Buddhas) sculpted in stucco directly on the wall (not in niches) and separated by pilasters.
- Fig. 6 There would originally have been some seventy figures, either seated or standing. The seated images have one leg placed on top of the other (*paryakasana*), but they are not sitting on any support. They float, with the ends of their elaborate and beautifully decorated clothing flying around their legs. They must be meant to be seen as hovering in the air. Filling the space around the figures are delicate floral decorations. Perhaps these free-floating flowers are intended to be raining down from heaven, or they may be a reference to relics which are sometimes likened to flowers and are said to whirl down from the sky. Janice Leoshko has



suggested to me yet another possible association: that they are a reference to the weapons which turned into flowers when thrown by Mara's army at the Buddha while he meditated under the bodhi tree.

The standing adorants are placed in the narrow vertical spaces of the re-entrant angles on small lotuses. They wear the same elaborate clothing and jewellery and, like the seated figures, hold their hands together in adoration (*anjali mudra*). In style they, like the seated figures, are related to earlier Sukhothai period (twelfth-thirteenth centuries) images.

These heavenly adorants can possibly be identified as the gods who were observers during the confrontation between Sakyamuni and Mara at Bodhgaya. The Burmese version of the Buddha's life has the gods paying homage to the Buddha and presenting him with flowers on his victory.¹³ It is difficult to know, however, why this radically different decorative scheme was used. The building of the temple is attributed to King Tilokaraja in two reliable chronicles. The Pali *Jinakalamali*, written at Chiangmai in 1516-1517, says Tiloka began work on the monastery in 1455 by planting a bodhi tree, a sapling from a tree already growing in the Chiangmai area but one cultivated from a seed of the Anuradhapura bodhi tree in Sri Lanka.¹⁴ One might assume, considering the very different surface decoration and other differences noted above, that Tiloka did not have accurate plans of the Bodhgaya temple; some scholars feel he received his plans from Pagan. But Griswold has argued, I think completely persuasively, based on a number of details of the Chiangmai temple, that Tiloka had accurate plans and information about the Bodhgaya temple.¹⁵ For example, the towers of the Chiangmai temple are decorated on the corners with lobed designs which are clearly taken from the traditional *amalaka* design that occurs on the Bodhgaya temple's obelisks; this design does not, however, appear on the Mahabodhi temple at Pagan, suggesting that Tiloka was not copying the Pagan temple and had plans that accurately reflected the Indian Mahabodhi temple. His complete alteration of the podium's stucco decoration must, therefore, have been purposeful.

While the chronicles in Thailand are silent about where Tiloka obtained his temple plans, those in Burma that mention King Dhammacetiya's copy—built in Pegu at almost the same time as Tiloka's—specifically state that he sent a large group of artisans to Bodhgaya to make plans and models.¹⁶ It is unfortunate that Dhammacetiya's temple is so completely destroyed, but based on what remains of the ground-plan, it appears he, like Tiloka, introduced a number of radical changes.¹⁷ In what condition was the Bodhgaya temple when Dhammacetiya's artisans arrived sometime around 1460-1470? It might be assumed that it would have been in a considerably



ruined condition, yet Dhammacetiya's group was apparently successful in obtaining the information it wanted. In fact, nineteenth-century photographs and paintings show that the temple until that time was still standing. At any rate, the argument that the changes seen in the Chiangmai and Pegu temples were due to the inability in the fifteenth century of acquiring accurate plans of the Bodhgaya temple is, I feel, unpersuasive. Remember also that both Tiloka and Dhammacetiya had, if they had questions, access to the temple at Pagan which was in good condition and an accurate copy.

The chronicles and inscriptions do not supply us with much information as to what motivated Tiloka and Dhammacetiya to build their copies of the Mahabodhi temple. We are told that Tiloka was inspired by the teaching of monks who had been to Sri Lanka (Sihalabhikkus) regarding the merit accrued by someone who plants a bodhi tree.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that nowhere is the actual building of the Mahabodhi temple (Wat Chet Yot) clearly mentioned, although the shrines of the seven weeks are. Dhammacetiya's motivations are recorded as a desire to create happiness for monks living in Burma and to imitate "the kings of old who were possessed of piety," such as Asoka.¹⁹ Like Tiloka, Dhammacetiya wished to create the entire sacred area of Bodhgaya, including the seven stations, and to get accurate dimensions was certainly the immediate motivation for sending his artisans to Bodhgaya.

Fig. 7 far right Traces of the seven sites remain at both Chiangmai and Pegu.²⁰ For example, the ambulatory (*chankrama*) on which the Buddha walked during one week following enlightenment is duplicated at Pegu. It consists of the path at the ends of which are shrines with "walking" Buddha images. As it stands today, the ambulatory is modern and Donald Stadtner cautions against any assumption that its placement or organization necessarily duplicates the fifteenth-century monument. Yet, it appears to reflect the original monument, as one of Dhammacetiya's inscriptions at Pegu, set up probably at the ambulatory, says:

In the place where he walked the kings of old who had faith, beginning with Asokadhammaraja, caused to be built an ambulatory together with two caityas at the ends of the ambulatory; (they) stand even until now. In this our country of Ramannadesa [Burma], in imitation of that place, in accordance with the orientation of the sides and the dimensions (of that place?), His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant [Dhammacetiya] ordered a son . . . to erect two caityas together with this precious ambulatory.²¹

Cunningham found no traces of the *chaityas* or shrines at the ends of the walk at Bodhgaya, but it is likely, based on the Pegu evidence, that they once existed but have disappeared, perhaps because they were made of wood.

Fig. 8 We can conclude briefly our discussion of the temples by mentioning the Chiengrai temple. It is apparently modelled on the Chiangmai temple and has the same name, Wat Chet Yot, in Thai. We know that the temple was built before 1500 as an inscription dated 1500 from the temple mentions its existence. To what extent the temple as it stands today reflects this early structure is, however, a question. Much of the city of Chiengrai was rebuilt in 1844 following its destruction and abandonment due to fighting with the Burmese who had occupied the area from around the middle of the sixteenth century.²² How much of the temple is part of a probable nineteenth-century restoration must thus be determined before it can be properly assessed.

Thailand and Burma: Sculptures

At Bodhgaya the Buddha sat under the bodhi tree with his right hand extended to touch the earth (*bhumisparsa mudra*). The earth-touching Buddha as an iconographic type occurs in the art of pre-Pagan Burma, but it is not the dominant type. During this same period in Thailand, that is before the eleventh-twelfth centuries, the form is rare. Beginning, however, during Aniruddha's reign in the eleventh century at Pagan, images displaying the earth-touching gesture become the dominant type in Burma. With the founding of the Thai kingdoms in the thirteenth century, it became the dominant type in Thailand as well. The popularity of the earth-touching Buddha image in Thailand and Burma thus coincides with the crucial period beginning in the eleventh century outlined above during which Bodhgaya became a focus for South-east Asian Theravada Buddhists.

The sources for the earth-touching Buddhas in Thailand and Burma are various areas in India. Images that relate to eastern Indian works begin to appear in Thailand and Burma in the

eighth century and can be identified by sharing such iconographical traits as the finial of radiance on the *ushnisha*, cranial protuberance, the short flap of cloth over the shoulder, and most tellingly, the lotus posture of the legs. We can, however, perhaps bring the Indian sources for some of the South-east Asian earth-touching images more directly to Bodhgaya and to the period of their overwhelming popularity beginning in the eleventh century.

Some bronzes from the region around Bodhgaya are so close stylistically to images from Pagan as to be arguably from the same workshop (compare Vajrasana essay, figure 1). Susan Huntington recognized their similarity to Pagan bronzes but argued that they were indeed Indian.²³ I tend to agree with her, based not on the Buddha images themselves, however, but on their elaborate bases, as I know of no sculptures with such bases found in Burma, whereas similar bases occur in India. The similarities reveal an intimate relationship between India and Burma in the twelfth century, one probably involving Indian artists working in Pagan.

Alexander Griswold proposed an even more specifically Bodhgayan source for the most popular style of earth-touching Buddha image in northern Thailand, which he called the Lion type. Griswold argued in 1957 that the Lion type (such as in figure 10) was introduced by Tiloka during the building of the Wat Chet Yot (the Mahabodhi temple) in Chiangmai, sometime between 1455 and 1470. He suggested that a Pala style Buddha, a copy of that in the Mahabodhi's cella, was brought to Chiangmai from Bodhgaya to be installed at the Wat Chet Yot, and that with "copies" of this Indian model the style of the Lion type Buddha image began.²⁴

The idea that the origin of the Lion type of Buddha could be found in Tiloka's building of the Wat Chet Yot was initially suggested to Griswold after he undertook a survey of Buddha sculptures of this type dated by inscription and found that none could be dated earlier than 1470, thus belonging to Tiloka's reign (c. 1441-1487). While scholars had long recognized that the Lion type Buddha images were influenced by Pala sculptures, the thinking had been that they dated much earlier, going back to the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Recent excavations have in fact revealed Pala influence on northern Thai Buddha images before Tiloka's reign, and Griswold has accepted this evidence.²⁵ Furthermore, his assertion that Tiloka sent a mission (as Dhammacetiya did) to Bodhgaya is based on an informant's report of an unpublished

Fig. 9

Fig. 10



chronicle that, as far as I know, has never been found. As mentioned above, I agree that Tiloka had accurate plans of the Bodhgaya Mahabodhi temple, but this does not necessarily mean that he sent a mission to Bodhgaya, as plans could have been available in texts from Pagan, Pegu, or from earlier but unrecorded Thai missions. Griswold's theory has, therefore, been mostly rejected. Nevertheless, the late dating for inscribed images remains a puzzle unless one assumes at least an increased interest in this style of Buddha image during Tiloka's reign, an interest generated most likely by the same focus on Bodhgaya that prompted the building of the Wat Chet Yot.

Figs. 11 and 12 Small stone plaques of the Buddha's life, called *andagu* plaques in Burmese, have produced much the same debate as the bronzes discussed above as to their place of manufacture, whether India or Burma. The plaques are all small, reaching a maximum of some twenty centimetres in height. They have the Buddha performing the earth-touching gesture in the centre around which are arranged, in much smaller size, the other seven major life scenes. The sources of this arrangement are Pala period steles. Most Indian steles are much larger than the *andagu* plaques, but some are equally small. An Indian stone sculpture only fifteen and a half centimetres high was found in Thailand enclosed within a *prang* (a tower-like structure) built in 1424. It is unquestionably of Indian manufacture, represents the life scenes, and has an inscription of the Buddhist "ye dhamma" creed on the back in eleventh-twelfth century hybrid Sanskrit.²⁶ It proves that such Indian models were available to the South-east Asians.

Fig. 11 The *andagu* plaques differ from such an unquestionably Indian type as that found in the *prang* in several ways. Their stone is usually identified as being different, being a whitish beige versus the dark stone most often associated with Pala style sculpture, although most accurately with that from Bengal rather than Bihar. Actually, visual identification of stone is notoriously difficult, and the usual identification of the stone of the *andagu* plaques as dolomite (= *andagu*) may be incorrect as the Asia Society example has been found to be pyrophyllite.²⁷

A second characteristic of some of the *andagu* plaques that might be Burmese is the addition of figures representing the seven stations. The seven stations at Bodhgaya, each a place where the Buddha spent a week performing one action following enlightenment, have already been pointed out as important in the South-east Asian re-creations of the site. I have found no Indian steles that include the seven stations with the eight principal life scenes, which may indeed argue for the Burmese origin of the plaques.

Figs. 11 and 12 The two examples illustrated here have the eight life scenes and the seven stations arranged in the same way. In both, however, the seven stations are represented by only six figures, two standing and four seated in meditation. The six figures are arranged with three on each side of the central earth-touching Buddha. As far as I know, only one, that depicted under the hood of a snake (placed beside the central Buddha's left knee), has clearly been identified; Buddha was protected by the hoods of the snake Muchalinda during week six. The failure to represent all seven stations has been explained as resulting from a requirement of six figures for symmetry, three on each side. Actually, I think all seven stations are indicated and that they even follow in the proper chronological sequence.

The Buddha spent the first week after enlightenment seated under the bodhi tree: "[he] continued to remain on the throne, in a cross-legged position, with a mind absorbed in contemplation during seven days".²⁸ I think that this first week is represented by the central earth-touching Buddha image. This image already represents several different events of the enlightenment cycle: the attack by Mara's army calling the earth as witness, and the enlightenment itself. All took place while the Buddha sat without moving under the bodhi tree, and it is reasonable that the figure could also represent the first week following the enlightenment. The other six figures now fall into place. The standing Buddha to the proper left of the central Buddha's head represents the second week when the Buddha stood gazing at the bodhi tree. The third week, which the Buddha spent walking in meditation, is represented by the opposite "standing" Buddha. While representing the Buddha as walking with both arms raised in a double gesture and with the robe worn covering both shoulders, as in figure 11, is rare in other art at Pagan, it does exist.²⁹ The fourth and fifth weeks were spent seated in meditation, and are represented by the two meditating Buddha images depicted next. The sixth week, spent under the hoods of the snake, is, as already noted, at the lower left. The Buddha spent the final week again seated in meditation, at the very end of which he became hungry and received food. The last little Buddha figure, opposite the Buddha under the snake, holds

9. Buddha, Burma. 12th century. Bronze. 43 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.

10. Buddha, Thailand. Dated AD 1486. Bronze. 64 cm. National Museum, Bangkok.

a tiny bowl in his lap, an indication of his receiving food and further proof of my proposed sequence. While I have not been able to check this sequence against the figures on all other plaques, those I have examined appear to have the same sequence of figures.

On the Nelson Gallery plaque, two additional Buddha images are included, one each below the figures representing the life scenes. That on the proper left is the emaciated Buddha, to whom a shrine was dedicated at Bodhgaya according to Xuanzang.³⁰ On the opposite side is, apparently for the second time, the Buddha under the snake. In addition, the plaques have figures representing the *chakravartin*'s Seven Jewels depicted on their bases. On the Asia Society example they are, beginning on the proper right, the horse, *chakra*, minister, prince (son), wife, gem and elephant. As mentioned several times before, *chakravartin* imagery was particularly important at Bodhgaya, making its appearance on the plaques understandable.

Returning now to the issue of where the plaques were made, the style of the Buddha images also argues for a Burmese provenance. It would be difficult, I think, to argue that either of the central Buddha images in our two examples is Indian. They have large heads that tilt forward, appearing almost without necks, so that their ear lobes touch their shoulders. Their facial features are compressed into the lower half of their heads, with expansive foreheads, large eyes and long

Fig. 12

Fig. 11

Figs. 11 and 12





12

11. Buddha with life scenes and seven stations, Burma. 11th-12th century. Stone. 19.6 cm. The Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection.

12. Buddha with life scenes and seven stations, Burma. 11th-12th century. Stone. 14 cm. Gift of a group of members of The Asia Society, New York; The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.

thin lips. They touch the earth with massive, thick right arms. These characteristics contrast even with Indian images that closely relate to Burmese sculpture, such as the Fatehpur Buddha (see Vajrasana essay, figure 1), but become even more exaggerated in later Burmese images. Of course, it may be that the *andagu* plaques were made both in Burma and in India, with movement of artists and stone a possibility. Nevertheless, the evidence to my mind is in favour of Burma as a source of most of them, although their inspiration is clearly Bodhgaya.

Thailand and Burma: Votive Tablets

The final group of South-east Asian objects that relates closely to Bodhgaya is that of votive tablets. Votive tablets, usually made of clay, were extremely popular in most areas of South-east Asia where Buddhism existed. They present particular difficulties for study. They are frequently made from metal moulds that can be used repeatedly over a very long period of time, even centuries, and can be easily moved from location to location. Thus Indian moulds were taken to South-east Asia, where their use produced "Indian" art on South-east Asian soil. Furthermore, since the tablets themselves are so portable, and since so many owners are possibly involved, their presence at a South-east Asian site may indicate very little. Conclusions drawn from the tablets, such as that a particular type of Buddhism was practised or that connections to another site existed, may be incorrect.

What we can say is that many of the tablets found throughout Burma and Thailand depict the earth-touching Buddha framed within the Mahabodhi temple behind which branches of the bodhi tree extend. The largest variety is from Burma, dating to the Pagan period (eleventh-thirteenth centuries). Aniruddha, the Pagan king mentioned several times above, left votive tablets scattered all over Burma inscribed with his name; they are the only inscriptions he left. All the tablets represent the earth-touching Buddha within the Mahabodhi temple, although the tablets vary as to organization. The example illustrated represents the earth-touching Buddha

Fig. 13



in the Mahabodhi temple flanked by two bodhisattvas (Luce identifies them as Lokanatha and Maitreya) and surrounded by twenty-eight additional earth-touching Buddhas in rows, probably intended to represent the Buddhas of the past. The Sanskrit inscription at the bottom reads: "This is the work of the monarch Sri Aniruddha the divine."³¹ On the bottom of tablets of this type is another inscription in Pali written in the Mon script that reads: "This Blessed One was made by the great king Sri Aniruddha the divine, with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance".³² The making of the votive tablets by the king himself is reflected in numerous other inscriptions on votive tablets where the dedicator, often a king or queen, specifies that he or she made the tablet. Stamping out the tablets with one's own hand must have increased the merit accrued.

The earth-touching Buddha within the Mahabodhi temple that Aniruddha used on his tablets became the most common subject on votive tablets during the entire Pagan period. In one example, the Buddha is represented inside an extremely elaborate temple complete with outward facing lions on the base corners and detailed designs on the tri-lobed arch above. The



- 13. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 11th century or later. Terracotta. 16.5 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
- 14. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 11th-12th century or later. Terracotta. 16.5 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
- 15. Votive tablet with scenes from the Buddha's life, Burma. c. 12th century or later. Terracotta. 17 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
- 16. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 12th century or later. Terracotta. 17.5 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
- 17. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 12th century or later. Terracotta. 11.25 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.

inscription includes a creed in Sanskrit under the base and a Pali inscription around the outer rim that reads: "This image of the Buddha has been made by the donor, the king's favourite, the *samben* named Prince Yassa, in his longing for excellent Omniscience. May the world, together with the gods, take note!"³³

The most complicated Pagan votive tablets are those that show the eight life scenes, sometimes combined with the seven stations, just as we have seen on the *andagu* plaques. The example  Fig. 15 illustrated very clearly shows the eight scenes. It is interesting to note that the tower is rounded on the tablet, like the usual tower of Hindu temples in India and of most of the Pagan Buddhist temples, but unlike the straight-sided form of the extant Mahabodhi temples.

One of the most popular types of votive tablet at Pagan shows the Buddha in the temple, surrounded with small votive stupas; inscribed at the bottom is the Buddhist creed. A very similar tablet was found at Bodhgaya by Cunningham,³⁴ and several similar tablets are known from Thailand.³⁵ The Thai tablets that represent the earth-touching Buddha within the Mahabodhi temple are not as varied as those from Burma. I suspect the Thai examples begin later, from the thirteenth century onwards.

Finally, a second votive tablet type is found at Bodhgaya and in Thailand and Burma. The  Fig. 17 Buddha on these tablets is not, however, performing the earth-touching gesture but sits within the Mahabodhi temple in the European pose and makes the teaching gesture (*dharmachakra mudra*). Furthermore, below his feet are tiny deer flanking a wheel. What are we to make of the Buddha representing the first sermon at Sarnath being shown within the Mahabodhi temple? One detail seen in all other tablets we have discussed, however, is missing in the first sermon tablets: the bodhi tree branches. Apparently, the Mahabodhi temple tower was seen as appropriate to house the Buddha in life scenes other than the enlightenment. Were there once temples similar to the Mahabodhi built at Buddhist sites that are now lost?

Conceptual Influence

The relations between Bodhgaya and the Thai and Burmese art discussed above have tended to be direct and concrete. Bodhgaya's influence on the art of other areas of South-east Asia is more ambiguous. It can, nonetheless, be sometimes discerned, lending a direction or focus to the art that would, without reference to Bodhgaya, be difficult to explain. I will look at two examples of this more conceptual influence, one from Java and one from Cambodia.

Xuanzang presents an interesting story in his long discussion of Bodhgaya written after he visited the site in the seventh century. He says that the Buddha image in the cella was made by a brahman who shut himself inside the temple and asked that the door remain closed for six months. When it was opened early, the artist—who later in a dream was revealed really to be Maitreya—was gone and the image was incomplete. Xuanzang says that "The signs and marks (of a Buddha) were perfectly drawn. . . only above his right breast the material was not completely rounded off".³⁶ Although no Buddha sculptures have been found at Bodhgaya that appear to be unfinished in Xuanzang's terms, the legend of the image being unfinished was recounted as late as the thirteenth century by the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvamin after visiting the site.³⁷ The South-east Asian connection to Xuanzang's story is the controversial unfinished Buddha image  Fig. 18 from Borobudur in Java.

The Borobudur Buddha was reported to have been found in the central closed stupa that crowns the monument. It has elicited a long scholarly debate as to whether it was originally placed in the stupa or was placed there later in the nineteenth century. This debate appears to be now resolved in favour of its original placement in the stupa by evidence presented in 1965 by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.³⁸ Accepting, then, the image's original placement, two of its features are problematic in explaining its meaning: that it is unfinished and that it is in the earth-touching gesture. Scholars who have argued against its originality used these two characteristics as evidence for their case. The unfinished nature is difficult to explain because it is unique, and the earth-touching gesture because it does not fit with what we know of the esoteric system of the Buddhas, identified by their gestures, on the monument. An unfinished Buddha making the earth-touching gesture is, as far as I know, unique in India to Bodhgaya, and some connection with Borobudur's image may therefore be possible.

The significance of the two Buddhas may also relate. In a lengthy discussion of the Xuanzang

18. Unfinished Buddha, Indonesia. c. AD 800. Stone. About 1.5 m. Borobudur.

story, Paul Mus suggests that the unfinished area of the image was covered with jewels (a necklace?) and thus is associated with the bejewelled Buddha. He then argues that the unfinished nature indicates that the image represents Maitreya, the future Buddha, as well as Sakyamuni.³⁹ The Bodhgaya image's unfinished character—indicating a still forming, still to come deity—is probably what is meant by the Borobudur Buddha image as well. The Borobudur Buddha has been interpreted along these lines by A. J. Bernet Kempers.⁴⁰

Fig. 19 The second example of conceptual influence from Bodhgaya is seen in connection with Khmer images of the Buddha seated in meditation on the snake Muchalinda. The Buddha seated on the snake is one of the most interesting and important Buddha types developed by the Khmer. Examples first appear in Cambodia in the second half of the tenth century, becoming extremely popular particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they occur throughout Cambodia and the Khmer-influenced areas of Thailand. It was at Bodhgaya that the Buddha sat on (actually “within”, according to the textual sources) the coils of the snake king, as we have seen above in our discussion of the Burmese plaques. The immediate sources of the Khmer representations are the Muchalinda Buddhas in Dvaravati period (seventh-eleventh century) art in Thailand, which in turn are related to the art of Sri Lanka and South India. Nevertheless, an interesting alteration of the usual iconography brings us back to Bodhgaya. This iconographic change, which first occurs in the twelfth century, is to have the Buddha on the snake make the earth-touching, rather than the meditation, gesture. The earth-touching gesture, which the Buddha also performed at Bodhgaya, is clearly “inappropriate” for the Muchalinda Buddha, and occurs only in Khmer or Khmer-influenced art.

Fig. 20 Was a conflation of the two Bodhgayan events, the earth-touching episode (defeat of Mara/enlightenment) with the Muchalinda episode, intentional? There is some visual evidence that it was. The Buddha making the earth-touching gesture occurs only quite late in Khmer art, about the twelfth century. The form the Khmer earth-touching Buddha took, primarily in bronze, was to be represented within a “tabernacle”, a semi-architectural niche, topped by branches of the bodhi tree. These bodhi tree branches take a particular form and arrangement;



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the branches are thick, end in lotus-like buds, and have flame-shaped leaves. These branches stand straight upward and are arranged neatly in descending height from a central branch, usually being grouped in fives or sevens. The arrangement and shape of the branches clearly suggest those of the snake hoods over the heads of the Muchalinda Buddhas.

That the analogy was in the minds of the Khmer artists is shown, I think, by an interesting detail on a bronze in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The Los Angeles piece shows a Buddha in the earth-touching gesture placed within a tabernacle. The bodhi tree branches are unfortunately missing, but would have been attached as a separate piece to the top back of the tabernacle; there is a lug still on the back for this purpose. The drawing shows a hypothetical reconstruction of the bronze with the lost branches attached. Below each branch on the tabernacle are circular designs that descend in size from the central circle, reflecting the size

Fig. 21

Fig. 22



19

19. Buddha on the snake, Cambodia. 12th century. Bronze. 20.9. cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Phillips.
20. Buddha on the snake, Thailand. Late 12th or 13th century. Bronze. 1.62 m. National Museum, Bangkok.

and organization of the branches. These circles appear to have no explanation in the context of the earth-touching event under the bodhi tree. They do, however, in the context of the Muchalinda scene, where various circular designs are arranged in descending size on the throats of the naga heads. The artist of the LACMA bronze must have seen the bodhi tree branches as analogous to the snake hoods, implying that the two Bodhgayan events were conflated in his mind. Thus, while we cannot say how or why this happened, we can say that the merging of iconographical imagery was intentional.

Neither the Borobudur unfinished Buddha nor the Khmer earth-touching Buddha on the snake has an Indian artistic prototype on which it is modelled. Nonetheless, both relied on





21

21. Buddha under the bodhi tree, Thailand. 13th century. Bronze. 48.6 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Christian Humann.
 22. LACMA Buddha (above, figure 21) with hypothetical reconstruction of missing bodhi tree branches (drawing).
 23. Buddha under the snake (drawing).

concepts associated with the art of Bodhgaya, that is, both yield to explication only with reference to Bodhgayan artistic ideas.

Conclusion

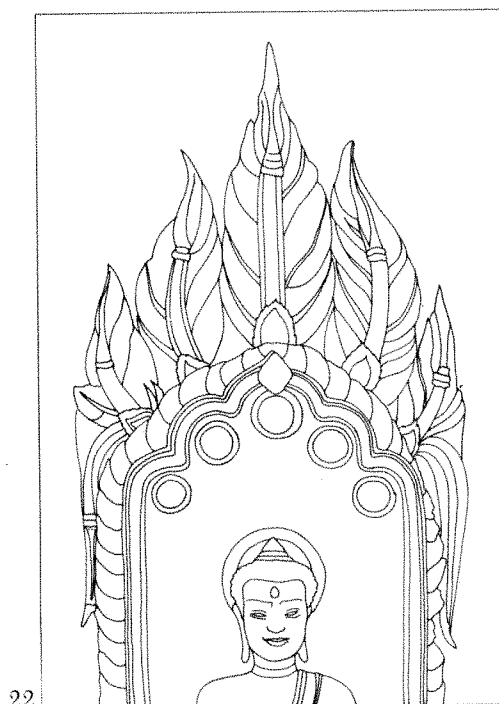
There can be little doubt that Bodhgaya had an enormous impact on the art of Burma and Thailand in South-east Asia. It began most visibly during the Pagan king Aniruddha's reign in the eleventh century, sparked, I have argued, by a focus on the historic Buddha Sakyamuni's life and teachings as being pure, an idea brought to Burma largely by the Sinhalese monks. It revealed itself initially in the votive tablets issued by Aniruddha and shortly thereafter by Kyanzittha's mission sent to Bodhgaya to rebuild and support the Mahabodhi temple. Later, in the thirteenth century, another but unidentified Pagan king built the first South-east Asian copy of the Mahabodhi temple. It is very close to the Bodhgaya temple as it existed at the time, or at least as far as we can reconstruct its thirteenth-century form today.

In the fifteenth century, the king of Chiangmai, Tiloka, and the king of Pegu, Dhammacetiya, built their own copies of the Mahabodhi temple. In both instances, the copies vary significantly from the Bodhgaya temple, although both kings appear to have had careful and detailed plans of the Indian temple.

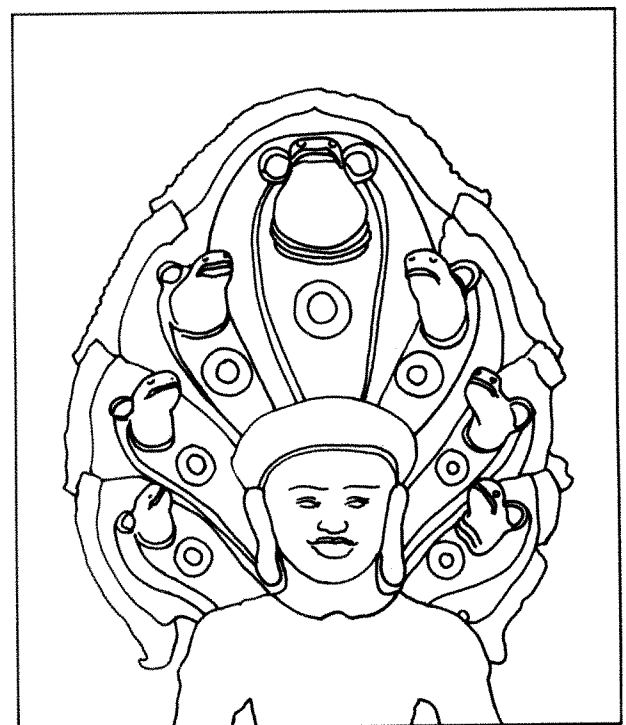
Sculptures representing the Buddha seated cross-legged (*vajrasana*) and performing the earth-touching gesture were popular all throughout this period (from the eleventh century) in Burma and Thailand. From the thirteenth century onwards this was the dominant iconographical form of the Buddha image in Thailand, called "victorious over Mara" in Thai. The Indian sources of the South-east Asian earth-touching Buddha images were primarily Pala period images. Some South-east Asian Buddhas, those that are depicted in a clear context, such as those on the *andagu* plaques, can be related directly to Bodhgaya. Ultimately, of course, all of the earth-touching Buddhas relate back to the enlightenment at Bodhgaya.

Bodhgaya has remained a spiritual focus for South-east Asian Theravada Buddhists until modern times. In 1830 the king of Burma sent a diplomatic mission to India, then governed by the British who had successfully waged several military campaigns in Burma. The delegation remained in India for three years, during which they visited Bodhgaya, discovering the Burmese inscription of the thirteenth-century Burmese mission (mentioned above), witnessing a miracle, and taking several sprouts from the bodhi tree. Later in Calcutta they requested a Pala period sculpture of the Buddha from Bodhgaya that was owned by the Asiatic Society. The mission returned to Burma having failed to negotiate a favourable political agreement with the British, but the mission was considered a great success by the Burmese because they returned with the tree cuttings and the Buddha image. In the words of the British officer, Captain Burney, who accompanied the mission:

Nothing that the Burmese Envoys had done during their absence from Ava [Burma] gave so much satisfaction to their Court or gained so much credit to themselves as



22



23

the measure of bringing this image of Gaudama into the Burmese dominions. The King and Court and indeed all the inhabitants of the City went some miles down the river to meet and escort the Image ⁴¹

As with South-east Asian visitors to Bodhgaya in the past, the relics and reminders of the Buddha Sakyamuni were brought back with honour and devotion.

NOTES

1. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* vol. II, part 6, 254.
2. Paul Mus, "Le Buddha paré. Son origène indienne. Sakyamuni dans le Mahayanisme moyen", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 28 (1928), 153-278, especially 186-187 and 272-276. Hereafter, Mus, "Le Buddha paré".
3. Mireille Bénisti, *Contribution à l'étude de stupa bouddhique indien: les stupa mineurs de Bodh-Gaya et Ratnagiri*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1981), I: 71-74.
4. Alexander B. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported" in *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume* (Colombo, 1965), 195-199.
5. Compare, for example, Prudence R. Myer, "The Great Temple at Bodh-Gaya", *The Art Bulletin* 40 (December, 1958), 294-298. Myer suggests that the four corner obelisks might also be attributed to the Burmese restoration.
6. *Epigraphia Birmanica* I, part II, 163-164.
7. G. H. Luce, "Sources of Early Burma History" in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography* ed. by C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters (Ithaca and London, 1976), 40-42.
8. A. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple Under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (Varanasi, n.d.), 28. Hereafter, Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*.
9. E. W. Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires: A Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiangmai", *Journal of the Siam Society* 39, pt. 1 (June, 1951), 11.
10. *Ibid.*, 15.
11. See ground-plans in Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", figs. 2, 9b, 12.
12. *Ibid.*, 197-198, 202.
13. P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* vol. 1 (reprint Varanasi, 1979), 91.
14. George Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 25 (1925), 111.
15. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", 206-208.
16. *Ibid.*, 186-187.
17. *Ibid.*, 209.
18. See note 14 above.
19. See note 15 above.
20. I found few traces of them at Chiangmai during visits in 1975 and 1981. Dr. Donald Stadtner informs me that he could not locate most of them at Pegu during his recent visit at the end of 1987. They are, however, discussed by Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", 212-218.
21. *Epigraphia Birmanica* IV, part I, 19.
22. I wish to thank Dr. Hans Pentth for this information. See also Sommai Premchit, Kamol Sriwichainan, and Surasingsamruam Chimphaneo, *Chedis in Lannathai* (Chiangmai, 1981), 100-102 (in Thai), who date the temple to 1844.
23. Susan L. Huntington, "Some Bronzes from Fatehpur, Gaya", *Oriental Art* N.S. 25, no. 2 (Summer, 1979), 240.
24. A. B. Griswold, *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam* (Ascona, 1957), 35-39.
25. Personal communication with Mr. Griswold. Also see Pisit Charoenwongsa and M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, *Thailand* (Geneva, 1978), 120, 161.
26. George Coedès, "Note sur une stèle indienne d'époque pala découverte à Ayudhya (Siam)", *Artibus Asiae* 22, nos. 1-2 (1959), 9-14. Apparently due to a typographical error, the height of the sculpture is put at 155 cm.
27. Susan L. Huntington, "Pre-Pala and Pala Period Sculptures in the Rockefeller Collection", *Apollo* (November, 1983), 378, note 16.
28. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* vol. I, 98.
29. See Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* vol. 3 (Locus Valley, N.Y., 1970), pl. 294d.
30. Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang* (A.D. 629) 2 vols. (London, 1884) I: 128. Hereafter, Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki*.
31. Reading based on Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* vol. 3 (Locus Valley, N.Y., 1970), 6-7.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Reading based on *ibid.*, 29.
34. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, pl. XXIV, C.
35. See *Light of Asia* ed. by P. Pal (Los Angeles, 1984), no. 11b.
36. Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki*, II: 120.
37. G. Roerich trans., *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (Patna, 1959), 69.
38. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dhyani-Buddhas of Barabudur", *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde* 121 (1965), 398-402.
39. Mus, "Le Buddha paré", 168, 262-268.
40. A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ageless Borobudur* (Servire/Wassenaar, 1976), 168-171.
41. Quoted in W. S. Desai, "History of the Burmese Mission to India", *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 26, pt. II (August, 1936), 106-107.

I would like to thank the many people who have responded to my questions and offered me advice and materials while writing this article. They include: Sarah Bekker, Dorothy Fickle, Henry Ginsberg, Janice Leoshko, Mary Linda, John Listopad, Forrest McGill, Pratapaditya Pal, Hans Pentth, Chandra Reedy, Donald Stadtner and Joanna Williams.

□

EXHIBITION PREVIEW

The Vever Collection in Washington, D.C.

Marianna Shreve Simpson

In 1980 the distinguished British scholar B. W. Robinson made mention of two fifteenth-century manuscripts with paintings in the Sultanate style belonging to the Vever Collection. At that time the whereabouts—and even the existence—of the celebrated collection of Islamic manuscripts and miniatures, amassed in the early part of this century by the French jeweller Henri Vever (1854-1942), was a total mystery; and Robinson certainly was articulating a commonly-shared sentiment when he went on to characterize, in extremely expressive terms, the Vever Collection as “that almost legendary body of material for whose renewed manifestation many of us continue fervently to hope and pray”.¹ Six years later these prayers were answered when the elusive collection was acquired intact by the Smithsonian Institution for its new Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, next to the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

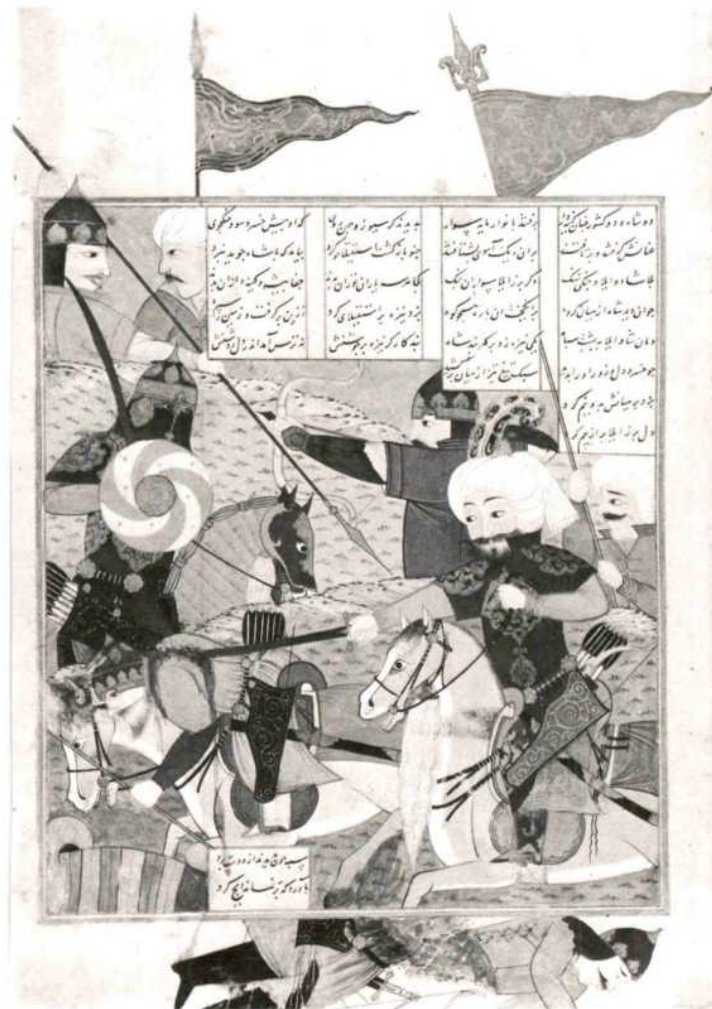
The circumstances of this outstanding acquisition—and the “rediscovery” of the collection’s close to five hundred works of art in a New York storage depot to which they had been consigned, apparently unbeknown to anyone in the field, for safekeeping at the time of World War II—makes a fascinating chapter in the modern history of collecting and connoisseurship, and has been widely reported in the international press. But what doubtless will be of even greater importance for those involved and interested in the study of Islamic manuscripts and painting is the incredible scope and quality of the Vever Collection. This can now be appreciated, essentially for the first time since 1931 when Henri Vever lent a number of his finest works to the monumental display of Persian miniatures at Burlington House in London, thanks to a splendid exhibition on view at the Sackler Gallery through April 1989. Entitled “A Jeweler’s Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the



Vever Collection” and organized by Milo C. Beach, acting director of the Sackler Gallery, and Glenn D. Lowry, curator of Near Eastern art, this show presents some one hundred and sixty highlights from the Gallery’s new holding, including manuscripts, paintings, calligraphies and bookbindings from the eleventh to the eighteenth century. It also contains material related to Henri Vever: examples of the jewellery he designed during his successful career, along with contemporary drawings of his creations, photographs and other memorabilia. The exhibition is accompanied by two informative publications which also treat

both collection and collector.² The first bears the same title as the exhibition and contains one essay on the characteristics of Persian and Indian painting, especially as perceived by European connoisseurs, dealers and scholars of Vever’s era, and another on Henri Vever himself and his activities as an art collector and as a prominent figure in the art nouveau movement. The second volume consists of an annotated and illustrated check-list of the entire collection, with an entry for virtually every object, and a series of appendices with detailed documentation of provenance, seals, and technical matters such as the type

1. “Ardawan captured by Ardashir”, illustration from the Demotte *Shahnama*; Tabriz, circa AD 1330-1340. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0103.



of paper and pigments used in Islamic manuscripts. The intention of both publications, as of the exhibition itself, is to make these eagerly-awaited works of art accessible to both public and scholarly audiences, and to encourage research into individual manuscripts and paintings. The challenge of assessing and reassessing the contents of the Vever Collection has, in fact, already been taken up by the experts at the Sackler Gallery in preparation for the exhibition and accompanying publications, and it is already clear that this rich treasure trove will serve as a catalyst for the formulation of new approaches towards the study of the Islamic arts of the book as a whole.

Certainly the collection has an adequate number of long-lost masterpieces, missing links and exciting surprises to keep legions of scholars happily at work for several generations to come. Among the most significant "rediscoveries" are eight illustrated folios and bi-folios from the so-called Demotte *Shahnama*, the great volume of the Persian national epic probably executed in Tabriz, the capital of Il-Khanid Iran, circa 1330-1340 (figure 1). The most recent study of this dispersed manuscript by Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair had to make do with partial and pre-war vintage photographs of the Vever paintings obtained from the Archives Photographiques in Paris.³ The projected revised edition of the Grabar/Blair monograph now not only can do greater justice to the reproduction of the Demotte *Shahnama* pages once owned by Vever, but also should provide new information and observations derived from the direct examination of these stellar examples of Il-Khanid painting. The Vever Collection also contains a second important cache of Mongol-period material, namely a

copy of the *Shahnama* dated 1341. Well-known but little-studied, this manuscript has constituted the linchpin for scholarly discussions of the so-called Inju school ever since Ivan Stchoukine reported in 1936 that one page, in the Vever Collection, "is decorated with an inscription according to which the manuscript was finished in 741 A.H. (1341) for the library of Qawam al-Din Hasan, vizier of Fars [province]." At long last this information can be verified, since the Vever folios do indeed include a pair of illuminated dedicatory rosettes on facing pages, giving the name of the manuscript's patron as cited by Stchoukine and the date of Ramadan 741/March 1341 (figure 2). Equally exciting has been the discovery within the Vever holdings of additional portions of the manuscript's original "front matter", including its double-page frontispiece, depicting a hunting scene facing an enthronement, and the final section of the "old preface" to the *Shahnama*, along with illuminated folios of the Firdausi's opening text cycle and illustrated folios from six other cycles.

2. "Dedicatory rosette", illumination from the 1341 *Shahnama*; Shiraz. 741 A.H./AD 1341. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0110.

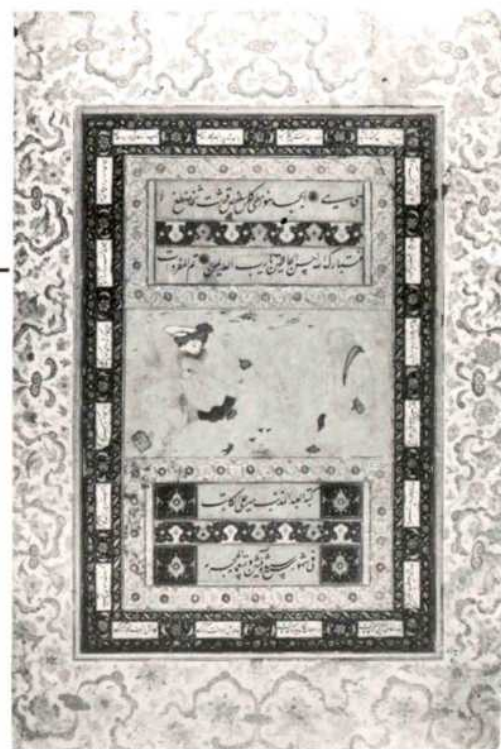
3. "Battle between Khusrau and Afrasiyab", illustration from the "Big-Head" *Shahnama*; Gilan. 899 A.H./AD 1493-1494. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0175.



It now seems possible to reconstruct the original sequence of the 1341 *Shahnameh* folios, and to begin the long-overdue process of investigating the patronage of the Inju dynasty and its leaders within the context of the early history of Persian manuscript illustration.

Those involved with later periods of Persian painting will also find much to delight in and ponder over the Vever Collection, including a double-page frontispiece, detached from an unknown manuscript, with a possible "portrait" of Baysonghur, the great Timurid prince and patron, seated in a garden; seven illustrated folios from the so-called

"Big-Head" *Shahnameh* made for Sultan 'Ali Mirza of Gilan in 899/1493-94 (figure 3); five illustrated folios from the large-scale *Falnama* (Book of Divination) thought to have been made for the Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp, circa 1550 (figure 4); and a group of detached miniatures and album paintings attributed to various court artists of the sixteenth-seventeenth century such as Aqa Mirak, Mir Sayyid 'Ali, Sadiqi and Aqa Riza (figure 5). The Vever Collection is also rich in works from Mughal India; pre-eminent here are eight illustrated folios from an album of painting and calligraphy compiled late in the reign of Shah Jahan (figure 6) and, like



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4. "Angels bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise", illustration from the *Falnama*; Iran. circa AD 1550. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0254.

5. "A Youth and an Old Man", painting mounted on an album page ascribed to Aqa Riza and surrounded with calligraphy inscribed by Mir 'Ali al-Katib and dated 937 A.H./AD 1530-1531; Isfahan. circa AD 1605. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0292.

6. "Akbar with a Sarpech", left-hand side of a double-page composition from the late Shah Jahan Album; Mughal India. circa AD 1650. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0402.



(1628-1629), which probably originally belonged to the *Padshahnama* now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (figure

It is impossible here to do full justice to the wealth and diversity of the Vever Collection. Similarly, it is impossible to underestimate its value in extending our knowledge and enhancing our enjoyment of one of the world's great traditions of the pictorial and calligraphic arts. We are indeed fortunate, therefore, that this legendary collection has finally emerged from the packing cases and into the public domain.

The exhibition can be viewed at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington D.C. from November 20, 1988 to April 30, 1989.

NOTES

1. B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library* (London, 1980), 95.
2. Glenn D. Lowry with Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection*; Glenn D. Lowry and Milo C. Beach, with Roya Marefat and Wheeler M. Thackston, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*; both publications are from the University of Washington Press, 1988.
3. Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol "Shahnama"* (Chicago and London, 1980).
4. Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous les Derniers Abbassides et les Ilkhans* (Bruges, 1936), 93.

7. "Shah Jahan enthroned with Mahabat Khan and a Shaykh", painting signed by 'Abid and originally an illustration to the *Padshahnama*; Mughal India. II Shahjahani/AD 1629-1630. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0406.

so many other Islamic master-works, dispersed in Paris in the early twentieth century. Vever at least seems to have had the first choice of the album's fabulous folios for the ones now in Washington include some of the most penetrating portraits of the elderly emperor as well as many striking marginal decorations. Another notable example of Mughal art is an enthronement scene, signed by the painter 'Abid, "brother of Nadir al-Zaman of Mashhad", and dated in the second regnal year of Shah Jahan

Title : **Artistic Form and Yoga in the Sacred Images of India**
 Writer : Heinrich Zimmer (Translated by Gerald Chapple and James B. Lawson)
 Publisher : Oxford University Press, Delhi (1985)
 Format : 22 x 14 cm; 290 pages, 54 black and white illustrations
 Price : Rs. 250.00

The German scholar Heinrich Zimmer is already well known to us for his famous two-volume work, *The Art of Indian Asia*. The book under review is also a masterpiece in every sense. Originally written in German in 1926, it generated a great deal of interest among the Germans in the psychological and spiritual significance of Indian sculpture which is inseparably linked with the science of *yantras*.

This remarkable discussion is spread over six clearly defined and lucidly written chapters. At the very outset, Zimmer points out the radical differences between Indian sculpture and Greek sculpture. Each chapter displays Zimmer's unique genius and interpretative powers. In subsequent chapters, he examines the spiritual foundations of a tradition of sacred images. He finds in the relationship between yoga and art a highly refined array of dialectics used in the Hindu tradition. 'Yoga and the Figurative Sacred Image' unfolds the spiritual world in which the Indian sacred image is firmly rooted. This spiritual world is intimately linked with the great traditions of the Hindu sects as well as with an extensive body of literary works of a more or less esoteric nature. The significant contribution of tantric literature is especially invaluable for an adequate understanding of the philosophical background of these sacred images. Zimmer pays the much deserved tribute to Arthur Avalon, also known as Sir John Woodroff, who was mainly responsible for a correct interpretation of the tantras. Before the publication of Avalon's books, it was not known that the tantric texts also help in the understanding of the formal characteristics of the Indian sacred images. Zimmer is more than correct in stating that the sacred image was used as a tool or *yantra*. He establishes the relationship between the image, the *yantra* and the mandala. This is followed by a long and meaningful discussion of the role of yoga, *sadhana*, samadhi, outward sight and inward vision in the creation of sacred images.

Zimmer quotes heavily from a large number of tantric texts to establish clearly the meaning of the sacred symbols and their religious function in daily worship. The *yantras* which are mainly linear diagrams or geometric shapes were evolved and used for worship as visual aids. This discussion of tantric *yantras*, mandalas and mantras leads us to Tibetan or lamaist mandalas which are mainly linear *yantras* containing figures of the deities. The writer has displayed superb skill in defining the relationship between these mandalas and other forms of art including temple architectural plans and superstructures. This leads us to the famous stupa of Borobudur in Central Java which is symbolically presented as an architectural mandala of the pilgrim's path. Zimmer perceives Borobudur as a mandala of monumental proportions whose purpose was to guide the spiritual seeker. It is already well known that the plan of this stupa is based on the most significant *yantra* known as the Sriyantra or Srichakra, the king of all tantric *yantras*. According to Hindu philosophy, the *yantras* are cosmic symbols and their central point, that is, the Bindu, is the still point of the universe (Siva, etc.) around which swirls the multiplicity of stars and galaxies in an ordered array.

The extensive chapter entitled 'Yoga and the Linear Sacred Image' takes into account the above discussion. In addition, it discusses the linear composition in magic and in cults, the unfolding and enfolding of inner visions, linear *yantras* containing figures of the deities, the purely linear *yantras* comprising the figurative sacred image and the linear *yantra*, the purely linear

yantra: its language of forms. The pages devoted to this discussion make interesting reading. It is an absorbing account of the iconographic features of the prominent and minor deities of Hinduism. This discussion will be useful for art historians and researchers. Zimmer brings out admirably the distinction between the linear *yantra* and the purely figurative *yantra*. But he adds that although the two differ radically in form, they serve the same purpose. They are designed as receptacles for the visualization of a god whom the believer has summoned up before his inner eye. The *yantras* are also viewed as tools of conscious transformation that enable the meditating devotee to realize complete coalescence with the object of devotion. There is an interesting and enlightened discussion on the formal elements of Sriyantra.

The canonical proportions of the craftsman's tradition preserve the technical secret of how to give the sacred image, as an external palpable object, the same characteristic quality of the inner visualizations. It serves as the focal point and surrogate during the act of worship.

All the chapters are written in an excellent style, easily readable and enjoyable. Especially the chapters devoted to proportions and the language of signs in the canon of Indian art and the place of the sacred image in the world of the believer. Indian aesthetic theory preserves the technical secret underlying the formal relationship between the figurative construct and its geometric organizing schema. Throughout, the theory basically stresses the stringent restrictions determining the form of the figurative works of art and the role artistic freedom plays within these limitations—a freedom that makes the art art and not some mechanical formulaic reproduction. As we read the book from cover to cover, the essence of Indian sacred images and their relation with yoga is brought home to us in a lucid style. Fifty years ago, Zimmer pointed out how necessary it was for an art historian to be fully conversant with tantric and religious philosophy which influenced the diverse forms of Indian art and symbols.

This book should be the prize possession of all scholars, students and lovers of Indian art. The publisher deserves our praise for making the English translation available to a wide circle of interested readers.

Subhashini Aryan

Title : **Ameer Ali on Islam**
 Editor : Imtiaz Ali
 Publisher : Amar Prakashan, Delhi (1982)
 Format : 22 x 14 cm; viii + 255 pages, no illustrations
 Price : Rs. 95.00

The history of the book under review or rather its production is somewhat intriguing. Called *Ameer Ali on Islam*, its editorship is ascribed to Imtiaz Ali who has written a two-page preface, and on the reverse of the frontispiece it is claimed to have been first published in India in 1982. But, on the other hand, the blurb blandly states that the 'Present volume is the second edition of Ameer Ali's most book [*sic*] Islamic History and Culture which was first published in India in 1978'. Incidentally, the earlier

edition bore the name of one Mr. Amar Singh as the editor, but did not contain a preface. Again, the frontispiece of the present volume and its reverse too bear the name of Amar Prakashan as publishers, but this was *on the front but not on the reverse* sought to be changed by pasting it over with a printed slip reading "H.P. New Delhi Harnam Publications 1983", which has again been stamped over in ink by "Amar Prakashan". This is indeed strange and defies common sense, even if one charitably takes it to be an unintentional affront to a knowledgeable reader of studies on Islam.

However, this has nothing to do with the book itself, the importance and popularity of which is more than indicated, at least on the face of it, by the fact that it underwent a second edition—albeit with an addition 'for the first time in the present volume', the learned writer's letters to *The Times* during 1918-1921—within a comparatively short period, in India at least, of four-five years.

Justice Sayed Ameer Ali (1849-1928), who had read Gibbon before he was twelve and other great English masters by the time he was twenty, is one of the most widely-known Indian or rather Asian writers on Islam in the West in the closing quarter of the last and the first three decades of the present century. He has been unquestioningly acclaimed by competent orientalist and Western writers on Islam as the foremost advocate of the glory of Islamic culture, as a liberal modernist interpreter of Islam, whose most significant works, *The Spirit of Islam*, 'a scholarly, comprehensive, generally sober work, altogether able to impress and convince' and *A Short History of the Saracens*, a brilliant work on the political and cultural history of Islam till the end of the Abbasid Caliphate, have been favourably received and have to date remained influential in the West as well as in Islamic countries such as Egypt and Turkey. These, supplemented by a steady stream of articles contributed to magazines both in India and abroad, especially in Great Britain, were instrumental in creating and fostering a favourable appreciation of Islam in the West as also among educated Muslims of the Indian subcontinent and some other Islamic countries.

The present volume contains articles written between 1891 and 1928 on such subjects as Islam and women, Islam and Christianity and its Christian critics, the Caliphate, Islamic culture in the Indian subcontinent, the relevance of Islam in modern times and the necessity of reforms in Islamic jurisprudence. Ameer Ali has discussed all these topics with the thoroughness of a scientific approach, and a masterly command over the English language. His orthodox and yet progressive views on polygamy, divorce and the purdah-system among the Muslims did more perhaps than anybody else to move even the conservative section of the Muslim society to accept and support some of the positions he took up. It is indeed a tribute to his learned and authentic forceful expositions of Islam that Ameer Ali is best remembered today as a modernist liberal writer on Islam, and through his activities in other fields—as a Professor of Islamic Law, at the Bar, on the Bench, in social service, government administration and politics. He also wrote a number of books on Anglo-Mohammadan law and other legal subjects; very few knowledgeable scholars even know that he had edited and published in four volumes, an Urdu translation entitled *Ainul-Hidaya* of the famous Hanafite law-work *al-Hidaya*, initially prepared by a group of Hanafi Ulemas (vide *Appendix to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Dacca vol. IV [1959], 96).

One should have expected from the editor of the book under review, who has already made his mark as a social historian, an evaluation in greater detail than what has been done in a very brief introduction and comment on Ameer Ali's views, particularly

on the burning issues of the present-day Muslim society of the subcontinent, for example, personal law and its relevance to or impact on, if any, the current thinking of the various sections of the community. The editor could have also corrected factual lapses, albeit not many, of the book, to name only a couple of these: Nawab Sikandra Begam of Bhopal (p. 71) instead of Sikandra Jahan Begam; a Quranic verse stated to be a saying of the Prophet (p. 73); and so on.

The book has, comparatively, a large number of printing mistakes. Careful proof-reading could have avoided errors, at least of names of writers, poets and books. At quite a few places, there appear more than one mistake on a single page and in quite a few instances sentences have either remained incomplete or grammatically incorrect.

Lastly, one would have wished that the dates of publication of the articles (which have been given in the list of contents) were given, along with the names of the journals in which they were published, at the end of the article concerned.

In spite of such editorial errors, the publishers do deserve to be credited for facilitating the study of various aspects of Islam by making available another edition of the articles by a brilliant and foremost authority on Islam.

Z. A. Desai

Title	: Tanjore As a Seat of Music
Writer	: Dr. S. Seetha
Publisher	: University of Madras, (1981)
Format	: 16 x 24 cm; viii + 654 pages, 12 black and white illustrations
Price	: Rs. 40.00

Tanjore district is hailed as the cultural bowl of the south. It owes its importance mainly to the fertility of the soil enriched by the waters of the perennial Kaveri River whose bounty has left its profound influence on those that inhabited the region. From the Sangam age—the third century BC—Tanjore has been the greatest centre of learning, music, dance and art traditions, fostered by thousands of temples dedicated to various gods. Rightly did the greatest of the Carnatic music composers, Saint Thyagaraja, pay tribute to this area as the most beautiful land in the world with the Kaveri River flowing, fulfilling the desires of all, touching shrine after shrine, and worshipping deity after deity, with holy men paying obeisance to her on either side. From recorded history the Chola dynasty is the earliest associated with it and it is called the Chola land even seven hundred years after the total eclipse of that dynasty. The great bhakti movement headed by Saivite saints and the Vaishnavite Alvars with thousands of melodious songs addressed to the presiding deities of the temples concentrated particularly in Tanjore district, turned the area into a land of devotional music. In the period between the ninth and thirteenth centuries when the Chola rule was at its zenith, the Chola emperors, their queens and the nobles under them contributed immensely to monumental art and architecture. Especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries and under Aditya, Parantaka, and Raja Raja

he greatest stone temples with delicate sculptures were built. Inscriptions attest that these institutions were endowed with highly accomplished musicians and dancers. Raja Raja's contribution to music and dance is unparalleled and deserves a separate dissertation. When the Cholas were uprooted towards the end of the thirteenth century and until about the end of the fifteenth century, the arts, literature, music, dance, that grew, flowered and reached their zenith, lost their vitality and gradually lost their hold. With the advent of the Vijayanagar emperor Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1529), an era of renaissance was heralded. Barring the art forms that had disappeared, the waning ones gained some strength and survived, at times recapitulating their forms, at times modified or altered by incoming traditions. Music and dance being essentially performing arts, many of their forms can be understood only from practising traditions. Any attempt to trace the history of Carnatic music can thus begin only from the present and be traced back. It is therefore appropriate that Dr. Seetha has chosen to deal with the growth of music for the past three centuries with Tanjore as its centre. She has been fortunate in having the late Professor Sambamurthi, the doyen of Carnatic music, as her guide.

Dr. Seetha has based her study on the valuable source material available in the Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Library. In seven chapters, beginning with the historical backdrop, the scholar traces the history of the patrons of music, the music composers, their contributions, the evolution in musical forms, the compilation of scientific treatises on music called 'Lakshana Grantha', and the role of Tanjore. The subject being purely technical and difficult to present in writing, the scholar has chosen an absorbing and lucid style and has done yeomen service to the history of Carnatic music. The data collected is voluminous and the writer has maintained a balance in the presentation of her subject-heads. Dr. Seetha has also acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu, essential for any dealing with a subject of such a complex nature. This adds greatly to the richness of her thesis. Many important facets of Carnatic music are placed in their proper historic perspective and in that sense this work is a very valuable source book for future researchers in the field.

In the seventeenth century, the Nayaks were the rulers of Tanjore, while the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the rule of the Mahrattas. A point of interest is that almost all the rulers of this period were not merely great patrons of music and dance, but also were themselves great musicians and authors of several musical compositions and dance dramas, a very rare phenomenon in the history of a State. This indicates the prevalent atmosphere of the royal court. It seems that not only had a king to undergo in his youth rigorous training in warfare and statecraft but he also had to undergo intense schooling in music, dance and literature.

The most outstanding personality among the Nayaks of Tanjore was Raghunatha Nayak (1600-1630) who was a mighty conqueror, an able administrator, a great devotee of Rama, an eminent musician and an erudite scholar, unrivalled among the seventeenth-century rulers of South India. As a youth he recited his maiden performance in the court of his father. Raghunatha was not only a great musician but also a dancer. With the blessings of his preceptor and minister Govinda Dikshita, he wrote a treatise on music called Sangita Sudha and invented new ragas like Jayantasena, and a new tala, Ramananda. The vina was perfected by him with twenty-four frets and named Raghunathendra vina, which is now used by all musicians. He composed several dance dramas in Telugu and Sanskrit which were enacted in his presence. He also distinguished himself as a teacher of music; the great Yagnanarayana Dikshita mentions that he learnt music from the ruler. It must be said that the present flourishing state of

Carnatic music owes much to Raghunatha Nayak and his preceptor Govinda Dikshita who may be called the twin Sangita nidhis. His son and successor Vijaya Raghava Nayak was also a great man of letters and a composer of dance dramas and *prabandhams* in music. The available account on him by historians is a distorted picture of a weak ruler under whom everything suffered. Such evaluations are mainly based on successes or failures in wars and battles, but pay very little attention to achievements in the field of culture. Dr. Seetha's work shows in an excellent manner the flourishing state of music and dance under Vijaya Raghava, which calls for an immediate revision of the history of the age.

Among the Mahrattas of Tanjore, Serfoji II (1799-1833) has been eulogized by most of the scholars but from a careful analysis of the historical data available, Shahaji I (1683-1713) stands out as the brightest star excelling in all fields of activity and aesthetic taste. As a critical historian, the present reviewer would place Shahaji's achievement far above that of Serfoji II. Dr. Seetha's evaluation of Shahaji is quite fittingly based on the available records and compositions preserved in the TMSS Library and she vividly portrays his personality. Shahaji was a great devotee of Lord Thyagesa, the presiding deity of Thiruvavur, on whom he composed several dance dramas and *padams*. Over twenty-two musical dance dramas and two hundred *padams* composed by him are known with his *mudras* Tyagesa. The Sankara Pallakki Seva Prabandha, a dance drama of lyrical quality and devotion, was enacted till recent times in the Thiruvavur temple. It is the earliest Geyanataka in Telugu in the history of South Indian music. In his Pancaratna Prabhandha he cleverly introduced five of his court artists, including two dancing girls and one Nattuvanar, who are portrayed as visiting Kailasha where Lord Siva sends his blessings to Shahaji through them. He was a great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu and Persian besides being an erudite scholar in his own mother tongue, Maharatti. He invited several well-known Hindustani musicians to his court. Many songs in the mode of "Gitagovinda" were composed in his court. Tulaja, a brother of Shahaji, composed a great treatise on music, Sangita Saramrita. It is from his time that Hindustani *sangita parampara* became very popular in Tanjore. Dr. Seetha offers interesting data about payments made, in the courts of the Mahrattas to dancers and musicians, as found in the modi records.

The chapter on musical composers of the age is of great value as it not only gives the account of great composers and their significant contributions but also brings to light many hitherto unknown musicians. The galaxy of musicians listed which includes such names in the field of music like the music trinity, Thyagaraja Swamy, Muttuswamy Dikshitar and Shyama Sastri, the *pada* composer, Kshetrajna and the authors of the authoritative treatises on music, Raghunatha Nayak (Sangita Sudha), Venkata Makhin (Chaturdandi Prakasika) and Tulaja (Sangita Saramrita) shows that these centuries mark a creative age in the field of music and dance.

The chapter on developments in the sphere of musical forms is technical and could be handled only by experts in music. Dr. Seetha herself being a musician has been able to present the subject without any pedantry. She discusses the emergence of the raga concept and the birth of the musical composition, called 'desi', the subtle differences among *padams*, *kritis*, and *kirtanams*. Saint Thyagaraja defines the *kriti* as a song of worship (*bhajan*) with vedantic concepts and devotional fervour. It should have relevant *yati visrama* and *navarasas* and must be sung with devotion, elegance and *svara sudha*. Dr. Seetha has some important points to make regarding the evolutionary stages of the *kriti*, distinguishing it from the *kirtanams* with illustrations of composers like Thyagaraja, Dikshitar, and Shyama Sastri. The writer also points out the role played by *anupallavi* in *kritis* and its dispensation in *kirtanams*. *Jatiswarams*

and *swarajatis* play a significant role in dance rituals. Some structural changes undergone during this period in this sphere form the subject-matter of a well-organized sub-section in this thesis. Similarly *varnams*, *padams*, *javalis* and *tillanas* which came to play a great role in the last three centuries are also discussed. The advent of Mahrattas brought Mahratta musical and poetic forms, specially in the field of *bhajans* and *katha kalakshepams*. Such compositions like *arya*, *saki*, *dindi*, *ovi*, *abhangas*, *lavani*, and *pada* became popular in Tanjore, and their adaption forms a fascinating portion of this thesis. Such forms were soon adopted for Tamil compositions, for example Gopalakrishna Bharati in Nandanar Charitam uses Mahratta forms like *dhora*, *khatga*, *lavani* and *tukkada*. This and the next chapter on Lakshana Granthas contain valuable information for musicologists.

Dr. Seetha's researches clearly define the term *chaturdandi* representing *alapa*, *thaya*, *gita*, and *prabhandam* while a different version is given by another writer who names them as *sthai*, *arohi*, *avarohi*, and *sanchari*. Venkata Makhin, the author of Chaturdandi Prakasika, is considered the father of modern Carnatic music as he for the first time analysed and formulated the seventy-two *melas* on the basis of twelve *svarasthanas*. Dr. Seetha devotes considerable attention to the concept of the *mela*, the difference between the *mela* and *janaya* ragas and the latter's inseparable connection with the *mela*. The *mela* is defined as the regular and homogeneous arrangement of seven *svaras* with uniform ascent and descent, characterized by absolute pitches, definable in terms of vina pitches. While the *mela* is the scale form of anatomical structure, capable of being indicated by ascent and descent of the *svaras* and the interval between them, the raga stands for the total expression, with a definite sound picture capable of evoking a specific melodic mood. Dr. Seetha considers the concepts of *mela* and *janaya* raga flexible from the practical musical point of view, to which later writers gave rigidity. The Mahratta rulers Shahaji and Tulajaji did splendid service to music by standardizing the raga *lakshana*. An unpublished manuscript in Telugu in the TMSS Library is an invaluable work by Shahaji which enumerates twenty *melas* and groups one hundred and twenty-two ragas under them.

The history of the vina is another fascinating chapter. Dr. Seetha discusses this under different heads like the concept of frets, their functional significance, the number of frets used in different vinas, the shape and the make of the frets, the principle of fretting, etc., from an historical angle. The following points brought out as a result of this research are of immense interest to lovers of music and dance. Hindustani ragas like Jogi, Asaveri, Belavel and Brindavani in the compositions of Giriraja kavi praising Shahaji and Serfoji show that with the advent of the Mahratta *bhajan* and *kirtan* style of singing, Hindustani music became more popular in the south. Words of salutation to the kings, like *salam* and *salamure*, are made use of in a large number of *padams* from this time. The credit of composing songs with the divisions *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *garana* goes to the Talapakkam composers. The earliest available *jatisvara* are those of the Tanjore quartet who were responsible for systematizing the dance concert programme. Saint Thyagaraja pays homage to Namadeva, Gnanadeva, Jayadeva, Tukaram and Narayana Tirtha in his 'Prahlada Vijayam'. South Indian 'Hari Katha Kalakshepam' emerged in its present form in the Mahratta period. When Samartha Ramadas established his *matha* in Tanjore in the late seventeenth century he laid the foundation for the North Indian kirtan in the State. The *mathas* established in Tanjore, like "Bhimaraja Goswami Matha", "Govindabala Swami Matha", "Joliram Goswami Matha", "Sri Annaji Bhava Matha" and "Sethu Bhava Matha" helped in furthering instrumental and vocal music. Veerabhadraia, till now known as the composer of "*svara jati*", is also found to have been the earliest composer of *ragamalika*,

varnams, and *tillana*. The origin of *javali* can be traced to the *sringara padas* of the court poets of Tanjore in praise of their patrons and also the influence of Hindustani music.

Such a valuable contribution to music by Dr. Seetha suffers from a minor nevertheless perceptible shortcoming in that it approaches the subject with reverence rather than a critical appraisal of each composer. Not that Dr. Seetha has failed to note certain shortcomings, for example, while speaking of the *mela* formulated on the basis of twenty-two and twenty-four *svarasthanas* she states that they are of mere academic interest, but those based on the twelve *svarasthanas* have both theoretical and practical significance (p. 576). However, what strikes a reader is the high praise showered on almost all the composers, at least some of whom owe their names more to court patronage than to the greatness of their work. Some of the compositions are not only devoid of delicacy but also rhythmically and naturally failed to appeal. According to the present reviewer there was a general decline and deterioration and a trend towards over-ornamentation and cumbersome and complicated grouping of ragas—a trend that is noticed in other fields as well, like architecture, sculpture, painting, literature, and also dance as gleaned from illustrations. Except for a few outstanding personalities like Thyagaraja and Shyama Sastri, and Dikshitar and Gopalakrishna Bharati in Tamil, other exponents represent the trend of the age. Dr. Seetha's work will however remain a basic and important treatise on Carnatic music as it furnishes chronological perspective to most of the important developments in the last three centuries.

R. Nagaswamy

FIGURE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Suresh Cordo

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Vajrasana Buddha. c. 11th century. Stone. About 1.20 m. In the Mahabodhi temple compound, Bodhgaya.

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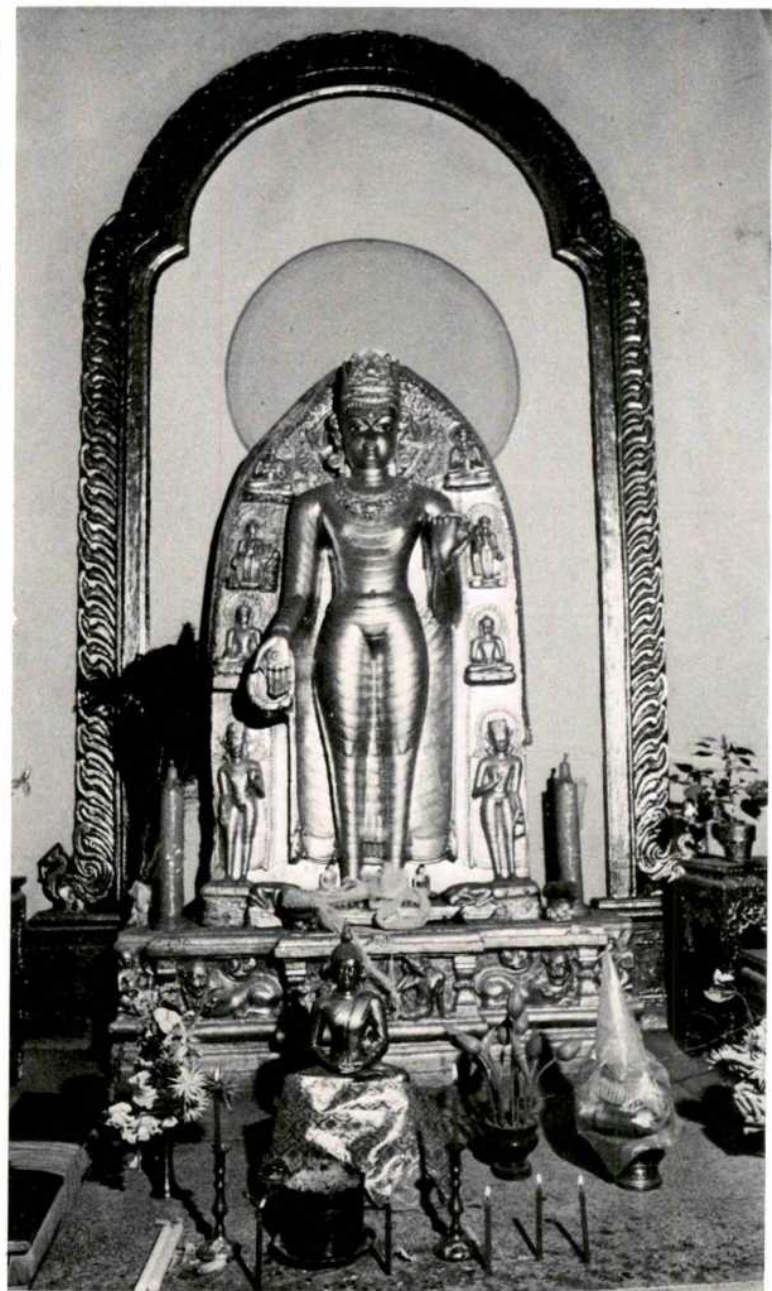
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Buddha sculpture installed in the shrine in front of the Mahabodhi temple. 10th century. Stone.



Painted image of crowned Buddha. 11th century. Stone. 3 m. Second storey shrine of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



Simhanada Lokeshvara. 11th century. Stone. Mahant's compound, Bodhgaya.



Detail of Maitreya from Buddha sculpture on the landing of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



Uma-Mahesvara. c. 9th century. Stone. Under a tree, north of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



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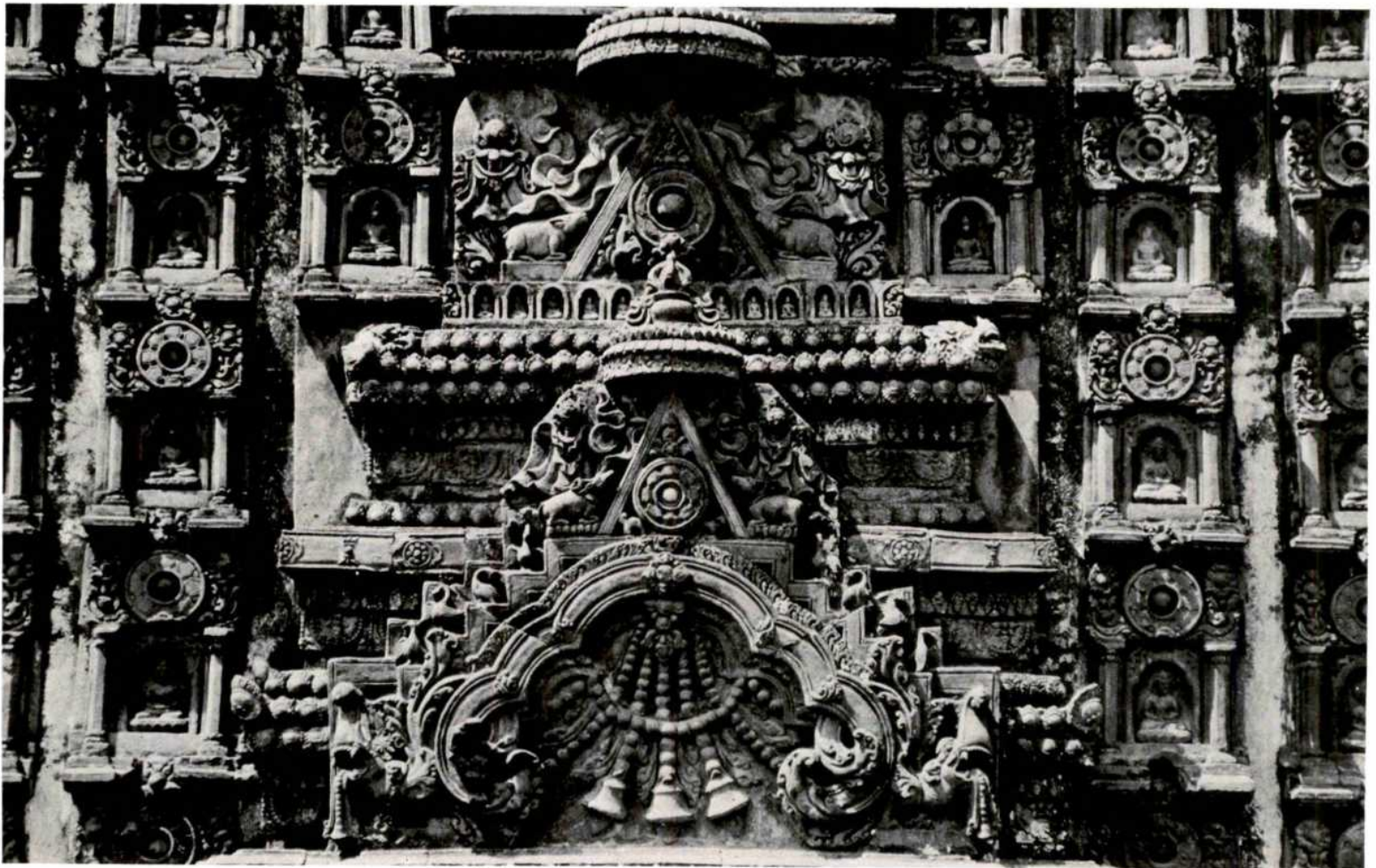
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Mahabauddha temple (detail), Patan, Kathmandu valley, Nepal. Constructed late 16th century. Brick, stone and terracotta.

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Painted six-armed Avalokitesvara. 9th century. Stone. In exterior niche of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



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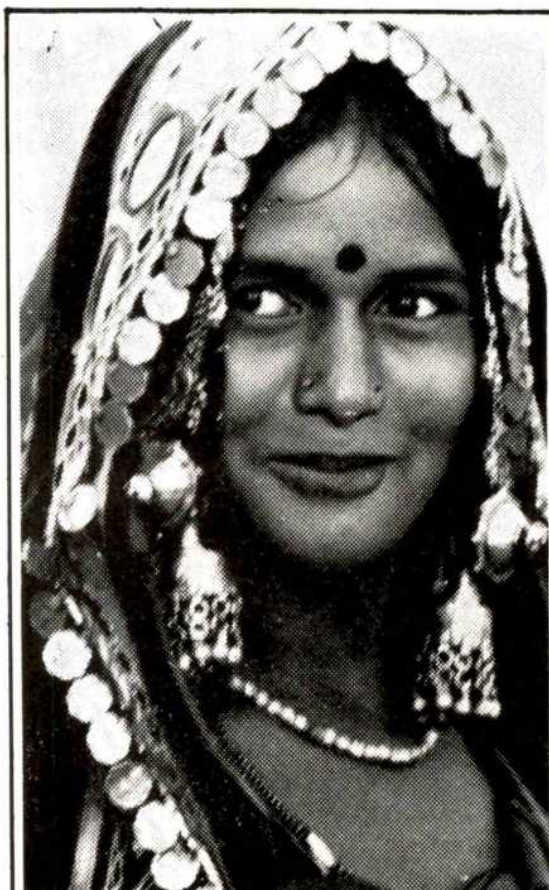
Shrine image, Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.
Buddha in main shrine, late 10th century. (In worship).

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Detail of gateway in front of the Mahabodhi temple,
Bodhgaya. 8th century.



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View of votive stupa in the north-east section of the Mahabodhi temple compound, Bodhgaya.

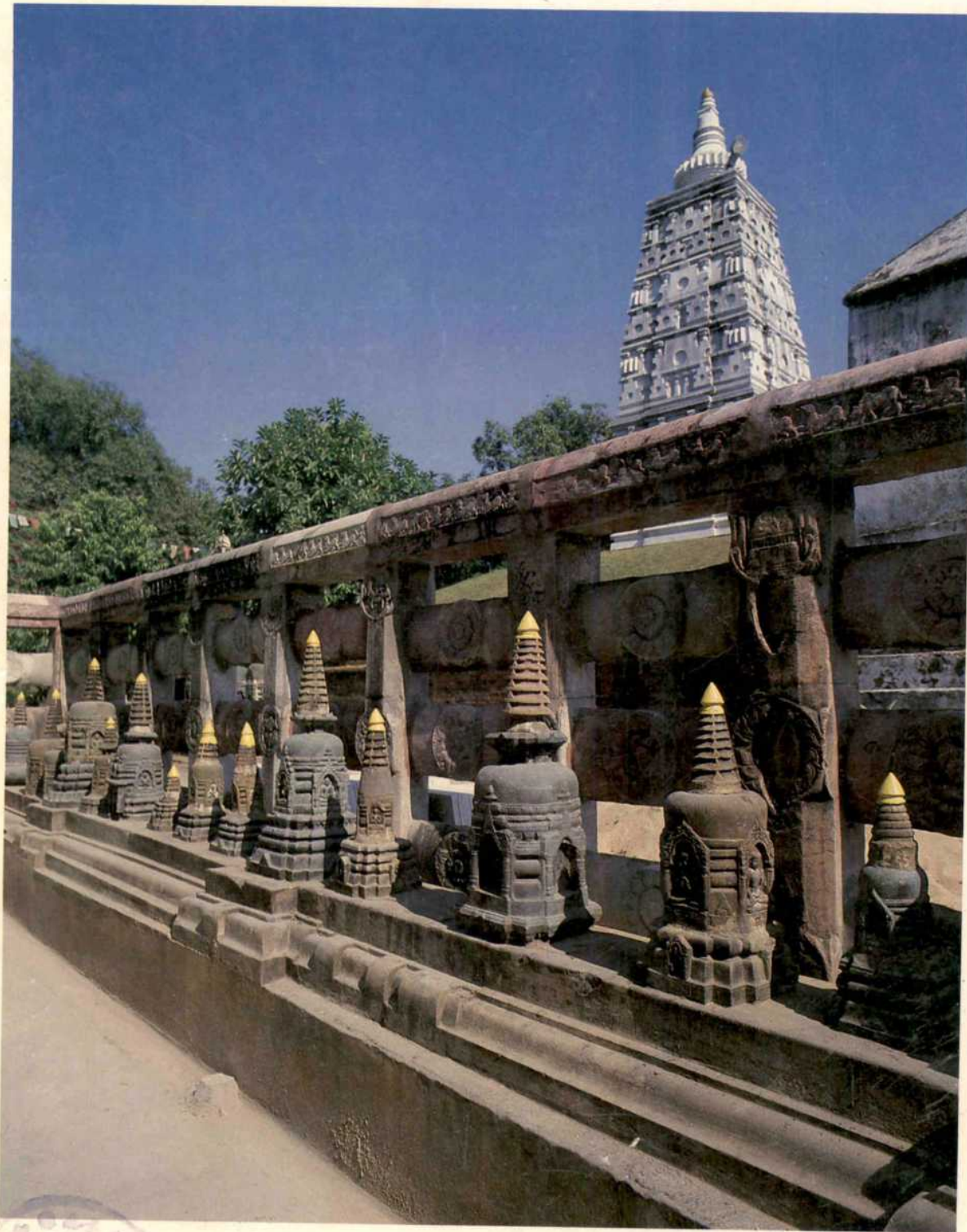


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View of votive stupas in front of the Mahabodhi temple. Stone. Bodhgaya.

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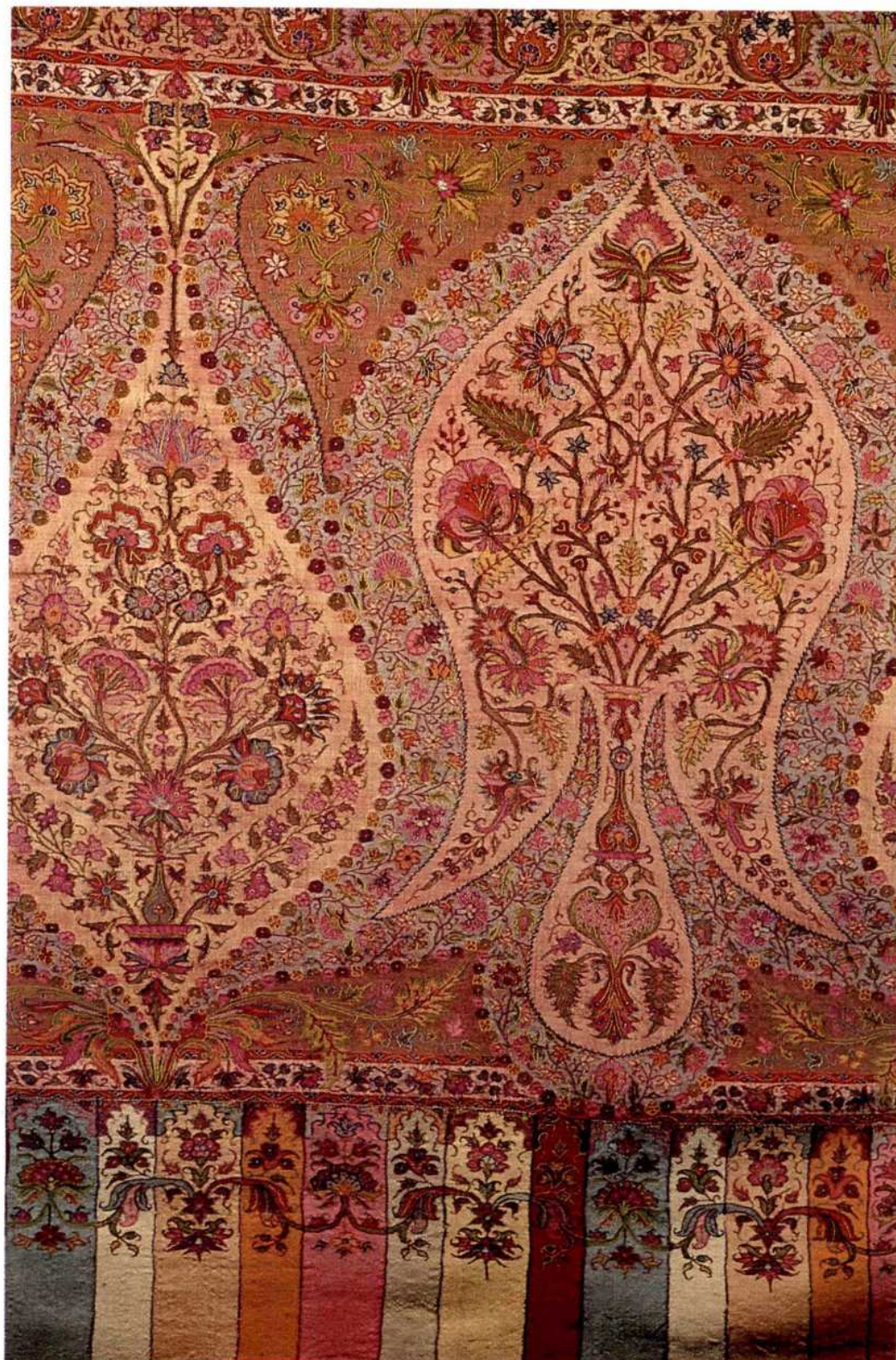
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Plaque with stupa, Kashmir; stone. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

Tile with man carrying pots and a woman carrying a bowl, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

Buddha Sakyamuni or Akshobhya, Kashmir; ninth century; brass; 20.3 cm. Private Collection.

Buniar temple.

Padmapani, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

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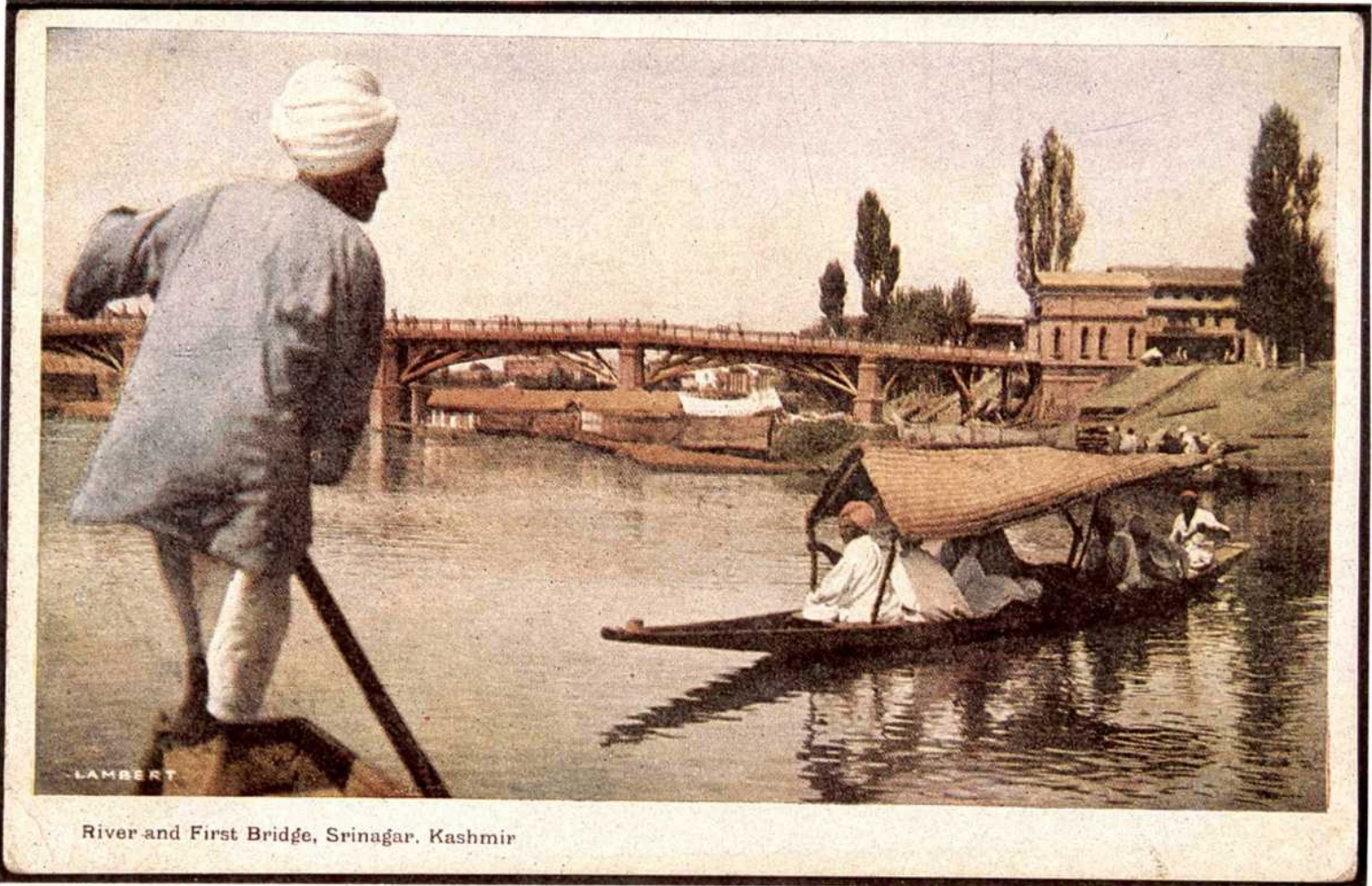
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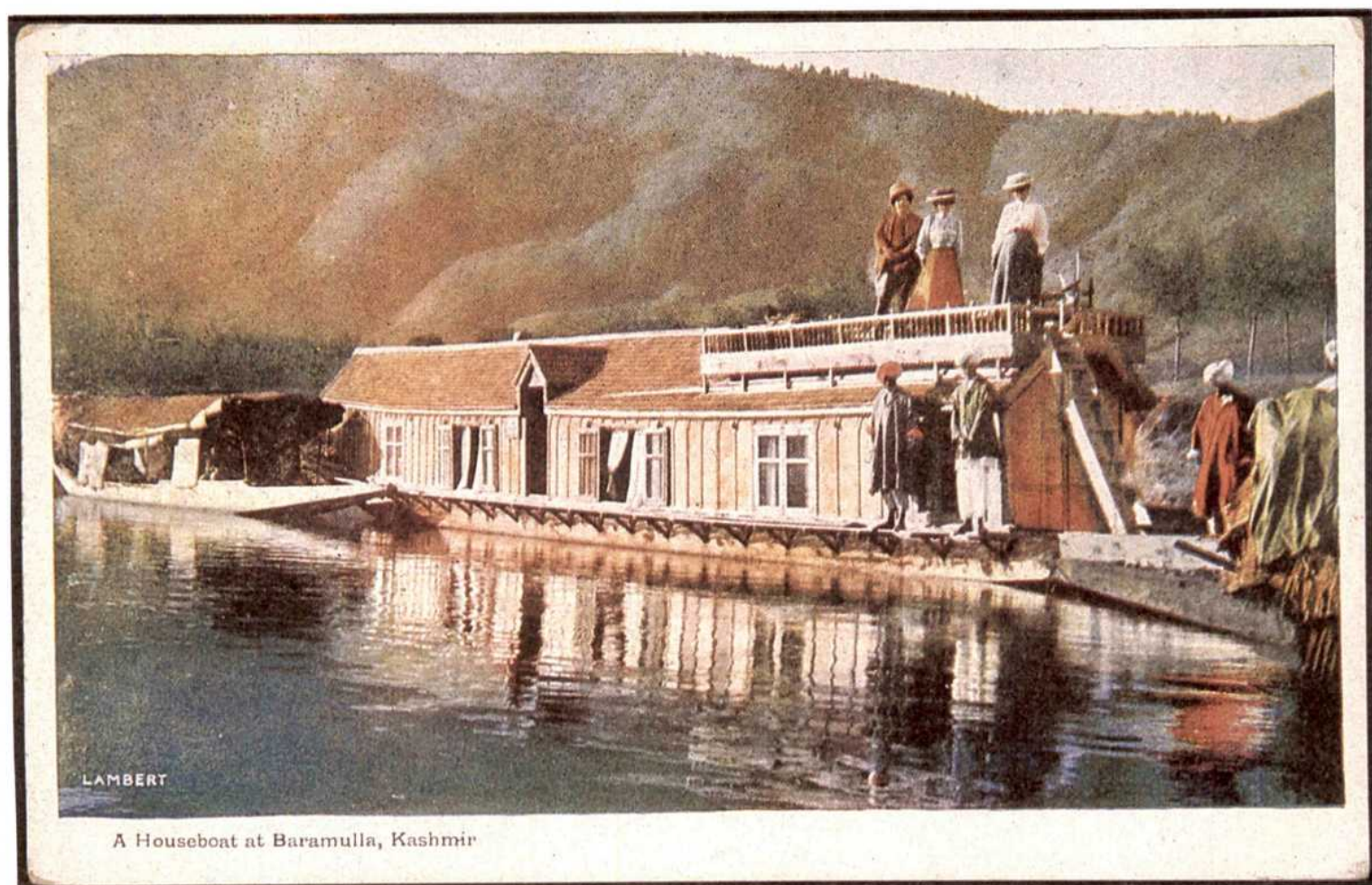
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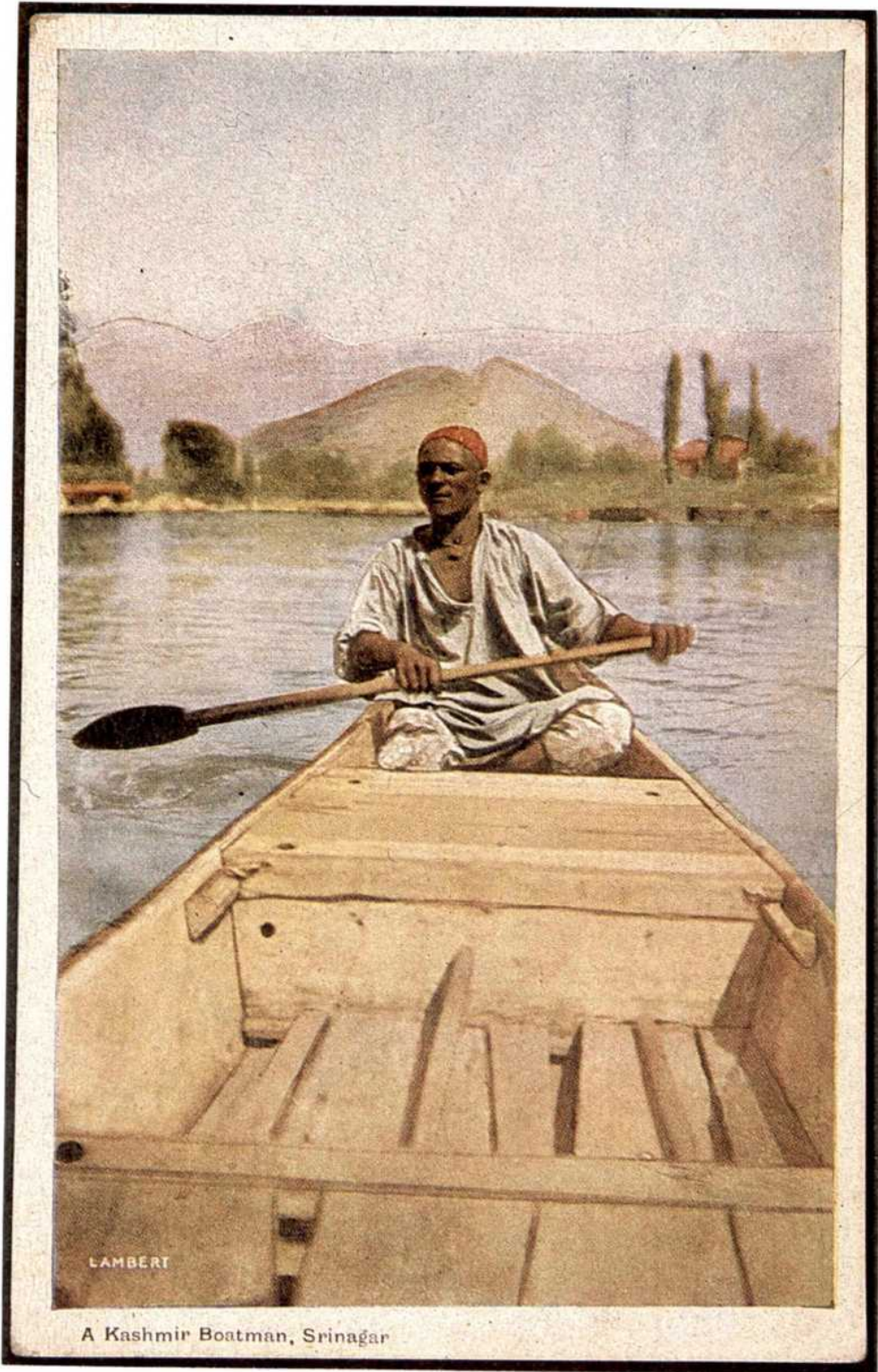
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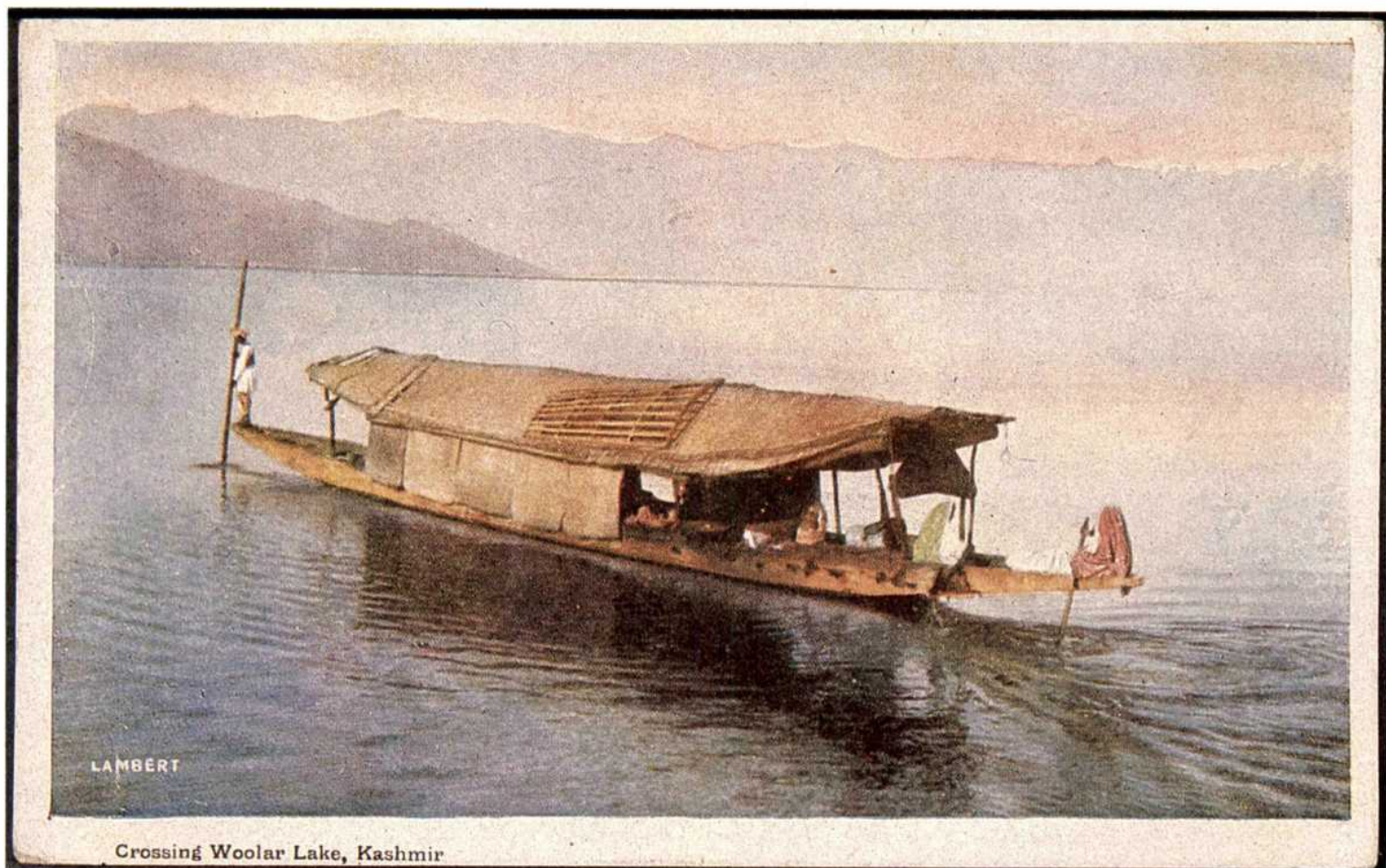
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Crossing Woollar Lake, Kashmir

The Enigma of Harwan

Robert E. Fisher

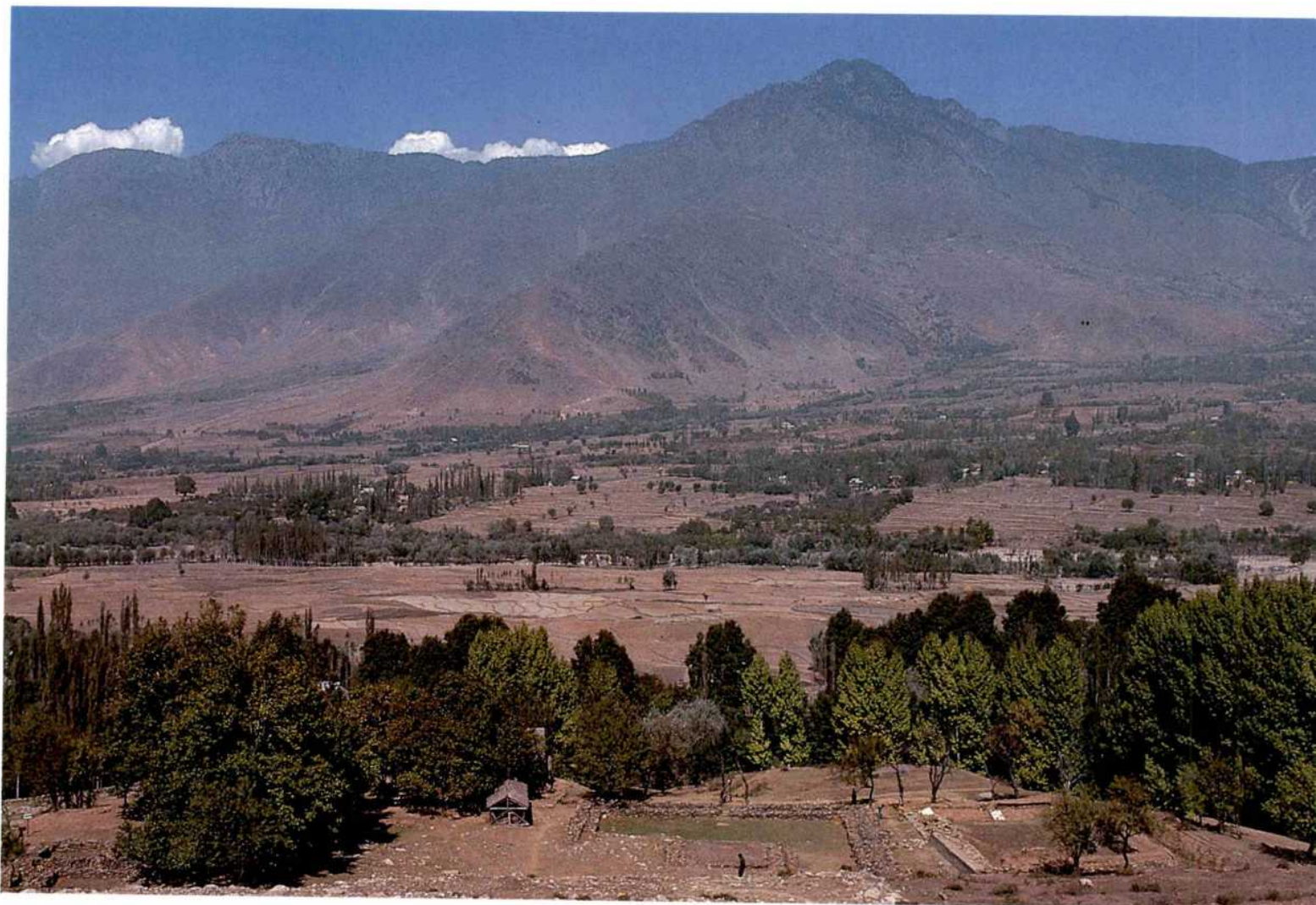
While the Mughal emperor Jahangir's Shalimar gardens in Kashmir continue to enjoy popularity, few visitors proceed further around the hill to visit the ancient ruins of Harwan, where, over a thousand years before Jahangir, some equally perceptive though unknown person selected the dramatic hillside location to build a monastic establishment. This site remained hidden under rock and landslides until the early years of the twentieth century when an excavation revealed remarkable finds that indicate several unusual, perhaps unique, aspects of early art and architecture in Kashmir. In addition to several ruined foundations, the greatest number of objects recovered from the site consists of terracotta tiles, modest in size but rich in pictorial imagery and unlike any others known. It is the presence of these tiles that not only contributes to the unusual interest of the architectural arrangement of Harwan but also to its fascinating mystery.

All reports refer to Harwan as Buddhist and there is ample evidence of this association with the site. The lowest terrace contains the remains of what was once a stupa and scattered about this area were fragments of terracotta statues of Buddhist images. Several smaller foundations may be the remains of viharas, the residential quarters for Buddhist monks. Small terracotta and stone plaques, bearing likenesses of Buddhist stupas, were also found among the ruins. Fig. 1

In a note to his translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Stein equates this modern Harwan with Kalhana's Sadarhadvana. According to Kalhana: "And a Bodhisattva lived then in this country as the sole lord of the land, namely the glorious Nagarjuna, who resided at Sadarhadvana."¹

Stein's identification of Sadarhadvana with modern Harwan is based upon the earlier interpretations (by other scholars) of Kalhana's work, which placed it near the Shalimar gardens, as well as Stein's own awareness of artefacts being found near Harwan village as the Srinagar waterworks were being constructed. The name Nagarjuna, one of the early masters of Buddhist philosophy and the founder of the Madhyamika school, is mentioned only once again by Kalhana, and Harwan (or Sadarhadvana) is otherwise unknown in the literature of Kashmir, including the records of Chinese visitors. Very little is known of the life of Nagarjuna, beyond the likelihood that he lived in the second century in the region known today as Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh. His visit to Kashmir is not improbable, but there is no independent evidence to corroborate Kalhana's statement.

All the Buddhist remains at Harwan were found about the lower terraces, but as one



1. View from upper terraces at Harwan to valley beyond.

2. Apsidal temple upon highest terrace at Harwan.



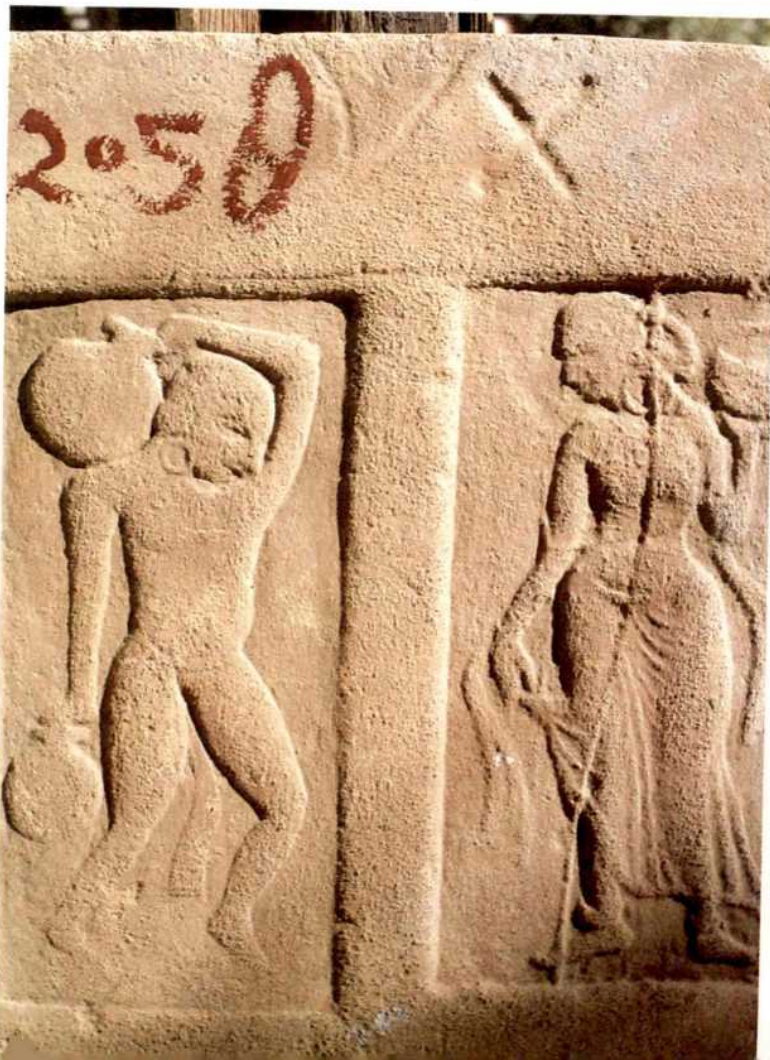
3. Plaque with figures, Harwan; third-fourth century; red terracotta; 52 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Given in memory of Christian Humann by Robert Hatfield Elsworth.





4. Pavement and platform at apsidal temple, Harwan. (After D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* [Calcutta, 1980], pl. 85).

5. Tile with man carrying pots and a woman carrying a bowl, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



6. Tile with hunter and a deer, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



climbs higher the iconography becomes more intriguing. Upon reaching the highest terrace one encounters the ruins of an apsidal shrine and the unique courtyard of remarkable terracotta tiles, surrounded on three sides by a low wall of numbered plaques each portraying identical images of an emaciated ascetic figure. Neither the pavement tiles nor the plaques with figures of ascetics agree readily with known Buddhist sites. In fact, Hindu and Jain establishments likewise fail to suggest a prototype or even later, comparable examples. Fig. 2

Thus, while one is intrigued by the architectural elements of Harwan, one is mystified by the arresting figures of ascetics who do not appear to be particularly Buddhist. Indeed, Buddhism generally abhors such extreme asceticism and self-mortification and, while figures of ascetics are found in Buddhist reliefs, in a narrative context, in no other Buddhist site, whether in India or abroad, is the ascetic motif so prominently displayed. Who are these ascetics and what are they doing in a Buddhist monument? Can their presence be explained in a Buddhist context, or are we encountering here a religious establishment of some other persuasion that was later occupied by the Buddhists? Before attempting to answer some of these questions it is helpful to first review what remains of this little-known but fascinating site. Fig. 3

I. The Floor Tiles

Harwan was first noticed in modern times, around 1895, when part of its decorated brick pavement was unearthed by accident during the construction of the Srinagar waterworks. These fragments continued to be discovered about the hillside, and R. C. Kak illustrated several in his 1923 catalogue of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum.² During the same decade Kak conducted an excavation, briefly noting his discoveries in the *Illustrated London News* and more fully in his book on Kashmir monuments, published in the following decade.³ Coomaraswamy mentioned the site and its tiles in his 1927 survey of Indian art, with a trenchant remark about the similarity between the Harwan tiles and examples from China.⁴ Subsequent allusions to Harwan have generally repeated Kak's findings and no further excavations have been reported, although some restoration work is presently underway. The site is dated variously between the fourth and seventh century. Some of the tiles are kept in the museum in Srinagar, others in a building at the site and unknown numbers are in museums and private collections around the world. Unfortunately, few photographs of the tiles were taken *in situ* before their dispersal and those that were only afford partial views. Fig. 4

Historical and literary information about Harwan is also limited. It is mentioned only twice in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* and although Hsuan Tsang (seventh century) and Ou-K'ong (eighth century) have both left records of their visits to Kashmir, neither mentions Harwan, which is rather curious in view of their interest in Buddhism, and the unique features of this monument.

The entire site of Harwan is not very large, consisting of about ten ruins located upon several terraces cut into a steep hillside. The highest terrace, as mentioned before, contains the ruined foundations of what was once an apsidal temple and around this structure was located a pavement of terracotta tiles. The shapes of the tiles were determined by their location within concentric circles, with most about 30.5–46 centimetres long. According to Kak, they occupied an area 49 by 38 metres. The Kharoshthi numerals found on the tiles indicate a date sometime before the end of the fifth century, when Kharoshthi ceased to be used in the north-west, and limited thermoluminescence testing supports this date.⁵

Remarkable in its variety, the subject-matter of the tiles may be divided into four main categories: humans, animals, flora and abstract designs. Among the human representations are found both male and female figures engaged in many different activities. Some dance as they play a drum and others are seen carrying water-pots. A graceful lady on one tile walks with a basket while on another a male stands guard, holding a long spear in his left hand. Elsewhere a hunter shoots an arrow while riding an animal, while on another, a male figure, wielding a mace-like weapon and striding over a spoked wheel, appears to be in combat with a feline, griffin-like creature which stands on its hind legs, similar to an early relief from Sanchi's stupa number two.⁶ There are several variations on the theme of figures conversing behind a railing or balcony. On some, only the heads are shown and one of the figures holds the stalk of a flower. On others, the bust of the figure is represented, and most groups (usually four) appear to be in animated conversation. Quite a few of the tiles illustrate the continuous pattern made by figures supporting a large garland or vine, with the rest of the space being occupied by various flowers and vases with flowers. Fig. 5
Fig. 6
Fig. 7

The animals, both real and mythical, are presented in a fairly wide variety. Among the more naturalistic representations are the galloping horse, the long-horned stag, the familiar and inevitable elephant, walking through what appears to be a lotus garden, and a cow suckling her calf. The horned stags are usually seen standing with their heads turned back as if looking at the large, crescent-shaped object in the corner of the tile. Among birds, the goose or gander and the rooster seem to have especially caught the fancy of the Harwan artists. Roosters appear in several forms: inside roundels with elaborate foliate tails, a more elaborate version with outstretched wings (more like a phoenix), and as a pair, perhaps fighting or playing with what seems to be a flower bud between them. There is also a *makara* type of fanciful or mythical



7. Tile with conversing couple and a deer, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

animal with a serpent-like body and curling tail, a large head with the tongue protruding from an open mouth and a nose that curves upwards somewhat like an elephant's trunk. Various flowers surround the beast and a symbol of two interlocking circles is placed above and slightly behind the creature.

The floral designs consist of variations of lotus plants and aquatic leaves that not only fill individual tiles but also serve as border motifs, either as continuous patterns or as individual plants or stylized petals. Round pots with small necks and sprouting flowers appear frequently, and individual circular patterns, made up of petals and leaves as well as a stylized version of the well-known fleur-de-lis, are represented. There is at least one instance of a floral scroll consisting of a vine and bunches of grapes. Floral motifs used as border designs include roundels and dots, geometric repeat patterns, rosettes and simple hatching. Fig. 8

This summary of motifs is based upon material published by Kak and subsequent publications of various museums. To date, no complete inventory of the pavement tiles stored in Kashmir or of the fragments scattered about in other collections has been done.

The visual impact of this site, amidst nature's splendour, must have been considerable. The rubble-filled walls of the raised apsidal temple, its doorway looking out upon the valley, were probably covered with a layer of smooth plaster and the lowest portions faced with the same terracotta plaques of ascetic figures which surrounded the area on three sides, forming a low wall that established the limits of the temple and separated it from the hillside behind. The hundreds of terracotta tiles which covered the ground around the temple, arranged in several concentric circles, were perhaps painted in bright colours to accentuate their pictorial designs. Upon climbing the rather steep hillside, the worshipper was confronted with this splendid array of decorative and figurative images surrounding a house of worship. The moulded tiles of the floor, with the lotus as the most frequent image, must have reminded the worshipper of the lakes he had left below.

Such a dynamic and possibly colourful floor treatment, not common by any means, is known from much earlier times and over a wide geographic area. Textiles no doubt have a long history of use as colourful and decorative floor covering. Assyrian palaces from the late eighth century BC made this longer lasting by carving such decorative textile designs into stone slabs but limited only to thresholds.⁷ They also utilized baked bricks set into bitumen as floor covering.⁸ In the ancient Mediterranean world it was common to overlay beaten earth with another material, such as brick or gypsum, then a layer of plaster. In Egypt and Crete this was sometimes painted.⁹ Hellenistic Greece was known for pebble floor mosaics as early as c. 300 BC and at Pella inlaid terracotta strips were utilized to help define portions of the pictorial subject.¹⁰ In addition to their fame as producers of colourful mosaic floors, the Romans also utilized terracotta squares. Apparently, glazed decorative floor tiles did not appear in the West until the thirteenth century as a result of Islamic influence.¹¹ However, none of these cultures utilized decorative clay or terracotta tiles to the extent found at Harwan, although Parthian and Sassanian cultures, occupying most of Iran and West Asia from the third century BC until the coming of Islam in the seventh century, did continue that region's tradition of clay as a primary construction material.

In the eastern areas of Parthian rule some clay bricks even included numbers, similar to the system used at Harwan, to assist in correct placement.¹² However, despite the popularity of brick and terracotta in Parthian and Sassanian areas, little mention of moulded designs upon floor tiles has been recorded. What moulded decoration does occur seems to be limited to wall plaques, of terracotta and stucco, with motifs similar to some painted designs such as are preserved from Parthian remains at Dura Europas.¹³

Central Asian sites have revealed some use of decorative floors. In his diary of the German expeditions to Turfan, von Le Coq notes that the "... beautiful fired tiles which covered the floors of many temples ..." were much coveted by the local people as building material.¹⁴ No tile is illustrated but one might assume they are similar to those found at Dunhuang, consisting of floral motifs of many-petalled lotuses but otherwise having no pictorial representations. Similar fired floor tiles have been excavated within China proper. Of Tang date, the tiles are decorated entirely with floral patterns.¹⁵

It would appear that the most richly decorated, pictorial floor tiles in Central and East Asia are found in Korea. In addition to their own version of the Chinese decorative tile, during the sixth-seventh centuries the Koreans of the Paekche Kingdom produced several remarkable examples with moulded portrayals of a landscape and a mythical beast.¹⁶ Forming a repeat pattern, they were part of a series; however the excavation reports do not clearly indicate whether they were exclusively for wall or floor use.

Some remains of floor tiles have been found within India and the areas of the north-west adjacent to Kashmir. At least one Buddhist monument from Gandhara, dated to the fourth or fifth century,¹⁷ once contained a courtyard of such tiles. The designs on the terracottas at Bhamala consist entirely of geometric patterns with none of the pictorial richness of Harwan. Marshall also found evidence of the use of tiles made of glass and his excavations led him to suggest that the entire processional path (*pradaksinapatha*) around one stupa may have been so constructed. These floor tiles were made of a coarse, translucent glass, of bright azure colour, with a few of black, white or yellow. Many were apparently removed from their original positions and reused elsewhere. The Italian excavations in Swat revealed another processional path made, in part, of blue glass tiles.¹⁸ However, like those found by Marshall at Taxila, these have no pictorial decoration.

Fig. 9 Two examples of early glazed floor tiles from the Mathura region, with patterns similar to those from Bhamala, have recently been published.¹⁹ These tiles, according to Irwin, were also once part of a processional path and possibly symbolized water around the stupa. Their lotus designs, indicative of water plants, and the blue glass tiles from Taxila and Swat, tend to support his thesis of the stupa floating upon the cosmic ocean. Such tiles were often reused, as in the case of Harwan, where some of the floor tiles described here were removed and utilized as flooring around the Buddhist stupa on a lower terrace.

This summary of types of floor decoration suggests that Harwan, with its moulded terracottas of such pictorial variety, is unusual but not unique. With the possible exception of the Korean tiles (and their placement on the floor is open to question) this method of floor construction did not appear again in Kashmir or elsewhere. However, there is one site in Kashmir, presently under study, which indicates that the Kashmiri tradition did not begin with Harwan. Mr. M. H. Makhdoomi, former curator of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar, has uncovered numbers of terracotta floor tiles near Pahalgam.²⁰ He has thus far published only line drawings of some of them but they suggest an earlier tradition, also pointing to Western associations such as the moulded tiles and imagery on seal impressions from Nisa in Russian Central Asia. Kharoshthi numerals appear on these tiles as well and Makhdoomi feels the site was an early Hinayana construction of Kushan times, and the earliest thus far known in Kashmir.

Although the direct sources of the particular type of moulded terracottas at Harwan are not easily found, many of the motifs and their style of representation are readily identified. Some of the themes on the Harwan tiles can be linked to material remains of the Parthian people. Occupying a vast area, the movements of these semi-nomads about West Asia spread their culture from Syria clear into Northern India. They inherited the remnants of the Achaemenian Kingdom of Iran as well as the Hellenistic culture left by Alexander's conquests in the late fourth century BC. During the early centuries of their activity they spread a Greco-Iranian art over a wide area and though they were conquered by the Sassanians of the third-fourth centuries, much of their cultural achievement continued. The Parthians actually occupied areas of Gandhara (Taxila), and the Sakas (Scythians) who settled into much of the north-west Swat Valley of Pakistan and the Western Punjab were closely linked to them. There are remains of their architectural monuments as well as painting and sculpture. They used glass tesserae for mosaics and fired brick floors have been found at their shrines in Babylonia, Iran and India, including at the Mat shrine near Mathura.²¹ Many of these elements are continued into Sassanian times, giving the era from the third century BC until the advent of Islam both consistency and continuity. The similarity between the subjects found at Harwan and many of the painted ceiling panels at Dura Europas, in the extreme western part of the Parthian area, is best explained by the long history and extent of this empire. The most obvious Parthian feature of the Harwan tiles is the presence of the archer on horseback. This motif was so closely associated with these peoples that it is known universally as the "Parthian Shot." Copied throughout much of Asia, including China, it is found as far east as Korea. The Parthian mode of dress, with leggings and long skirts, diaphanous garments and prominent ear-rings is well known among Gandharan images and is also found upon the Harwan tiles. The long-horned stag, a sacred animal among the nomads of West Asia,²² and the rooster, probably of symbolic meaning also, became popular decorative images at Harwan.

Some of the descriptions of Parthian finds north of the Oxus River in Soviet Central Asia are similar to those from Harwan. From Khalachayan in Uzbekistan have come fired tiles (from walls) illustrating classical figures and representations of people who "... no doubt belonged to the native population of the area."²³ Kak had long ago suggested that the facial types at Harwan reflected the ethnic peoples then occupying Kashmir, namely Central



8. Tile with aquatic motifs, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

10. Tile with composite mythical animals, Lidroo; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



9. Tiles from Mathura. Government Museum, Mathura.

11. Tile with man and deer, Lidroo; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



Asians and even possibly the Kushans. Another site, near Bukhara, has revealed numbers of decorative stuccos with geometric and vegetation ornament and processions of animals and birds.²⁴ Fragments of wall-paintings from the Parthian site of Toprak Kala also illustrate themes similar to those seen at Harwan and the intertwined serpents from Lidroo are also found among Parthian remains in Iran.²⁵

Fig. 13 The overall plan of Harwan may also be due to Parthian influence. The great Parthian fire temple at Surkh Kotal dedicated by Kanishka and located in northern Afghanistan,²⁶ is a terraced structure with a courtyard surrounding the main temple, located upon the highest level. Both Harwan and Surkh Kotal originally had a stairway leading through the centre of each terrace.

Parthian influence however does not entirely explain the pictorial imagery of the Harwan floor tiles. Some of the images clearly originate from Indian sources. The motif of a conversing couple upon a balcony was a popular subject in earlier Indian art. Figures playing amidst a flowering vine and others seated in cross-legged posture as well as the *makara*-type creature are more closely related to Indian representations than to Parthian.

Amidst all the images at Harwan, be they foreign or Indian, one stands apart with compelling force. The repeated portrayals of a crouching ascetic form a dramatic border to the variety of lively forms of the floor and provide the most enigmatic problem for the entire site.

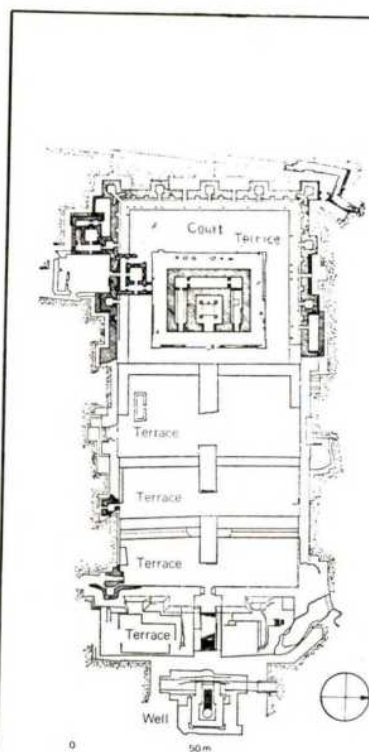
II. Plaques with Ascetics

Surrounding the upper terrace, these remarkable images dominate the site by virtue of their placement, repetition and haunting strangeness. These emaciated figures cast an intense, ominous feeling over an otherwise lively array of images that seems to celebrate the everyday world of man and nature. The contrast is startling.

The seated ascetic is shown in profile against a plain background which serves to accentuate his dramatic features. The emaciation, so vivid in the deep eye sockets and thin, drawn torso, is emphasized by the unusual pose. The thin legs are pulled up against the body and the legs are pressed together by weak, frail arms with hands resting atop the knees. Long, untied and unadorned hair flows back over the shoulders. No evidence of garments or ornaments can be found. This vision of extreme yogic asceticism seems to float without support, as if so cramped inside some invisible container that the figure is unnaturally compressed. Individual tiles often have one of its border images divided and thus the numerals enabled the installation to proceed quickly.²⁷ On some of the tiles the Kharoshthi numerals are found upon the raised area between the two ascetics while on others the numbers are placed above and behind

12. Tile with hunting scene; Parthian, c. second century. Trustees of the British Museum

13. Diagram of Surkh Kotal, Afghanistan. (After Colledge, *Parthian Art*, p. 43).



the head. It has been pointed out that this may have been done to avoid the lengthy, higher numbers.²⁸ By beginning over, in a different place, the less cumbersome, lower numerals could be used twice. The facial features, hair-styles and jewellery of the heads atop each tile have suggested to some scholars a people from outside India, a likely possibility during the early centuries of the first millennium. Kak even interprets their appearance as reflecting the Kushan peoples of the previous epoch.

This posture of the ascetic is seldom found elsewhere. The only attempt at a direct identification was by Kak, with an otherwise unknown posture he labels *kakasana* or "crow posture."²⁹ A small terracotta figurine of a seated ascetic, probably made during the last centuries BC, is a rare example of an image approximating this pose. Here emaciation is indicated by deep rib lines that reach around to the back. There is no indication of clothing although the figure wears large ear ornaments. The hands rest atop the shoulders rather than upon the knees and the head is shaved, unlike the flowing hair of the Harwan ascetics. Fig. 15
Fig. 14

As in the case of the known images, the various texts describing the many yogic postures also fail to quite match the Harwan pose. For instance the Kashmiri text, the *Visnudharmottarapurana*, describes a posture known as *viskambhita* in which one "... is thoughtful, anxious, depressed, dejected or love-lorn." According to the text, it consists of the legs, thighs and hand "... all curved up ..." with the eyes closed.³⁰ A stone relief, perhaps of Maurya or Sunga date, may be an example of this pose, rare among archaeological remains. A Tantric text from Bengal describes another yogic posture that has a stronger resemblance to the Harwan representation. The adept should sit in a posture called *yonimudrasana* and "... his knees should be so raised that they touch his chin and his arms should bind the knees. Thus he should sit with his gaunt body and do breathing exercises."³¹

Although the exact Harwan type of ascetic is not known elsewhere, the portrayal of the ascetic type itself is widespread. Asceticism plays a part in almost all Indian religious systems, differing in the extent of the practice from sect to sect and, judging from archaeological remains, from one geographic area to another. Most Buddhist and Hindu representations show the ascetic type in a seated pose, usually in proximity to a hermit's thatched hut or a tree and nearly always wearing some type of clothing. Usually the ascetic is a brahmin, with the sacred thread (*yajnopavita*), and has his hair arranged in some fashion, often piled atop his head. In a rare Gupta terracotta illustrating the Hindu Nara-Narayana story we see two ascetics in conversation under a tree, the symbol of a hermitage or *asrama*. The figure on the left is Nara, a partly divine sage, and the other is Narayana, identified with the god Vishnu. Both have their long, matted hair elaborately arranged and wear garments. Nara is shown slightly obese, common among Indian ascetic images, while Narayana is represented as emaciated, though not to the extent seen at Harwan. The Buddhists often portray ascetics, usually in a narrative context of a group being converted by the Buddha's greater wisdom. When portrayed alone, the solitary individual is often shown beside a thatched hut.³² There are many terracotta images of ascetics from Central Asian Buddhist sites, where they are shown in a variety of poses, wearing garments, and with exaggerated features to emphasize their contrast with other figures.³³ Examples of extreme asceticism are rare, as the Buddha renounced this means to Enlightenment as excessive. Only in the north-western or Gandharan region is this emaciated type of image often found and here it denotes a particular episode from the life of the Buddha, when he exercised extreme physical denial in his own search for the truth. This dramatic image serves, therefore, to warn against such extreme practices. Among Jain images one finds numerous portrayals of naked, meditating figures, but the figures are never shown as emaciated. Seated Jain images differ only slightly from their Buddhist counterparts, primarily in their nudity. Although the Jain practice involved slow starvation while meditating, it is interesting that emaciated ascetics play no role in their imagery. There is no mention of the existence of Jainism in Kalhana's chronicle and no Jain images have been discovered from Kashmir. Fig. 16

A rare example of an ascetic exhibiting something of the intensity and emaciation of the Harwan figures is found in an unidentified Gupta terracotta fragment. Of unknown provenance and clearly broken away from a larger panel, this remarkable naked figure with flowing hair and gaunt torso and with a look of fear expressed by the gaping mouth and bulging eyes, seems to be running (or flying) from the flames behind. In our search for images comparable with those from Harwan, this figure, though in a different pose, may be closest in feeling and spirit. Fig. 17

Since the ascetic figures at Harwan do not readily match the usual types found in Hindu, Buddhist or Jain establishments, we may be advised to look elsewhere for answers. Contemporary with the founding of Jainism and a century before Buddhism began there existed another

ascetic sect known as the Ajivikas. Their founder, Gosala, spent several years in the company of the Jain leader Mahavira and the two sects shared many attitudes and practices. The Ajivikas have left no written records and our information about them comes primarily from the seldom flattering reports in Jain and Buddhist chronicles. These indicate that the Ajivikas were active, in most areas of India, until late medieval times, finally to be absorbed into the Indian mainstream like numerous other cults.³⁴

Because of their often unorthodox practices such as nudity, extreme yogic habits and bodily abuses, the Ajivikas were not destined for widespread support. They did, however, manage to establish a religious system based upon their fatalistic belief that man is not the master of his fate, that no amount of good deeds or accumulated karma could alter the inevitable process all must endure:

Our words and deeds, that is to say, announce to ourselves—and to the world—every minute, just what milestone we have come to. Thus perfect asceticism, though it has no causative, has yet a symptomatic value: it is the characteristic mode of life of a being who is on the point of reaching the goal of isolation (*kaivalya*); and conversely, those who are not readily drawn to it are comparatively low in the human scale. Any pronounced inability to conform to the most advanced ascetic standards simply proclaims how woefully far one stands from the summit of the cosmic social climb.³⁵

No images and no monuments of the Ajivikas beyond a few inscriptions upon cave entrances, are known to have survived. They must have produced something but their gradual decline and the Indian practice of sects occupying sites of earlier cults served to eradicate any remains. A summary of the scant evidence available, mostly from Basham's thorough study, does enable one to draw certain conclusions about Ajivika practices which may throw some light upon the significance of the Harwan site.



14. Seated figure of ascetic, India; third-first century BC; terracotta; 8.2 cm. Collection of Dr. Bertram Schaffner, on loan to The Brooklyn Museum, New York.

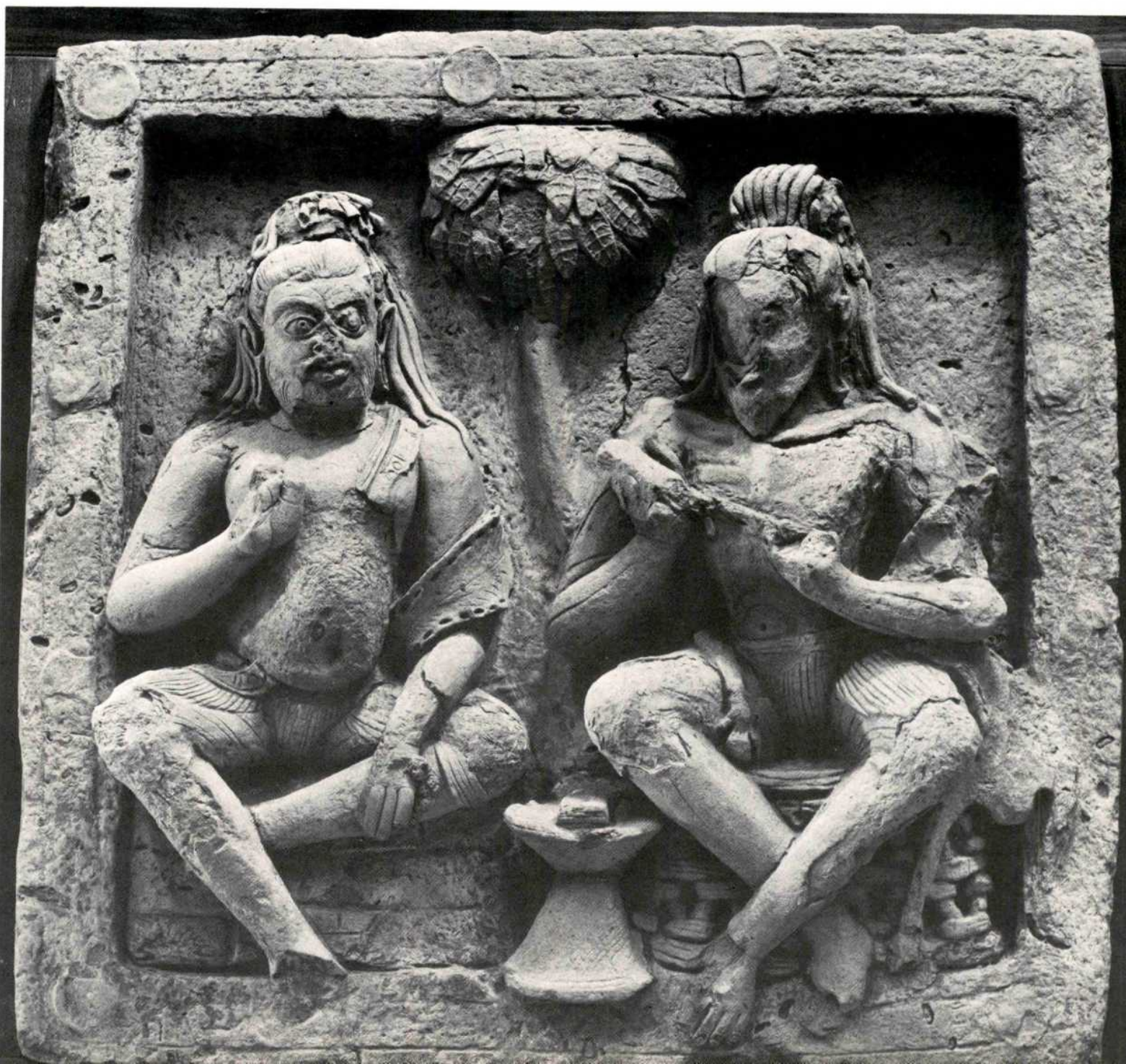
15. Emaciated figure, Iraq; Babylonian (Larsa), c. nineteenth century BC; bronze; 14.9 cm. Cincinnati Art Museum, John J. Emery Fund. (opposite page).



Asokan inscriptions upon cave entrances in Barabar, Bihar and dating from the third century BC, indicate early sympathy for the Ajivikas and at the imperial level. Three of these caves (Lomas Rishi, Sudama and Visvamisra) are of unusual shape: apsidal in plan with a circular construction at the far end. If Buddhist, this arrangement would indicate the presence of a circular stupa. According to Basham, these caves may originally have been stone replicas of the earliest Ajivika meeting place, a circular thatched hut at the end of a courtyard.³⁶ There is ample evidence that these caves were later used by Hindus, Buddhists and even Muslims with attendant defacements and added inscriptions. It is of interest to note that when Cunningham inspected the caves in the nineteenth century, vast quantities of broken pottery littered the floors, to a depth of nearly one metre. The Ajivikas were believed to have practised severe austerities inside clay pots and in much of the literature they are associated with potters. A potter hosted Gosala for sixteen years and there seems little doubt that many early members of the sect were potters by trade. The Ajivikas were known to adopt "... a squatting posture ..." for some of their extreme practices, encouraged nudity, allowed their hair to grow long and carried a lotus while begging.³⁷

Basham also devotes a section to the evidence of Ajivika activity within Kashmir.³⁸ He notes that some of Kalhana's references to various religious groups agree with known Ajivika practices and in such descriptions as "... strange and naked ascetics ..." and "... crippled and naked ascetics ..." he finds possible allusions to the Ajivikas. The tenth-century Kashmiri ruler, Harsha, is described as an iconoclast who directed the destruction

16. The sages Nara and Narayana
Uttar Pradesh; fifth century;
red terracotta; 57.2 cm.
Los Angeles County Museum
Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Har
Lenart.



and defilement of images, actually carried out by individuals who could have been Ajivikas, according to Basham. There is no question that ascetics of various sects migrated from other parts of India to Kashmir and among those cults could well have been the Ajivikas.

If one now reviews the remains at Harwan in the light of what is known of Ajivika beliefs and practices, the usual assumption of a Buddhist origin for the site is less tenable. Even Kalhana's reference to the Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna residing there could be interpreted as a reoccupation of an earlier monastic establishment. It is clear from Kak's excavation reports that the terracotta tiles surrounding the Buddhist stupa on the lower terrace were taken from the pavement above. They were so broken and poorly aligned as to indicate that the Buddhists had simply climbed the short distance up the hill to secure ready-made paving tiles. The shape of the apsidal temple at Harwan agrees with the design of the caves dedicated to the Ajivikas at Barabar, discussed above. There is no way to determine how the circular structure at the far end was used, but it would be imprudent to assume that it must have been a Buddhist stupa. Among the pavement tiles appear several images which were also popular with the Ajivikas: the elephant (the "last sprinkling elephant" was one of their eight finalities), and the abundance of flowers (the Ajivikas were said to adorn the hermitage, and the peculiar figures on the balcony hold flowers). Moreover, the extensive use of terracotta may also indicate an Ajivika association, for the sect was closely associated with the community of potters. The ascetic plaques provide additional evidence. The geese below may refer to ascetics in general, for these wandering figures are sometimes called wild geese or swans, *hamsa*, because of their migratory habits, especially from southern areas into the Himalayas. The figure of the ascetic agrees in nearly every respect with descriptions of the Ajivika: emaciation, long hair, nudity and the squatting posture can all be found in various texts. Only the sometimes mentioned rod or staff is absent:

... we may envisage the typical Ajivika of the early period as usually completely naked, no doubt covered with dust and dirt, perhaps bent and crippled, and armed with a bamboo staff.³⁹

One might look once again at this figure in terms of one of the Ajivikas' best-known practices, that of doing extreme penance inside a clay jar. The confined posture neatly conforms to what an individual would look like if inside such a container.



17. Flying (?) figure, India; Gupta period, c. fifth century; terracotta. Private Collection.

The enigma of Harwan still remains. Except for the ascetic plaques everything found there is compatible with known Buddhist practices. However, the one certain Buddhist area, the lower terrace with its stupa, included pavement tiles clearly borrowed from the establishment above, indicating that someone occupied the location prior to the Buddhists' arrival. Although no firm evidence of Ajivika activity in Kashmir is known, the apsidal shrine, various motifs upon the tiles and the emaciated ascetics agree with their known practices. The early date, confirmed by the Kharoshthi inscriptions, is consistent with the evidence found at the early Ajivika caves in Bihar and the Ajivikas' association with potters is affirmed by the extensive use of terracotta at Harwan. It is an intriguing idea to think of Harwan as having been occupied originally by Ajivikas who had either deserted the site or were displaced by the Buddhists, leaving behind evidence of their activities, all of which was easily incorporated by the Buddhists, except for the ascetic tiles.

NOTES

1. M. A. Stein, trans., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (Delhi, 1961), vol. I, verse 173 (hereafter referred to as R.T., I, 173).
2. R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1923), pp. 110-115.
3. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933), pp. 105-111 and pls. XV-XLII.
4. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), p. 141.
5. Mr. Willy Frei, Zurich, has had his Harwan plaque tested and found it to be between 1,350 and 1,850 years old, or between the second and sixth centuries AD.
6. Noted by P. G. Paul, *Early Sculpture of Kashmir* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 48ff.
7. I am most grateful to Dr. Trudy Kawami who pointed out this and other comparative material, especially regarding Parthian influences.
8. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore, 1970), p. 150.
9. O. Ferrari, "Floorings," *The Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. XIII (New York, 1967), p. 475.
10. C. M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1981), p. 244.
11. Ferrari, op. cit., p. 477.
12. M. A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (Ithaca, 1977), p. 25.
13. M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. V (1935), fig. 32.
14. A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928), p. 61.
15. *Kaogu* (1978), no. 6, pp. 380-387 (in Chinese).
16. *5000 Years of Korean Art* (San Francisco, 1979), figs. 65, 66.
17. J. Marshall, *Taxila* (Delhi, 1975), I: 393.
18. D. Facenna, *Sculptures From the Sacred Area of Butkara I* (Rome, 1962), vol. II, 2, pl. IV.
19. J. Irwin, "The Stupa and the Cosmic Axis," *South Asian Archaeology, 1977* (Naples, 1979), fig. 22. Robert Skelton, former Keeper at the Victoria and Albert Museum, very kindly pointed out these tiles and suggested their similarity to Harwan.
20. M. H. Makhdoomi, "Ancient Buddhist Site Discovered at Lidroo, Pahalgam," (press release, Government of Jammu and Kashmir, July 25, 1978).
21. Colledge, op. cit., p. 25.
22. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 231.
23. A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia* (Cleveland and New York), p. 100.
24. Belenitsky, op. cit., p. 153 and G. Pugachenkova, *Istoria iskusstva Uzbekistan* (Moscow, 1965), pls. 10-13, 162 (in Russian).
25. E. J. Keall, "Qal 'eh-i Yazdigird: The Question of its Date," *Iran*, (1977), vol. XV, pl. IIIb, another Parthian source kindly suggested by Dr. Trudy Kawami.
26. D. Schlumberger, "The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLVII (London, 1961), pp. 77-95.
27. First brought to my attention by Dr. Robert Brown of U.C.L.A., see Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Tibetan, Nepalese, Kashmir Art* (London: July 9, 1979), pl. XXXV.
28. I am grateful to Mr. Willy Frei, Zurich, for this observation.
29. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933), pl. XXII.
30. P. Shah, *Visnudharmottara-Purana*, Third Khanda (Baroda, 1961), II: 48.
31. *Todalatantram*, 2: 17-18, as translated by Dr. P. Pal who kindly suggested this passage for its similarity to the Harwan figures.
32. H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (Hamden, 1971), pls. 54, 82-86.
33. Mission Paul Pelliot, *Tumchouq: Planches* (Paris, 1961), pls. 171, 434.
34. Most of our information about the Ajivikas comes from the detailed study by A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas* (London, 1951).
35. H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (Princeton, 1969), p. 267.
36. Basham, op. cit., pp. 150-160.
37. Basham, *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.
38. Basham, *ibid.*, pp. 205-212.
39. Basham, *ibid.*, p. 109.

□

Buddhist Architecture

Robert E. Fisher

Prior to the process of Islamization that began in the fourteenth century in Kashmir, both Hinduism and Buddhism had flourished there for almost two thousand years. Today, the remnants of a few Hindu temples survive and Buddhist monuments are so fragmentary that their original forms must be completely reconstructed from other evidence. Even during Kalhana's time in the twelfth century, Buddhist monuments were few compared to the Hindu temples that were still in worship.

The destruction of Buddhist establishments was begun by zealous Hindu kings, such as Harsha who destroyed many of the eighth-century Buddhist monuments of Parihasapura during civil strife in AD 1100, as well as by others who used cut stones from Buddhist monuments to build Hindu temples, and was continued by iconoclastic Muslim rulers in the fourteenth century and thereafter. During the past seven centuries, when Buddhism disappeared altogether and Hinduism barely survived, nature's gradual erosion added to the neglected temples, causing further decay and leaving modern visitors with but a glimpse of Kashmir's former architectural grandeur.

The Stupa

The most familiar Buddhist monument is the stupa and even though no architectural example survives, its importance and distinctive form can be determined from literature and from artistic evidence. Kalhana's chronicle mentions the construction of several stupas at various locations in the Valley by the third century BC by the Mauryan emperor Asoka. Later, Meghavahana, ruling around the middle of the fourth century, is cited by Kalhana as being responsible for the construction of at least one well-known stupa. It is of interest that Meghavahana is said to have come to Kashmir from either Tibet or Ladakh, and these areas were to carry on the traditional style of stupa architecture developed in Kashmir. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the appearance of this or other early stupas. Meghavahana is credited with numerous other donations and he and his queens are associated with several Buddhist monuments, especially viharas. Kalhana also mentions Lalitaditya's Buddhist monuments, notably the vihara and stupa at Ushkur and the great stupa erected at Parihasapura by his minister Chankuna, all of which were most probably seen by him. The stupas reputed to be from Asoka's time were no doubt reconstructed several times before Kalhana saw them, and retained little of their original design.

Other literary records include references by various Chinese visitors, who have left accounts from at least as early as the fifth century.¹ Although it would appear that most of the Chinese pilgrims travelling to India by way of Central Asia visited Kashmir, only the records of a few

give any details of the Buddhist establishments existing there. The report of the best known of the Chinese visitors, Hsuan Tsang, is the most detailed chronicle before Kalhana, though very little about stupas is included. He mentions four stupas built by Asoka, each containing "... a pint measure of relics of Tathagata." The story of Hsuan Tsang's trip, as told by the shaman Hwui Li, referring to these same stupas, notes their "... wonderful height and great magnificence."² The eighth-century visitor, Ou K'ong, spent more time in Kashmir, but his chronicle contains fewer details about either the Buddhists or their monuments than does the record of his illustrious predecessor, though he does refer to large numbers of stupas and images in the valley.³ Subsequent reports by visitors do not mention Buddhist remains beyond brief asides, such as Growse, referring to Ushkur, in 1872: "... the remains of a Buddhist stupa, erected at a much later period by King Lalitaditya, may still be seen there."⁴ The Archaeological reports, published early in this century, are able only to offer diagrams of stupa foundations and photographs of ruins. In fact, due to some restoration carried out in the last seventy-five years, the few foundations that can be seen today are probably in better condition than they were at any time in the past one thousand years.

Curiously, one early Hindu text, dating probably from the sixth or seventh century at the latest, provides descriptive information about the Kashmir stupa. The text is the *Vishnudharmottarapurana*, which was compiled in Kashmir or the north-west. In a section titled "aiduka" is a detailed description of the stupa, closely matching that seen on the small plaques discovered at Harwan. The inclusion of a Buddhist monument in a Hindu text and the use of the name "aiduka" instead of stupa has been explained at length.⁵ According to the *Vishnudharmottara*, the base of a stupa should consist of a triple platform, called *bhadrapitha*, with four stairways, one for each of the four directions. Above this base is the middle section, called *dhruva*, with four sides. Atop this section are to be thirteen tiers, called *bhumikas*. The entire structure is crowned with an *amalasaraka* and it is decorated with a medallion. In the middle section should be four guardians (*lokapalas*), each carrying a staff or lance. They are armoured and dressed in the northern mode. The text goes on to tie all these to Siva worship, but as has been shown, what is described is clearly the Buddhist stupa, and if one compares that description to the images of stupas found at Harwan as well as to some of the extant bronze votive models, the parallels are remarkable.

Fig. 1 The oldest remaining evidence of the complete Kashmiri stupa is found upon the small, terracotta votive plaques discovered at Harwan. Three were published by Kak in 1933,⁶ and a drawing based upon them appeared in a later publication.⁷ According to Kak, there remains an inscription in Brahmi characters of about the fourth century, stamped in relief below the stupa, consisting of the usual honorific phrase praising the faith. Another similar plaque in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar belongs with this group. Also in that museum is a slightly different version, of stone, consisting of a seated Buddha flanked by attenuated versions of the same stupa.

None of the plaques was excavated under controlled conditions; they were found, along with numerous terracotta fragments of statuary, about the Harwan site as the process of discovery progressed. It is of interest that the script used was Brahmi, while the characters on the Harwan tiles from the same site were in the earlier Kharoshthi.

The stupa represented on these plaques consists of three recessed platforms (*medhi*), with a distinct decorative moulding around each. A continuous flight of stairs ascends through all three levels to the main platform. Due to the sculptures' low relief, it is not possible to determine whether or not such stairways were found on the other three sides. The one existing stupa foundation, at Harwan, appears to have but one flight of stairs, while other monuments, at Ushkur and Parihasapura, had four, as do various votive bronzes from Gandhara and Kashmir, discussed below. At each corner of the platform, on some of the plaques, are two large, free-standing columns. These are no doubt a lingering tradition from Asokan times, the well-known Asokan columns found with Buddhist monuments throughout India. The size and prominence given the columns indicate their importance. To date, no evidence of Asokan columns has been found at any Kashmiri Buddhist site.

The hemispherical stupa proper (*anda*) is circled with several horizontal bands, with decorative elements visible between two of them. These are most likely niches with figures inside, as found often in Gandharan monuments, fragments of which were found about the area of the Harwan site. The upper third of the dome is left plain and the top supports a number of struts, which in turn are surmounted with a series of circular umbrellas (*chhatravali*) of diminishing size. These are separated from one another by more such struts and culminate in a point from which fly several streamers. The design of the struts and umbrellas indicates

wooden construction, as does the extreme height, exactly half of the entire monument. The number of umbrellas seems to be either eleven or thirteen, both canonically correct.

The type of stupa found on the Harwan plaques and repeated in the ruined foundations at Harwan, Ushkur and Parihasapura is also known in votive models from the adjacent Gandharan region, and similar examples, in bronze and stone, are found today in museums and temples across Asia. In the Peshawar Museum are several such replicas, in bronze, all similar to those found on the Harwan plaques. One is especially close, differing only in minor respects: a double instead of a triple base and lacking the columns (although they are not present on all Kashmiri models either). The top appears to be damaged, accounting for only five umbrellas. Other bronze models share these same characteristics, including the free-standing pillars and even stylized versions of the streamers, reduced in size due to the limitations of the material.

Some of these votive stupas also differ from the Harwan plaques in the inclusion of figures. On one there is a seated image, rendered in the Kashmiri style, on each of the four sides of the drum. Only three are visible in the photograph but the different hand gestures (*mudras*) suggest that each of the four represents a Buddha in the manner of the Mahayana concept of the transcendent Buddha, with a different form for each of the four directions. This mandala-like arrangement is found on another of the Gandharan votive stupas but the four Buddhas are shown with the same gesture of meditation. This arrangement, of the stupa with four identical seated images of the Buddha, can be found at least as far back as Kushan times and is even considered by some scholars to have originated in the north-west and Kashmir.⁸ Furthermore, some of the Gandharan bronze stupas also include additional figures. In one example, especially close to the Harwan plaques in the details of the stupa itself, there are four figures standing atop the dome, between the struts that support the umbrellas. These figures, dressed in the costume of the north-west, are identical, each holding a long lance. They may be identified as guardians, or *lokapalas*, as mentioned in the description of *aiduka* in the *Vishnudharmottarapurana*. According to that document, the *lokapalas* should carry a spear (*sula*), be dressed in armour and correspond to the four directions. The text points specifically to the northern dress of the guardians, and the images shown on this stupa are clearly so arrayed. About the base of this stupa are several figures in postures of devotion, no doubt meant to portray donors, and one standing figure with a club or stick held at the shoulder. At his feet is a sheep or a goat. Such figures about the base of bronze images are commonly found in Kashmiri works of the eighth-tenth century. In one such bronze, attributed to the eighth or ninth century, are found two

Fig. 3

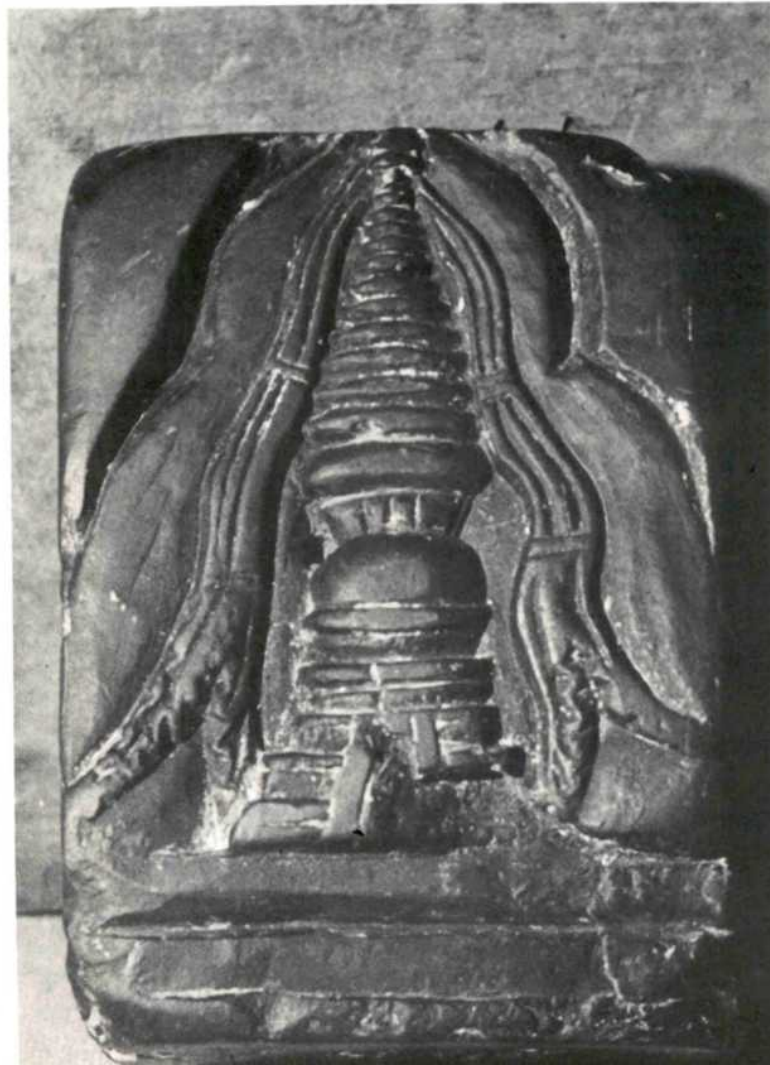
Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 7

1. Plaque with stupa, from Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (left).

2. Plaque with stupa, Kashmir; stone. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (right).



3. Votive stupa, Gandhara; bronze. Peshawar Museum.





4. Votive stupa with four Buddhas, Gandhara; bronze. Peshawar Museum.

6. Jain stupa, Mathura; stone relief.



5. Votive stupa with four *lokapalas*, Gandhara; bronze. Peshawar Museum.



stupas, complete with triple terrace, four stairways, four corner columns, a seated image and the thirteen umbrellas. Although the guardians are absent, the donors and devotional figures about the base are shown in foreign dress. The few votive models shown here along with the literary record of the *Vishnudharmottara* make it possible to reconstruct the Kashmiri stupa, despite the paucity of architectural remains. The small number of Kashmiri ruins agree in all respects with the models and there is nothing to suggest that their missing upper portions did not look like those on the plaques and votive bronzes.

The Kashmiri stupa was a towering edifice, quite different from the stupa known in most other parts of India, due mainly to the emphasis upon the umbrellas and the multi-tiered base or platforms. This meant a reduction in the size of the drum as it was dominated by the upper and lower portions. The Kashmiri stupa often featured the use of free-standing columns, at each corner of the top terrace, and these were topped by animals just as were the famous Asokan columns. Some examples included images inside niches, usually four in number, sometimes with varied gestures. At least one example featured guardians in northern dress, exactly as prescribed in the *Vishnudharmottara*.⁹

Reliefs of stupas with these same features are also known from Gandhara and from at least one example from the Mathura region exists. The latter (actually a Jain stupa) follows a similar arrangement with free-standing pillars and a stairway situated upon a raised platform. The body of the stupa proper is closer to the type found at other sites in India, such as Sanchi, and the elaborate umbrellas, so popular in Gandhara and Kashmir, are reduced to only one, above the *harmika*, with garlands flying to each side. This stupa can be dated to the first or second century AD, making it earlier than any known Gandharan or Kashmiri remains.

It is thus still difficult to determine whether the design of the Kashmir stupa originated in Kashmir, Gandhara or even Mathura. Certainly the evidence of the Kashmiri votive plaques, which are earlier than the Gandharan bronze examples, indicates a probable Kashmiri origin. In any event, this type of stupa with its distinctive stairways and crowning elements of a tower-like configuration of umbrellas, enjoyed a long life in the north-western regions of the subcontinent and remained a model for stupas in Tibet and the pagoda style in Central and East Asia.

Ushkur and Parihasapura

Apart from Harwan, the only Buddhist remains of archaeological value in Kashmir are at Ushkur and Parihasapura. Both are associated with the eighth-century Karkota ruler Lalitaditya and are located in the same general area of the Valley. At Parihasapura, only the ruined foundations of three structures are left from what was once a considerable secular and religious complex. Likewise at Ushkur all that is visible are foundations, though future excavations may well turn up a greater number of remains, as the immediate area is yet to be fully explored and the terrain suggests the presence of other constructions. Despite the ruinous condition of both sites, enough exists to add considerable information to the history of Kashmiri Buddhist architecture, including evidence of the creation of a new, composite structure where the traditionally separate buildings used for worship (*chaityas*—halls) and residences for monks (*viharas*) are joined into one.

According to Kalhana, Ushkur was founded during Kushan times by the Turushka king Huvishka, and named Hushkapura. Cunningham identified this town as the modern day Ushkur, close by the larger Baramula, and Stein, agreeing with Cunningham, listed the records of various travellers whose visits there proved the importance of the place as an early stop upon entering the Valley as well as a religious centre of some consequence. Hsuan Tsang spent his first night in Kashmir there and later the eleventh-century visitor Alberuni, calling it Ushkara, noted its proximity to Baramula. The Chinese Ou-K'ong reported a vihara there in AD 759 and Kalhana described a number of Hindu monuments erected in the immediate area, though little of their presence has yet been discovered. The only monument visible today, of which just portions of the foundations remain, appears to be a stupa of cruciform plan. However, Hsuan Tsang mentions spending the night at a temple, after visiting the several monasteries at Ushkur,¹⁰ but says nothing about a stupa. Kalhana alludes to a great vihara built by Lalitaditya but does not give the name or exact location. This vihara, according to Stein, may well be the "Moung-ti-wei-houo-lo" noted by Ou-K'ong who visited the site shortly after the eighth-century rule of Lalitaditya. Kalhana also relates the story of Lalitaditya erecting a large stupa at Ushkur. There seems little doubt that Lalitaditya erected his stupa over the

Fig. 8

remains of an earlier monument and by adding what may have been monks' cells into the surrounding wall he created a composite structure. The stupa was thus moved inside the vihara, occupying the centre position and thereby creating a temple, of the sort later found in Kashmiri Hindu monuments, with the central shrine and courtyard surrounded by arcaded walls, otherwise unknown among the few Buddhist remains.

The base of the Ushkur stupa/temple is cruciform in plan, with stairs on each of the four sides, each side being nearly thirty-three metres across. A torus still exists about the plinth, but the rest of the stonework has disappeared. Sections of the plinth, between the stairs, consist of angular projections in the manner of other Kashmiri stupas, such as at Parihasapura. This type, less common than the single stairway model, is known from only one site in Gandhara, at Bhamala near Taxila. The ruinous condition of the Ushkur remains prevents further comparison, such as of the presence of rows of cells that once may have been built into it.

This configuration, featuring the four stairs, high plinth and cells built into the enclosure, constitutes a distinct, regional type. It is seldom found on the Indian subcontinent, where the single stairway and circular-plinth types dominate. Some similarity can be found in the late eighth-century eastern India Buddhist vihara at Paharpur, which does use this type of platform, but this is not typical, and the Paharpur platform, with its small shrines attached,

Fig. 8

Fig. 9



7. Votive stupa, Kashmir; eighth-ninth century; brass. The Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection.

is different from any found in Kashmir. The geographically closest parallel (in addition to the Taxila site of Bhamala) is found in the nearby Central Asian site of Khotan. The Rawak vihara, dated to the fourth or fifth century, exhibits the same structural features, and Stein's early explorations clearly showed cells built within the surrounding wall, just as Kak proposed for Ushkur.¹¹ The dates of the Rawak vihara, Bhamala and Ushkur are all roughly the same. Along with other such monuments found in Central Asia and Afghanistan, Ushkur (and the Harwan votive plaques) reflects a new direction in the development of Buddhist architecture in the north-west.

This development probably began in Gandhara and most likely coincided with the increased growth of the Mahayana schools. It consisted of the erection of a cruciform temple, or possibly a stupa, inside the vihara compound. This shrine was elevated, often upon a triple, recessed platform, and utilized a stairway on each of four sides. It was never widely adopted in Gandhara but became popular in what Sarkar calls the "Trans-Indus" regions.¹² That would include Kashmir along with Central Asia and Afghanistan. The type continued in Ladakh and Tibet long after Buddhism had disappeared from the other areas, and is remarkably close to monuments in South-east Asia.

If Ushkur belongs to this late development in the history of Buddhist architecture, and further excavations may hold the answer, then a date of the seventh-eighth century would seem appropriate. Excavations may also determine if this design was original with Lalitaditya's building or already present with the foundations over which his monument was erected, foundations that probably date from Kushan times.

Parihasapura, modern Paraspura, is located about twenty-two kilometres north-west of Srinagar, on a plateau, near the centre of the Valley. The ruins of three monuments—a stupa, a vihara and a *chaitya*—are all that remain of Lalitaditya's former capital. Records mention Hindu monuments of great size but only the ruined Buddhist foundations are left. According to Kalhana, each of the three was once surrounded by a wall, characteristic of Lalitaditya's Buddhist and Hindu monuments, and noted at Ushkur.

The decay of the site began immediately after Lalitaditya's rule. His son moved the capital away, Avantivarman (ruled AD 855-883) diverted the river and finally King Samkaravarman (AD 883-902) used stones from the site to build his own temples at nearby Patan. Still, something remained as late as the eleventh century, for Kalhana tells of influential religious leaders from there during the early eleventh-century reign of Samgramaraja, and of a colossal Buddha image, probably in the Rajavihara. The destruction of sacred shrines by Harsha (AD 1089-1101) was felt at Parihasapura when he destroyed the Rajavihara. The final destruction came at the hands of the Muslims after the fourteenth century. As late as the eighteenth century, travellers' reports speak of large remains, indicating that the monuments still retained something of their grandeur clear into modern times. No doubt local inhabitants further reduced the site for needed building materials.



8. Ushkur stupa (detail).

The largest of the three monuments is the stupa. This structure has been known as Chankuna's stupa, from a passage in Kalhana's history linking its construction to Lalitaditya's Tokharian minister, an avid supporter of Buddhism. In the centre rests a huge stone, with a one-and-a-half-metre deep hole in the middle, probably the base for the stupa finial. In all respects the foundation and four stairways are similar to the Ushkur remains, though larger and still retaining portions of the second platform. The torus is repeated at each level giving the plinth a majestic silhouette, a hallmark of Kashmiri structures, found also on the small, votive bronzes. Several stone sculptures recovered from this site have been removed to the Sri Pratap Singh Museum but one seated image, inside a niche, remains at the site.

It is difficult to reconstruct the manner in which these few figures might have been placed on the stupa. Probably the seated, meditating Buddha in a trefoil niche was part of a continuous frieze about the base of the stupa, a common practice in Gandhara. Likewise, the standing, crowned Buddha, an iconographic type of interest, and the so-called "atlante" figure, belong to rows of similar images that adorned the plinth of the stupa. The use of figures upon the surface of a stupa was common practice, but certain features of these figures set them apart. The standing image, with both arms upraised, is noticeably different in style from its Gandharan prototypes, especially in the naturalistic modelling of the torso and the presence of the garland falling below the knees. These features are typical of the Kashmiri style, seen most often on bronzes and later Hindu stone images. The unusual crowned Buddha has close parallels, in the treatment of the crown, from Central Asia¹³ and China, especially at Yun Kang,¹⁴ which is certainly of earlier date. These Central Asian and Chinese features add further support to Sarkar's linking of architecture of the north-west with the further "Trans-Indus" regions. The stupa was once surrounded by a wall, and this, along with the recessed plinth and four stairways, ties it closely to the contemporary remains at Ushkur, described above.

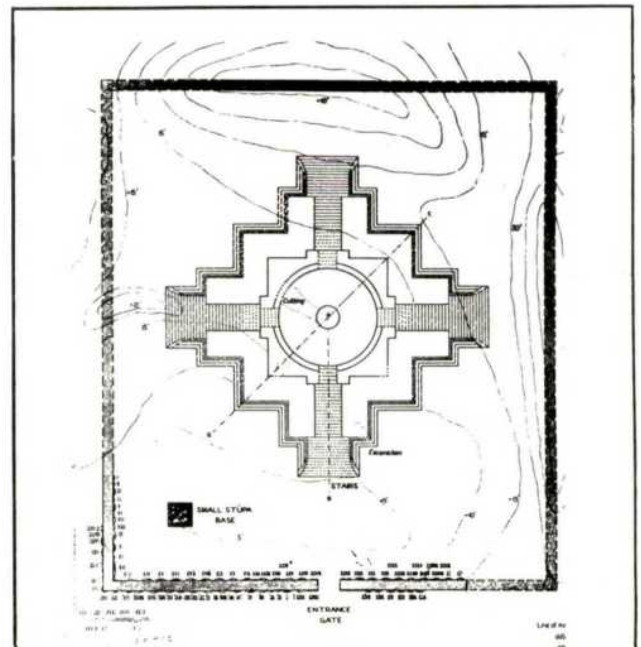
Next to Chankuna's stupa there is a smaller ruin that was once a vihara. Twenty-six cells, fronted with a veranda, surround an open courtyard, with the cell in the centre of the back row larger than the rest, probably for use as a shrine. The plinth carries the same torus found on the other monuments. Evidence of a drain and a water reservoir have been found and some of the walls show signs of repair. This traditional Indian type of vihara, the only one left in Kashmir, is probably the one Kalhana mentions as being erected by Lalitaditya and called the Rajavihara: "That king, who was free from passions, built the ever-rich Rajavihara, with a large quadrangle (*catuhsala*), a large *chaitya*, and a large [image of] the Jina (Buddha)."¹⁵

The third structure is the large *chaitya* mentioned above. The square chamber is eight metres on a side and is surrounded by a circumambulatory passage (*pradaksinapatha*). The bases of four stone columns remain and the roof was probably of the pyramidal type still found on Kashmiri Hindu temples. Pieces of the cornice, a string of stylized *kirtimukhas*, can be found lying about the area. The inner chamber contains a single block of stone, 35.6 x 30.5 x 15.2 cm., upon which the main image must have stood. "Atlante" figures, similar to those from the Chankuna stupa, were also found nearby.

One realizes the importance of this structure when it is compared with the Ushkur, Bhamala and Rawak monuments noted above. It belongs to that late Buddhist tradition where the *chaitya* is joined with the vihara, and is the best example of that arrangement in Kashmir.

9. Bhamala stupa, Gandhara.

10. Diagram of Rawak vihara, Khotan. (After Stein, *Ancient Khotan* [New York, 1975], pl. XL).

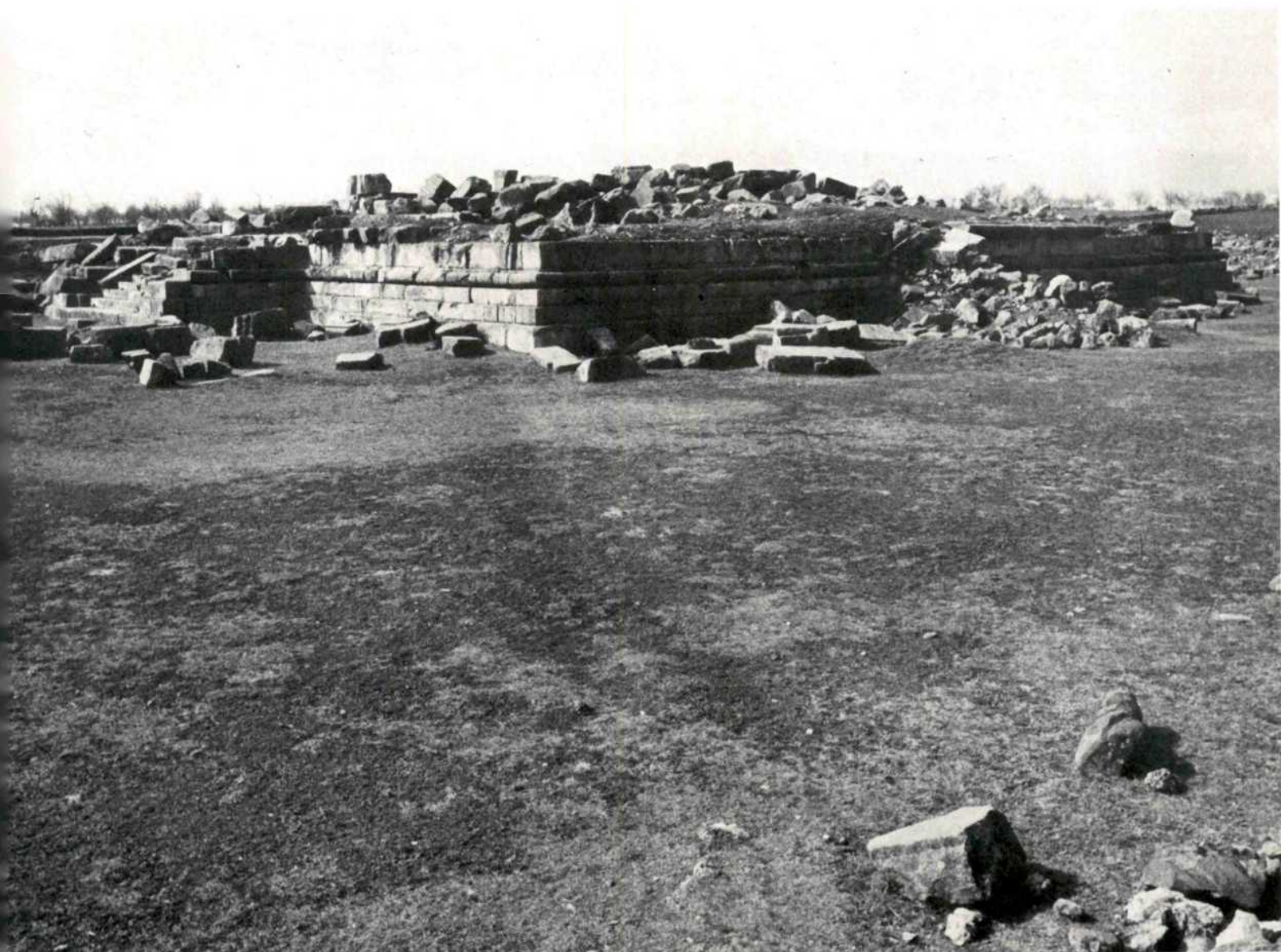




11. Chankuna stupa, Parihasapura.

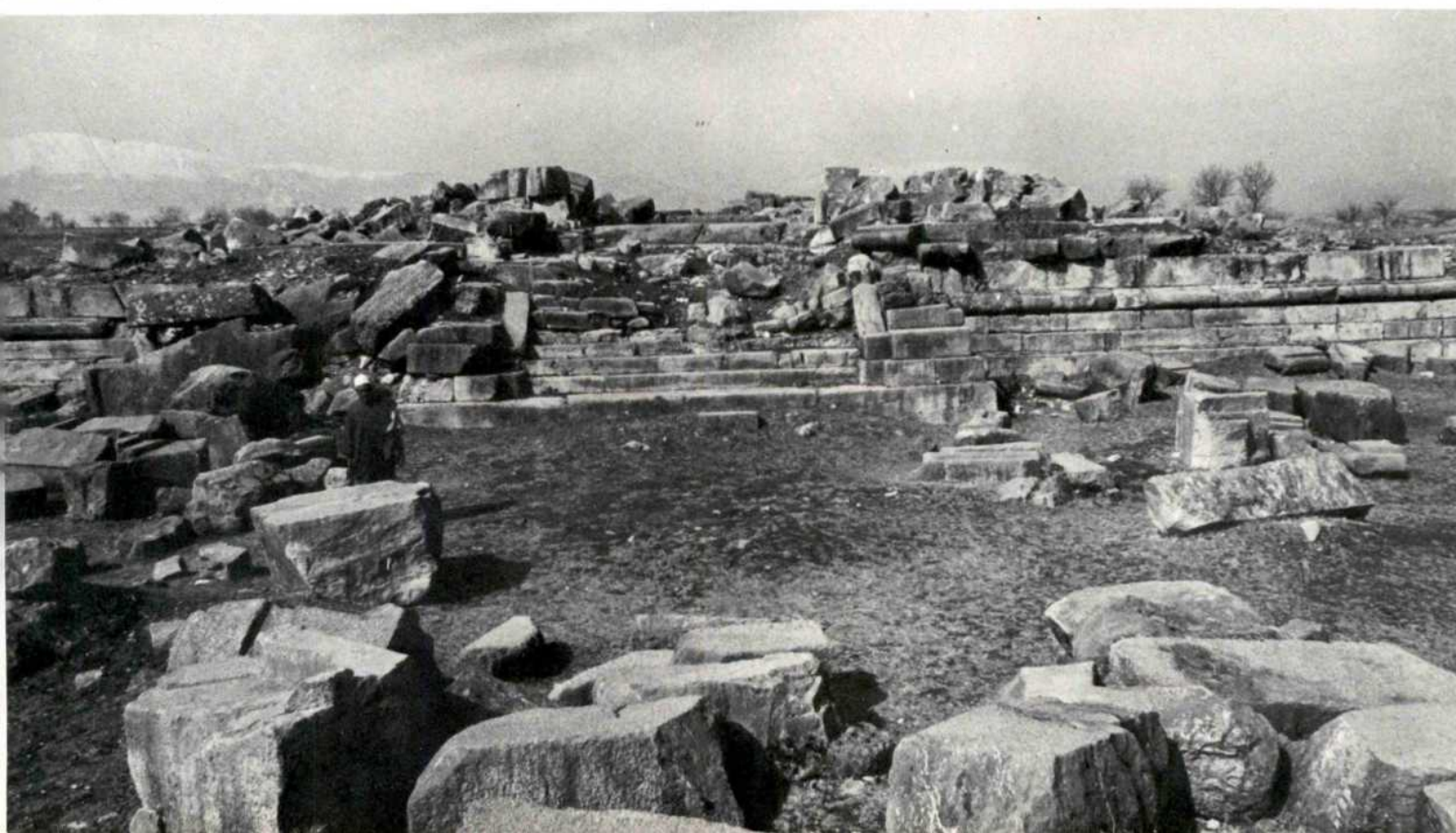
12. Chankuna stupa (detail), Parihasapura.





3. Rajavihara, Parihasapura.

4. Chaitya, Parihasapura.



A cruciform, terraced structure, surrounded by monks' cells, was furthermore known in Hindu monuments, many of which remain in Kashmir itself, and reached its most elaborate development in the temples of South-east Asia, especially in Cambodia. This structure is similar in concept to the temple/stupa at Ushkur. There, the object to be venerated, the stupa, is moved inside the residential compound, the vihara, creating a new focus for that older structure. At Parihasapura it appears that the vihara contains a shrine, the *chaitya*, in place of the stupa, but the basic arrangement is the same. Both constructions represent a later phase of Buddhist architecture, one seldom found in the rest of India due mainly to the decline of Buddhism by the seventh-eighth century. In fact, the cruciform, terraced structure surrounded by monks' cells is found frequently in Kashmiri Hindu monuments. Nevertheless, it most likely was first developed among Buddhist monastic establishments, such as Ushkur and Parihasapura, and later adopted for Hindu shrines. The ultimate source is probably the various Gandharan Buddhist monuments, from which so much of Kashmiri architecture derives, that had long featured the concept of the stupa within a courtyard.

NOTES

1. Chinese pilgrims were reported already visiting sacred spots in northern India by the third century AD, Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World of Hsuan Tsang*, (London, n.d.), p. x and P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, 2nd ed. (Westport, 1973), p. 60, but the earliest written account of those travels is by Fa-Hsian (399-414), see G. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York, 1965).
2. Shaman Hwui Li, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, translated by S. Beal (New Delhi, 1973), p. 68.
3. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Calcutta: Oriental Press, 1939), 1:37.
4. F. S. Growse, "The Architecture of Kashmir," *Calcutta Review*, LIV, no. CVII (January, 1872), p. 28.
5. P. Pal, "The Aiduka of the Visnudharmottarapurana and Certain Aspects of Stupa Symbolism," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, n.s., IV, pt. 1, pp. 49-62.
6. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (1933; reprint, New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1971), pl. XVIII.
7. J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1967), p. 36.
8. D. Snellgrove, *Image of the Buddha* (Tokyo, 1978), p. 137.
9. A similar representation, with the four lance-bearing guardians, in northern dress, belonging to the late Professor G. Tucci, is on view in the Oriental Museum in Rome.
10. S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui-Li* (London, 1911), p. 68.
11. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (New York, 1975), pl. XL and Kak, op. cit., p. 154.
12. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (New Delhi, 1966), p. 66.
13. M. Bussagli, *Painting in Central Asia* (Geneva, 1963), p. 81.
14. T. Akiyama and S. Matsubara, *Arts of China: Buddhist Cave Temples* (Tokyo, 1969), pl. 103.
15. M. A. Stein, trans., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (Delhi, 1961), IV, 200.

□

Stone Temples

Robert E. Fisher

Of all the artistic remains in Kashmir, none is more distinctive than the stone temple. The typical Kashmiri temple exhibits a unique blend of foreign styles and native creativity that resulted in an architectural tradition notably different from others on the subcontinent.

All the surviving stone temples are Hindu but there can be little doubt that the Buddhist temples were also built in the same style. In fact, many fundamental elements of Kashmiri Hindu temples probably derive from the earlier Buddhist models. In addition, foreign styles, which filtered through West Asia, played a major role in the development of Kashmiri stone architecture. Further, Kashmiri builders worked with massive stones, larger than those typically found throughout the rest of India. Kashmir's extant stone temples were all created in less than a millennium. The earliest remains cannot be dated before the fourth or fifth century AD and it appears that no stone temples were built after the fourteenth century.

With the paucity of temple remains, literary references are of some help, if used with caution. For example, Kalhana's claim of pre-Asokan Kashmiri viharas is unlikely considering that Buddhism was not introduced into Kashmir before Asoka's time, in the third century BC.¹ Kalhana also cites the "...eighty-four lakhs of stone-buildings. . ." erected by one King Lava, also called a Buddhist, yet active before the arrival of Asokan Buddhism.² One plausible aspect of the early period that does emerge from the various literary sources, however, is the close connection between Kashmir and the area to the west, Gandhara. Beginning at least with the Achaemenian Persians, around 500 BC, and continuing with the Greeks and Saka tribes, the region between Afghanistan and Kashmir was usually viewed as one cultural entity. The name Kashmir was not generally limited to the small Himalayan valley until Kushan times, in the early centuries AD. By the time of the Huna invasions, towards the beginning of the sixth century, which also encompassed both regions, Gandharan kings had used Kashmir as a refuge and likewise Kashmiri rulers could find temporary safety in the neighbouring area when needed. Despite invasions and wars, the commercial and cultural exchange between the adjacent regions continued without interruption. Even to later visitors, such as the Chinese monks of the seventh and eighth centuries, the cultures

of the two regions still seemed to be essentially one. After Huna rule, by the end of the sixth century, Kashmir entered its greatest period of political and cultural attainment with the Karkota dynasty (AD 600-855), including its greatest period of temple building.

Except for neolithic stones, no archaeological remains before the Kushan period are known in Kashmir, although the often mentioned Asokan stupas, with their supporting structures for habitation and worship, must have once been prominent in Srinagar, the town he founded. Asoka's son, Jalauka, is said to have erected Saivite temples in the narrow Wangath valley, although the stone temples there today are all of Karkota or later date. There seems little reason to doubt the native texts, particularly the *Nilamatapurana*, which claims this to be one of the ancient locations of Siva worship, a site along a pilgrimage route and one that continued to be supported for more than a thousand years.³ Despite Stein's diligent search for early remains in the late nineteenth century, no trace of these early Wangath monuments was found.

I. The Early Hindu Style

Just as stone and bronze images of seventh- and eighth-century Karkota rule are regarded as examples of "classic" Kashmiri art, so also Hindu temples of the Karkota dynasty best exemplify the typical architectural style. Although no complete examples survive, the remains at Buniar, Martand, Pandrethan and Payar reveal most of the features that have come to be understood as distinctive of the Kashmiri style. Many of the monuments are linked to Kashmir's remarkable king, Lalitaditya, who ruled during most of the first half of the eighth century and whose military exploits extended Kashmiri influence well beyond the small valley. As so often happens, political achievements, so important at the time, are largely forgotten, but artistic creations remain as a lasting testament. In Lalitaditya's case, Karkota temples better express his vision than any of his ambitious military ventures.

Fig. 1 Nearly all studies of Kashmiri temples give Loduv precedence as the earliest remaining stone structure. Not mentioned by Kalhana or in the accounts of the Chinese monks, it first appears in the writings of nineteenth-century visitors such as Vigne and Courie, who gave the first description in 1866.⁴ Courie listed its essential features, giving a square ground-plan of seven metres on each side with only one doorway. He noted the pilasters at the corners, a slightly overhanging cornice and a single arched, but not trefoil, doorway surmounted with a triangular pediment resting upon two pilasters. His drawing of the doorway, also published later by Foucher (who compares it with the Guniyar temple in Swat), oddly enough omits the trefoil arch surrounding the opening, although it remains clearly visible today, even in photographs. Any evidence of a roof had long ago disappeared. The inside circular plan is unusual, contrary to the outside square. The diameter of over five metres at the floor level diminishes to four and a half metres at the projecting cornice, nearly three metres above the floor. There is no evidence of a surrounding wall although large numbers of stones are scattered about the area.

Loduv exhibits some of the typical Kashmiri features, such as the trefoil niche, rounded, projecting stone courses along the base and the elevated platform (although still partially under water from the nearby spring), and probably once included a pyramidal roof, suggested by the corbelled corners that imply a "lantern" ceiling as found later at Pandrethan or a domed construction such as seen at Payar. The adhesive qualities of the limestone mortar used in Kashmir permitted domes of some size, and spanning a temple the size of Loduv was possible. Its other features suggest an early date, notably the smaller individual stones and a simpler type of trefoil niche, consisting of a rounded arch inside a trefoil pediment. Later doorways include an inner door with another trefoil niche above the lintel, as seen on a number of eighth-century examples. Because of its unique (for Kashmir) circular plan and similarity to the Guniyar temple in Swat, Loduv cannot be dated later than the early years of the Karkota dynasty, perhaps even to the late sixth or early seventh century, following the end of Huna rule.

Fig. 2 Several other early Karkota temples are scattered across the Valley, all in deplorable condition. The cluster of ruins at Wangath, long a primary site of Siva worship due principally to its location along one of the Saiva pilgrimage routes, is noted by Kalhana as being continuously endowed over many centuries, although by his time it had already become neglected. Of the seventeen ruins remaining, a few retain enough of their original design to indicate their similarity to Loduv and to later monuments in the Valley. There is evidence of the typical Kashmiri stone walls, one temple with a front and rear chamber, one with a single entry door, another with two doors and at least one temple with four openings. Of considerable interest are the remains of stone ceilings, both domical and overlapping, as found at Loduv, and indicating again the "lantern" type of



1. View of Loduv temple.

Wangath temples.



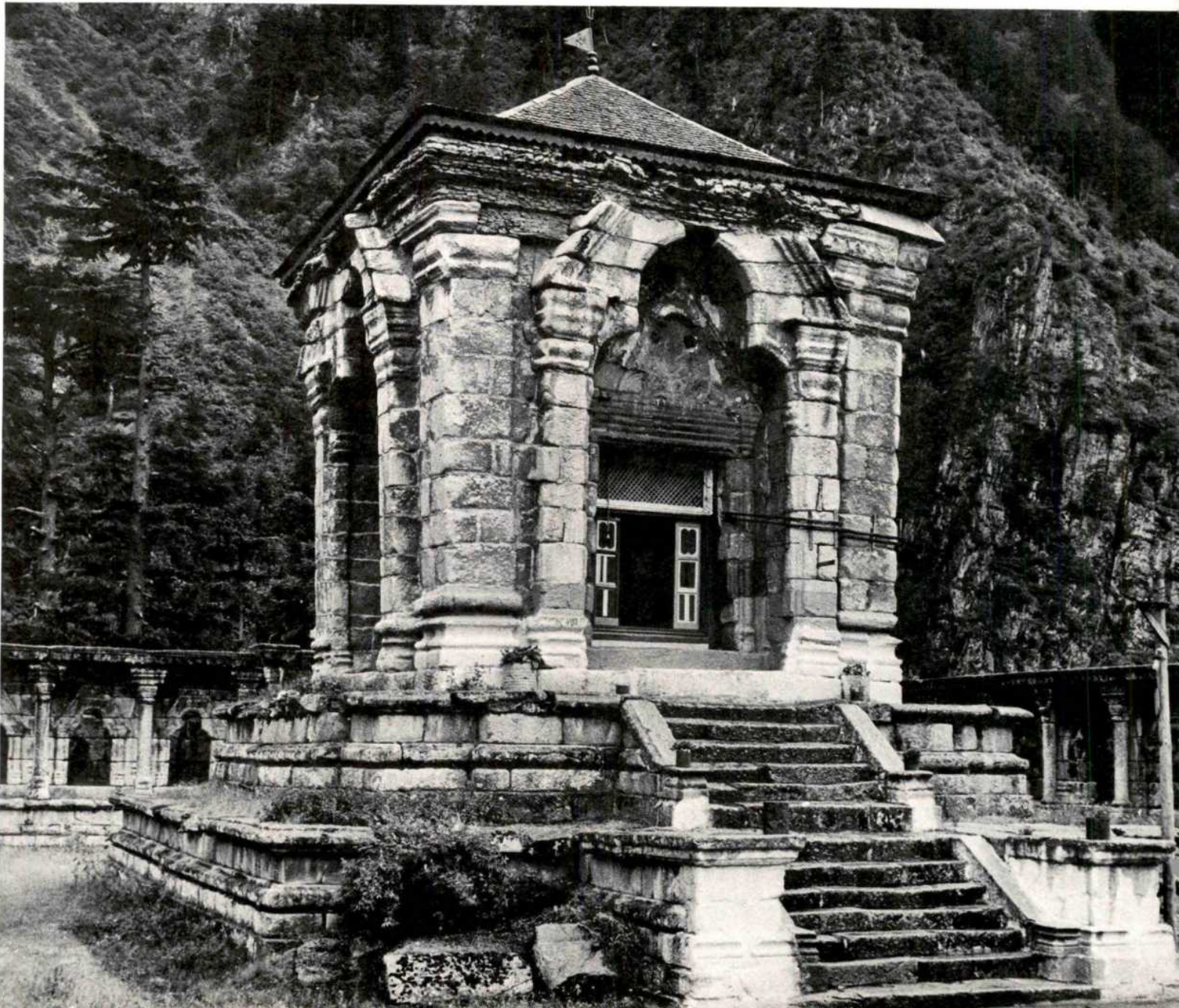
construction. The only decoration upon those ceilings appear to have been lotuses and other floral designs. Each shrine was raised upon a pedestal and most had a drain spout for the lingam, one over one and half metres in diameter. Enormous cut stones are scattered about the area, including one cistern, carved out of a single block, four and a half metres long and two metres wide. Fragments of decorative mouldings, similar to those found at Pandrethan and Payar, support claims that some of the temples here belong to Lalitaditya's reign, while the simplicity of the trefoil niches and details of the stone carving on others point to earlier Karkota donations, closer in date to the temple at Loduv.

All the evidence at Wangath indicates continuous building over a period of time and occasional modifications of earlier shrines. Of the later constructions, the most interesting is the large stone platform, thirty by twenty metres. In addition to once having a room in the centre, it included the bases of fluted columns, eight of them still in place, each about sixty centimetres in diameter, with an intercolumnation of over 3.6 metres, and a stairway facing the older group of temples. This construction is unique in Kashmir, and Kak may be correct in assigning it to the later period of Jayasimha (AD 1128-1155), when, according to Kalhana, one Sumanas, brother of a minister of the king, erected a *matha* or congregation hall in the midst of the destroyed Wangath temples.⁵

Fig. 3 The best preserved Kashmiri temple complex is at Buniar. With the exception of its pyramidal roof, it remains nearly intact with its raised shrine, monumental stone entrance gate and surrounding cellular peristyle. Although smaller than Martand, it has suffered less damage, due in part to being made of granite which is more durable than the limestone used in nearly all other Kashmiri temples. However, the building of the modern road up to the entrance gate covered over portions of the base and stairway as well as the guardian images once part of the entrance.

The double entrance gate, almost 7.6 metres wide and nearly equal to the width of the cella, provides a visual axis for the entire complex. It repeats the shape of the shrine, anchors the

3. Buniar temple.



colonnade of cells and orients the worshipper to the temple plan. Once inside the gate, one is surrounded by the intact quadrangle, measuring forty-four by thirty-six and a half metres and consisting of fifty-three elevated cells. The entrance to each cell is in the form of a trefoil niche (the same design carved in miniature upon the entrance gate) enclosed in a triangular pediment resting upon half-engaged columns. Directly in front of the cells is a colonnade, standing upon a base similar in style to that of the temple itself. These columns are connected to the niches by transverse beams and atop these remains the first course of the entablature, with its frieze of miniature trefoils. The elevated base and small size of these cells suggest that they originally held images, as seen on the earlier Buddhist quadrangles in Gandhara, where chapels surround the main stupa, such as at Takht-i-Bahi.

The shrine itself, upon the typical double base, is a square of four metres with both the ceiling and roof being modern reconstructions. Although presently a Siva temple, Buniar must have been originally dedicated to Vishnu, for the pedestal of the primary image had decorative mouldings on three sides and was placed against the back wall of the cella, unlike Siva temples where the lingam stood in the centre of the shrine to allow circumambulation.

Despite the generally well-preserved structural forms, the absence of imagery, usually found upon the walls of Kashmiri shrines and gateways, gives the Buniar temple a curious empty quality, reinforced by the surrounding open cells of the peristyle. Neighbouring shrines, such as Fattehar, Uri and Datemandir, all reveal something of the same style as Buniar although retaining less of their original form and decoration. To better understand the eighth-century Kashmiri architectural idiom it is necessary to turn to the temple complex at Martand.

Named after the sun-god Martanda, this is Kashmir's best known monument. Except for the later Orissan temple at Konarak, it may well be the largest shrine dedicated to the sun-god, remaining in India. By virtue of its size, completeness and splendid location it has long attracted the attention of visitors to the Valley and was well known, still in worship and in excellent condition during the twelfth century, when Kalhana wrote "...that liberal king built the wonderful shrine of Martanda, with its massive walls of stone within a lofty enclosure."⁶ Kalhana's "liberal king" was Lalitaditya and among the many statues and temples credited to his patronage, Martand remains his finest monument.

Like Harwan and Parihasapura, Martand is situated with a commanding view of the valley below. The site had long been favoured by worshippers of Surya, as noted in the *Nilamatapurana* which was composed in the seventh or eighth century, but the earliest mention of the Martand temple is found in the text by Kalhana, where he credits its construction to Lalitaditya. It continued to command respect, if Jonaraja's fifteenth-century addition to Kalhana's history is accurate, until the desecrations of Sultan Sikander around AD 1400. Later Muslim writers expressed astonishment at its finely cut stones, impressive pillars and the presence of a dome, made of stone, over the main shrine.

Martand is the largest of the early Brahmanical type of Kashmiri temple. Instead of the Buddhist grouping of enclosed assembly halls, here one finds a large and elevated central shrine, surrounded on all sides by an expansive courtyard, sixty-seven metres deep and forty-three metres wide and enclosed by a pillared arcade. Within the surrounding arcade are some eighty or so individual cells, now empty but once occupied by Hindu images associated with Surya and the various forms of Vishnu. The pedestals remaining in some of the cubicles confirm their use as image shrines. This particular arrangement probably derives from earlier Buddhist structures, where monastic demands caused monks' cells to surround a central courtyard which was often open but could also include an elevated shrine. In Gandharan examples, such as seen at Takht-i-Bahi,⁷ the cells were reduced in size, further elevated above the courtyard floor, and instead of providing lodging for monks enclosed images and reliquary-stupas, in the same fashion as found in Kashmiri Hindu temples such as Buniar and Martand.

The placement of these cells, noticeably above the courtyard floor, creates a dramatic effect, visually cutting off the outside world and placing the statues above the eye-level of the worshipper. The cells were roofed over and in front of the side walls of each stood a fluted column, held in place at the top by a continuous architrave. The opening of each cell is enclosed by the typical Kashmiri trilobed arch, set inside a triangular pediment. Small geese or ducks are carved atop the capital of each of the flanking pilasters and another bird is found within the secondary triangular niche at the top. At each of the two larger cells, midway along the northern and southern sides, there remain circular sockets that once supported wooden doors.

From outside the complex, the approaching worshipper's view is dominated by the colossal double gateway which leads immediately to the ritual tank and on to the towering *mandapa* facade directly ahead. Unlike the often sprawling Buddhist complexes, here all

Figs. 4, 5



4. Martand temple.

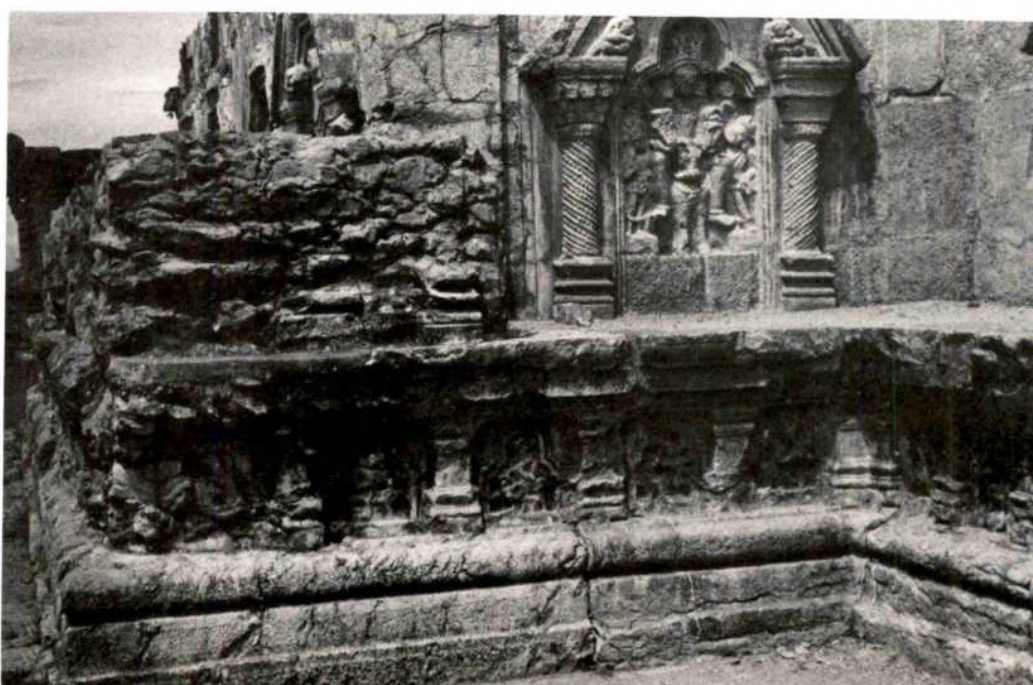
5. View of Martand taken in 1866. (After Cole, *Illustrations of Buildings in Ancient Kashmir* [London, 1869]).



6. Pent-roof motif and Vishnu figure, Martand.



7. Surya from Martand.



ceremonies and processions were conducted within the spacious enclosed courtyard surrounding the lofty, central structure. Each of the three primary elements—temple, arcade and gateway—is raised well above the floor, enhancing its already sizeable proportions, and Martand is further distinguished by its physical situation upon a plateau, with a panoramic view of the Kashmiri valley beyond, serving to give added monumentality to the entire complex.

The central shrine is composed of an elevated pair of connected structures, the first Kashmiri temple to have more than one room, and two detached side shrines. The primary, central structure is nineteen metres in length and eleven metres wide at the rear but narrows to eight metres at the front. At their greatest present height the remains reach twenty-three metres. The first chamber contains relief carvings about the inner walls while the rear sanctum, once the location of the primary image, probably of Surya, is devoid of any carvings. Adjacent to the main shrine, the two detached structures are located about one metre outside the walls, and are some five and a half by four metres in size. Each is divided into a front and rear section by a central wall with no connecting door, the only entrance being from the front or the back. These paired shrines were once attached, at the top, to the main structure.

There have been questions about the original design of the roof over the main shrine. The ubiquitous Kashmiri double pent-roof, utilized as a decorative motif throughout Martand, seems unlikely to have been suitable for such a massive span, although a single, triangular pediment, made of stone or more likely of wood and copper, may have been the roof type. Such a design is found on the monolithic stone shrine carved inside a cave at the base of the hill just below Martand. Some fragments of stone have led others to suggest that Martand once included the intersecting “lantern” ceiling so often found on smaller temples. One curious piece of evidence that suggests that it did not originally have a pediment inside a trefoil arch, as found so often in Kashmir, is the presence of broken pediments, located just below the beginning of the stone arches that remain above the entrance to the cella. It is clear from the angle of these pediments that they would not fit within the existing trefoil arch and were broken or removed later to allow the arch to be constructed.

The answer to this and other questions about Martand are complicated by its various rebuildings. It has long been known that Lalitaditya's Martand was built over an older monument. Fragments of earlier sculpture can be seen along the outside of the rear wall. The two detached, double shrines, placed on either side, at the front of the platform, have yet to be satisfactorily explained and still appear as additions rather than part of a cohesive plan. Because each is divided into two parts, what was once a Surya temple may have been modified by Vaishnavas into the five-part, or *panchayatana*, Vishnu temple, as found elsewhere in Kashmir. In addition, many of the decorative details within the shrine and about the plinth are of a style later than that associated with eighth-century Kashmiri art, and along with what appear to be structural alterations at the entrance to the cella, noted above, indicate that alterations and additions did take place. Martand, originally dedicated to the sun-god, may have been remodelled to suit the ninth- or tenth-century taste of the then dominant Vaishnava cult. The numerous solar affinities within Vishnu worship allow for the absorption of a Surya temple with minimal alterations beyond the primary image, in this case long since removed. The numerous subsidiary images fit well into both Surya and Vishnu worship.

The primary image was removed or destroyed even before Kalhana's time, and few of the many relief carvings that once adorned the inner walls of the shrine remain distinct today. Some idea of this missing image, likely to have been of the sun-god Surya, may be gained from the monumental quality of the ninth-tenth-century bronze Surya now in the Cleveland Museum.⁸ Human destruction, certainly underway by the fifteenth century, and the poor quality of a friable limestone unable to withstand Kashmir's seasonal temperature changes, have combined to reduce many of the relief carvings to battered forms barely distinguishable from the adjacent uncarved but badly weathered wall surface. Not one of the fourteen figures located just below the cornice in the front shrine is recognizable. Likewise, along door frames and within triangular niches above doorways are fragmentary pieces of sculpture effaced beyond recognition.

Some of the larger figures, however, do retain enough of their original form to be identified. Upon each side wall of the front chamber is a relief carving of a miniature Kashmiri shrine, complete with double pent-roof, enclosing the familiar figure of one of the river goddesses. The north wall contains the graceful form of Ganga, holding a water-pot in her left hand and a lotus stalk in her right. She stands atop a *makara* and is flanked by two attendants, one holding an umbrella over her head. Directly across, also served by two attendants but standing upon a tortoise, is an image of Yamuna. Above each is a pair of flying figures holding a crown.

The front shrine includes the remains of several large images, but even more damaged than the river goddesses. The best preserved one is upon the north wall. Inside a double pent-roofed

shrine is a multi-armed image of Vishnu, in the style frequently found among late eighth- or ninth-century Kashmiri sculptures. There are three primary heads: the placid central face of Vasudeva, flanked by the boar and lion heads representing Aniruddha and Sankarshana. Between the feet of the god is Prithvi, the earth goddess. The various attributes are too effaced to be distinguished. Atop the three primary heads is a group of seven more, in rows, with one at the top. This representation, known as Vishvarupa, was rare in Kashmir but well known elsewhere and follows the iconography found in earlier Gupta images from Mathura rather than contemporary versions known in Nepal. In the former, the boar and lion heads are present, while Nepalese examples preferred only human heads. Directly across from the Vishnu image is a severely damaged three-headed figure that has been identified by some as another form of Vishnu. However, as pointed out by Mitra, the two side heads are not animal-like, in fact the right face is fierce looking, suggesting the image is probably that of Mahadeva.⁹

One of a group of smaller images at the rear of the shrine can be identified as that of Surya. It shows the god flanked by attendants and riding a chariot pulled by seven horses and driven by Aruna. Other images of Surya are found amongst the rows of figures surrounding the plinth, although in a later style than those inside. Of considerable interest is one image of Surya in which the god is shown in his typical non-Indian garb (the only major Hindu god represented in foreign dress), most notably the boots, but riding a horse and proceeding directly toward the viewer, similar to later Surya images from eastern India and unlike the canonical versions where he rides in a chariot.¹⁰

The dominant decorative motif throughout the monument—upon the entrance gate, about the peristyle, in the main shrine, upon doorway mouldings and surrounding most images—is the distinctive architectural niche. It probably derives from Gandhara but also follows the roof design of local Kashmiri temples. It consists of three major parts, blended into a harmonious design. The innermost niche is a trefoil opening with filleted moulding to enhance its trilobed form. This is contained within a triangular pediment resting atop attached columns. Those columns are decorated with repeated chevron, lozenge or a variety of bead and cushion patterns. A large capital, with its own decorative patterns, sometimes including small geese or mythical creatures, joins each of these columns to the pediment. The trefoil niche and triangular pediment are both enclosed by the third part, a larger version of the latter but more elaborate and topped with a double pent-roof. The mouldings are recessed, giving a degree of depth to the outline, enhancing the geometric shapes and strengthening the entire form.

Were it not for the traditional popularity of the sun-god cult in north-western India and the name of the temple being Martand, this structure might today be judged to have been dedicated to Vishnu, so prominent are the images of that deity. Numerous and important temples to Surya were well supported in the northern part of India, as noted in the records of Hsuan Tsang, including one erected by Mihirakula, the same Huna chief who ravaged much of Buddhist Gandhara and ended his days in Kashmir.¹¹ The unusual arrangement of the various parts of Martand, notably the two side shrines at the western end, may derive, in part, from the Surya cult itself. The Kashmiri *Vishnudharmottarapurana*, redacted in the seventh century, offers certain clues to explain this temple plan. According to Kramrisch, it lists one hundred and one types of temples and describes a shrine called a Garuda temple but actually dedicated to Surya. Composed of a main shrine and attached side shrines, it forms the shape of the Garuda or sun-bird, "...who carries Surya. . . . The Sun temple Garuda houses the image of Surya, in the central building. It is flanked in the lateral shrines by Danda and Pingala or Saturn and Yama. . . ."¹²

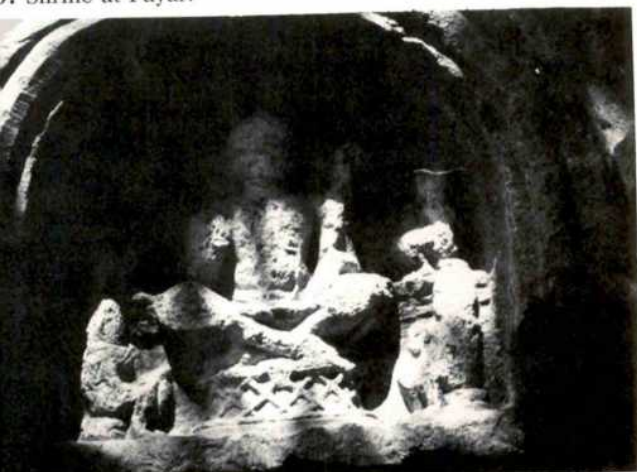
8. View of Pandrethan temple

9. Ceiling, Pandrethan.

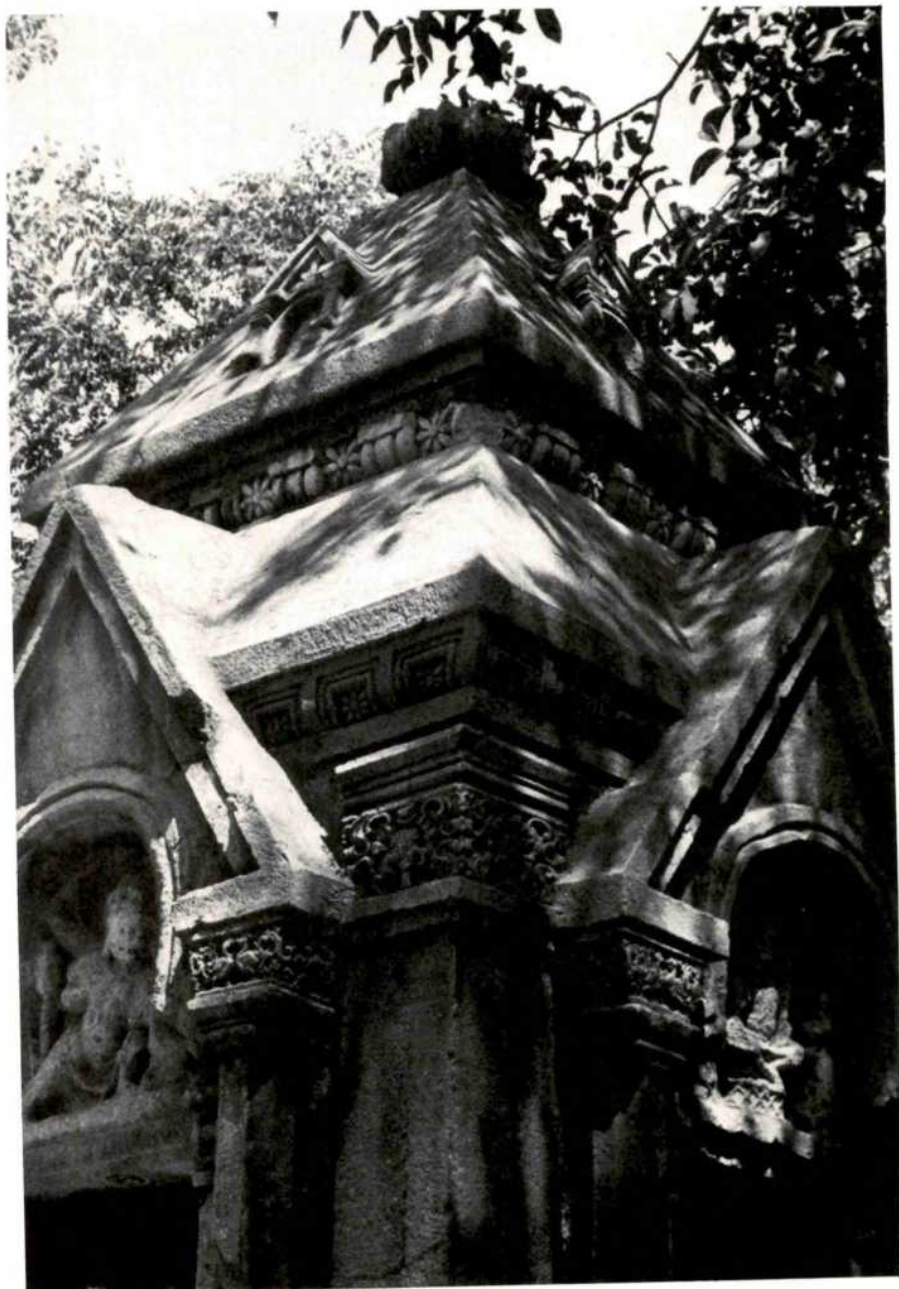




10. Shrine at Payar.



12. Lakulisa, Payar.



11. Payar (detail).

13. Nataraja, Payar.



14. Ceiling, Payar.



Subsequent Hindu temples, the most prominent being those erected in the ninth century by the Utpalas, follow the design of Martand. However, another architectural feature was also developed in temples during the Karkota period and like many of Martand's features it belongs to both the north-western part of India and to the Kashmiri tradition. This feature is the formation of intersecting cross-members, best known as the "lantern" ceiling. Like so many aspects of stone architecture, it derives from wooden models as still found throughout the nearby Himalayan regions and well known across Central Asia, as seen in replicas painted and carved upon the domes of the Buddhist caves from Bamiyan to Kyzil and across to Dunhuang, appearing ultimately in China and Korea. It was known within the Indian subcontinent but despite its obvious mandala-like configuration, should be considered a minor type there. Its popularity in the north-west¹³ may be due to its probable origin, from nearby Parthian styles, coming into India with Parthian influence just prior to Kushan rule.

Figs. 8, 9 The most dramatic and best preserved example of the "lantern" ceiling in Kashmir is found in the Siva temple at Pandrethan. Due to its remarkable state of preservation and a passage in Kalhana that some have linked to this temple,¹⁴ and despite numbers of stone images, fully in the eighth-century style, found about the area, the Pandrethan Siva temple has usually been dated late. Local legend tells of its being mostly submerged and completely covered over by foliage and it still sits in the middle of a freshwater spring, this possibly accounting for its not being desecrated. Its architectural and sculptural style suggest a date well within the Karkota period, possibly during the reign of Lalitaditya.

Pandrethan conforms to the architectural features established at Buniar, notably a tall shrine with distinctive doorways and a system of alternating trefoil and triangular openings. Much of the decorative moulding about the capitals closely matches the remains from an eighth-century capital found at Parihasapura, and the flying figures upon the ceiling are more similar to Gupta examples than to later medieval versions. The corbelled type of support system for the ceiling is the same as that found among early Karkota temples at Wangath and Fattegharh. Most difficult to understand is the return of these seventh- and eighth-century motifs after the appearance of ninth-century Utpala styles, so dramatic are the decorative changes following the Karkota dynasty.

The temple base still remains under water, obscuring the rows of elephants and fine decorative carvings, but modern day visitors do not have to swim into the interior, as did nineteenth-century English visitors, but can walk across a metal bridge borrowed from the local military establishment. The temple retains its double pent-roof, lacking only the crowning member, similar to an *amalaka*, as well as some of the detailing around the doorways. The steeply pitched roof contains small *chaitya* window projections on each of four sides. The only remaining image, above the main door, is of a seated Lakulisa, evident by the cross-legged posture, elevated seat and the *lakuta* (staff) resting against the left arm. The other three niches probably once also contained images, as seen at the Payar temple.

The most dramatic aspect of this temple is the ceiling. It is composed of nine stone slabs arranged in overlapping courses with the exposed corners filled with flying figures known as *vidyadharas*. The topmost slab is carved into a twelve-petalled lotus, surrounded by a beaded border. The four corners of this stone also contain flying figures, different from the others in that they appear to support the central lotus with their outstretched hands. These ceiling stones are supported by a surrounding corbelled system that brings the upper portions of the walls slightly into the interior space. A similar effect is found with the walls of the earlier Loduv temple, but there all evidence of its actual ceiling is gone, only the corbelled walls remain.

Figs. 10, 11 The last of the best preserved of the Karkota temples is the small but exquisitely detailed shrine at Payar. Composed entirely of only ten stones, plus the base, and standing only about six metres high, this elegant temple is unique among Kashmiri remains. It is not mentioned by Kalhana or anyone else until the early European visitors, due in large part to its location well away from the primary routes along the Valley. The elevated shrine is open on four sides, with steps leading up the east and the four doorways conform to the Karkota style trefoil and triangular arrangement, as does the double pent-roof. The decorative details about the capitals, two each supporting the triangular pediments and larger ones at each of the four corners of the shrine proper, are especially elaborate. Geese with foliate tails, stylized plants and kneeling cows comprise a nearly continuous decorative band encircling the shrine just below the roof, interrupted only by the four trefoil niches.

Fig. 12 The eastern niche, above the entrance, contains an image of Lakulisa, similar to but better preserved than the one at Pandrethan. Here can be seen the typical attributes of the wicker seat, crossed legs and meditation band, the *yogapatta*, and the four attendant figures, his principle disciples. At the western side is a dancing Siva in the *urdhavajanu* (raised thigh) pose. The

Fig. 13

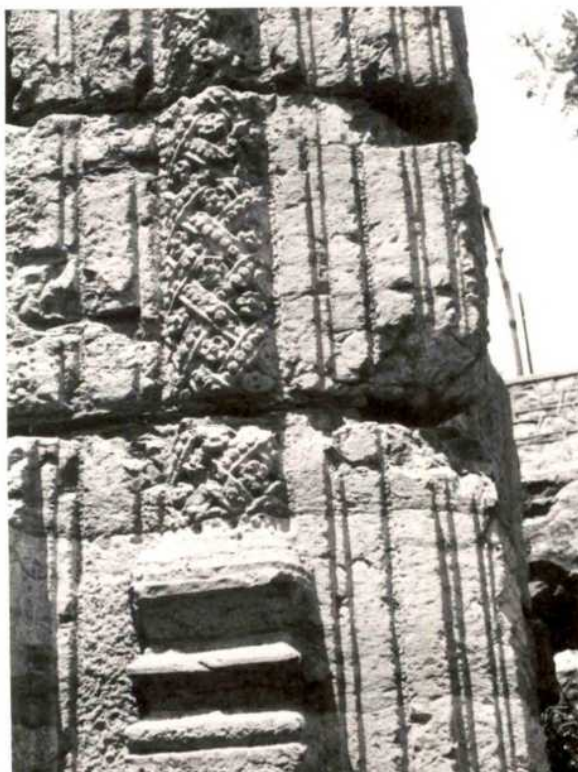
six-armed figure carries the *trisula* (trident) and *khatvanga* (ritual sceptre) and is accompanied by a male drummer and female lyre player. On the north face is the three-headed Siva, with *aghora* (ferocious) and benign female Umas flanking the peaceful central face. Over the southern doorway, with flames rising from behind, is an image of Siva as Bhairava, an elephant to his right and Devi to his left. Inside the shrine is the Sivalingam, with a circular dome above which has a lotus in the centre and a row of circles about the perimeter. The corners of the dome contain figures with their arms outstretched, supporting the dome and marking the transition from square ground-plan to circular roof. These figures appear to be flying and wear a sash about their mid-section with long cloth ends streaming behind. The entire dome and pictorial scene is carved from the single roof stone, less than two and a half metres across.

Fig. 14

This ceiling arrangement, unique in Kashmir, perhaps in northern India, has seldom been published¹⁵ and is of particular interest for its resemblance to earlier Western domes with cosmological symbolism. The supporting figures at Payar are closer in style to those of classical, Mediterranean types than to those at Pandrethan, which have more in common with Indian examples.



5. Avantiswami temple.



16. Decorative pilaster, Avantiswami. (left).



17. Donor panel, Avantiswami. (right).

II. The Later Hindu Style

The Karkota period, which ended in AD 855, was followed by the Utpala dynasty of nearly a hundred years (AD 856-939) and with it Kashmir's last era of vigorous temple building. The first Utpala ruler, Avantivarman, erected a complex of stone temples along the main road south from Srinagar, a site often visited by tourists today. Early twentieth-century efforts by the archaeological survey teams reconstructed it and a neighbouring temple that stand as the best preserved examples of post-Karkota architecture in Kashmir. The smaller of the two, Avantivarman's Avantismwami, is the better preserved and while adding little to the fundamental styles established in the preceding dynasty, does include a remarkable example of portrait sculpture as well as changes in the earlier decorative motifs.

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

These temples are more ornate than Karkota works, especially the elaborate pilasters carved to look more like wooden columns than the more classical styles from earlier times. As Percy Brown pointed out, the egg and dart of classical antiquity is replaced now by native lotus petals.¹⁶ Nearly all the pilasters are decorated with a rich variety of motifs, some native to India, others reflecting West Asian taste, as found upon Sassanian silver: roundels that enclose lotuses, geese, mythical creatures, paired humans, birds and flowers as well as numerous geometric patterns that all together give these ninth-century monuments a livelier quality than was possible with the older, fluted columns of Karkota temples. Otherwise, the layout and trefoil and arch motifs known at Martand are here repeated, and sharing the peristyle enclosure with the main Avantismwami shrine are four smaller temples, making the five-part complex (*panchayatana*) favoured by Kashmiri Vaishnavas. Of great interest, however, are the portrait reliefs that once

Fig. 17

adorned these Avantipur temples. Both donors, the king and the queen, are represented, the largest representations being the separate plaques on either side of the stairs leading to the main shrine. The great number of stone Vaishnava images discovered here and now in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar, attest the active artistic production of ninth-and tenth-century Kashmiri artists. However, these temples represent the last of the creative period of Kashmiri stone temple building, for soon internal strife and Muslim incursions bring to a halt over five centuries of imperial patronage and the epoch of Kashmiri Buddhist and Hindu architecture closes. Not until much later, when great wooden buildings dedicated to Islam began to appear across the Valley, did Kashmir once again witness the renewal of its earlier architectural vigour and creativity.

NOTES

1. Pran Gopal Paul, *Early Sculpture of Kashmir* (Leiden: privately printed, 1986), p. 12.
2. R.T., I, 86.
3. R.T., I, 107 and Stein's note.
4. W.G. Courie, "Notes on Some Temples of Kashmir, Especially Those not Described by General A. Cunningham, in his essay published in the J.A.S.B. for Sept., 1848," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVII, pt. 2 (September, 1866), pp. 97-100.
5. R.C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (1933; reprint, New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1971), p. 166.
6. R.T., IV, 192.
7. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Periods* (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 1971), pl. XXXIII.
8. Sherman Lee, "Clothed in the Sun: A Buddha and a Surya from Kashmir," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (1967), pp. 43-63, with a colour plate on rear cover.
9. D. Mitra, *Pandrethan, Avantipur & Martand* (New Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, 1977), p. 101.
10. Dr. P. Pal first noted this anomaly and suggested parallel works from areas far from Kashmir.
11. J.N. Banerjea (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956), p. 431, note.
12. S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), p. 422.
13. Klaus Fischer, *Dächer, Decken und Gewölbe indischer Kultstätten und Nutzbauten* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974), pp. 182-187.
14. R.T., VIII, 2409.
15. First by A. Cunningham, "An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, as Exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVII, pt. 2 (September, 1848), pp. 254-255; more recently in K. Fischer, op. cit., pl. 127 and by A. Soper, "The Dome of Heaven in Asia," *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX, no. 4 (1947), pp. 225-248 discusses these corner figures but illustrates other examples, including Pandrethan.
16. Percy Brown, "The Architecture of Kashmir," *Marg*, VIII, no. 2 (March, 1955), p. 49.

□

Early Stone and Terracotta Sculpture

John Siudmak

Stone Sculpture

The relatively small number of surviving stone sculptures from Kashmir is a poor reflection of a rich and prolific artistic tradition which relied mostly on court patronage stretching back to the time of Asoka. Most of the remains date from the Karkota period when the style reached its maturity or from later. What may be regarded as the classical phase dates from the first half of the eighth century and flourished during the reign of Lalitaditya-Muktapida (*circa* second quarter of the eighth century). It lasted until about AD 850 after which there was a gradual decline. Most sculptures belonging to this classical phase can be grouped into a number of schools partly overlapping in time. Apart from one isolated example, nothing survives prior to the fifth century.¹

The Kashmir style was very eclectic and attracted many different influences during its development which reflected, to a large degree, the political conditions of the time and the relative position of Kashmir. The emergence of a national style paralleled the growth of Kashmir as a major political power. Its rise to power was enhanced by the political hiatus created by the destruction of neighbouring Gandhara and the weakening of the Gupta empire in the south by the White Hunas in the second half of the fifth and early sixth century. Artistically both areas had overshadowed Kashmir. However, although there is some evidence of direct Gupta influence, the predominant influence was from the north-west, either from Gandhara or from the post-Gandhara tradition which survived in the region. This was natural given the geographical proximity of Gandhara to Kashmir and was generally the case historically with the exception of the Mauryan period when the local art must have followed Mauryan conventions.

Most of Kashmir's artistic heritage was systematically destroyed in the early fourteenth century by Sikander Butshikan, one of the early Muslim kings, and many of the ruins were pillaged for the construction of mosques. Finally, ruins which survived into the nineteenth century suffered in turn partly at the hands of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who built many new temples at pilgrimage sites using material from ancient ruins and partly through their destruction into modern times for the building of new roads. Thus apart from a number of excavated sculptures, the majority of the remains are fragmentary.

These remains can be classified into two groups: sculptures in the round and architectural relief work. Sculpture in the round was usually carved in greater detail with a finer finish and a high polish. The material used was a characteristic fine-grained chlorite schist capable of being worked in fine detail and ranging in colour from a dark grey often with dark green or reddish-brown patches to a uniform dark green. The smoothness of the surface was enhanced by regular ritual ablution. Single figures or groups of larger size were carved with tangs which slotted into stepped bases on which they stood in shrines or niches. These bases were generally carved with drainage channels at one side.

In addition, there was a great tradition of miniature work. Miniature images could be placed around the cult figure in a shrine or used for private worship. By far the most popular Hindu

images in Kashmir were those of the four-armed Siva or of Vishnu with one or three heads, accompanied by diminutive figures at their sides representing their personified attributes.

The architectural work was executed from a coarser granite-like grey stone. The work was usually much cruder and probably most of it was coated in lime and painted over after installation. Many of the works discussed here are of this type, carved in high relief with a plain, roughly finished back-plate which was fitted into the necessary space in the building. Although there is a difference in quality and detail between the two types of work, the style is essentially the same, whether Hindu or Buddhist. All the sculptures discussed in the following sections are in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, unless otherwise stated.

Bejbehara

The present name of the town replaces the ancient one of Vijayesvara named after the famous shrine of Siva. It was one of the most important pilgrimage places in the Valley and the seat of the ancient southern administrative division of Madavarajya. It lies by the banks of the River Jhelum in the south of the Valley.

Frequently mentioned in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, legend associates it with Asoka. The town appears to have had a close association with Gandhara as Kalhana mentions a large land grant by the White Huna king Mihirakula to a community of Gandhara brahmans settled there.²

A small group of early Hindu sculptures survives from the site with a number of features which correspond to Gandhara art. These are large-scale sculptures in the round although the treatment is rather linear.

Fig. 1 The six-armed Karttikeya, identified by his vehicle the peacock, compares closely with a

Fig. 2 Gandhara bodhisattva image in terms of his massive frame with powerful shoulders and strictly frontal stance although there is no articulation of the stomach muscles (this feature reappears in the eighth century). The ornaments compare with some modification to the standard ornamentation of a bodhisattva. The slender sacred thread of the Karttikeya clearly derives from the amulet cord of the bodhisattva although it falls further down the body as does the twisted double-string pearl necklace which crosses the upper right arm below the simple pearl-bordered arm-band. The sacred thread gradually increases in length and can be used as an indication of date. A simple necklace with a pendant replaces the more elaborate wide torque and long necklace with confronting dragon-heads of the bodhisattva. There are also points of comparison in the case of the hair arrangement which is similar to some Gandhara Maitreya images where the hair is gathered up in two wide loops with loose strands falling onto the shoulders.

The dhoti is shorter than that of the bodhisattva which reaches the ankles but the same stylized movement can be seen in the flattened projecting flap at the sides. The material clings to the body with a series of dense pleats between the legs indicated by 'string folds', a feature common in the early art of both Kashmir and Gandhara. The floral garland which loops in front of the body falling near the knees can be compared to the scarf of the bodhisattva. Its form, in a series of overlaid floral segments, should be noted. Although this type of garland does appear in Gandhara, it is more closely associated with Gupta Vishnu images. It becomes a strong feature of Kashmiri art and is used for most Hindu deities.

Fig. 3 The four-armed goddess, identified as a form of Durga by the prongs of a trident at the side of her right foot, is dressed in Hellenistic style and compares closely with a number of Gandhara images. Like the previous figure she stands in a strictly frontal position, and she wears a high-waisted chiton and a long scarf. A cord passes over the left shoulder and forms a loop in front of her body. The scarf falls in a series of folds at her feet, a treatment which may be seen on many early standing female deities in Kashmir. If she represents Mahesvari, she may have formed part of a *matrichakra* or circle of mother goddesses to which there are a number of references in the *Rajatarangini*.

Fig. 4 An early lion similar to Gandhara examples stands near the site of an ancient temple by the riverside at Bejbehara. The site was probably that of the ancient shrine of Siva Vijayesvara, and material was removed from here for the construction of the nineteenth-century temple a short distance away. The lion appears frequently in Kashmiri art not only as a temple guardian but also on the bases of images of the Buddha and of various Hindu deities.

The above examples may be dated to the second half of the fifth century and although a heavy Gandhara influence is evident, the work reflects a fresh and vigorous interpretation of the style. Despite a rather linear treatment, a great sense of vitality is conveyed by the flamboyant detailing of the drapery.

Karttikeya, Bejbehara; second half of the fifth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



2. Gandhara bodhisattva, second/third century. Peshawar Museum.



Baramula

Another important early site is Baramula which derives its name from the ancient shrine of Varahamula named after Varaha, the boar incarnation of Vishnu. It is mentioned repeatedly in the *Rajatarangini* and the fifteenth-century chronicler, Jonaraja, has recorded the destruction of its sacred image. It lay on the right bank of the River Jhelum, on the opposite bank to the twin town of Ushkur, at the western entrance to the Valley. Due to its favourable position for trade, it was a prosperous centre in ancient times and one of the principal towns of the northern administrative division of Kramarajya.

A number of Hindu sculptures carved in the round survive from this area and share several distinctive features suggesting the existence of an important but short-lived school of sculpture. Although relating in some respects to the earlier school of Bejbehara, it is closely tied to the post-Gandhara tradition of the north-west, comprising the ancient Gandhara region and parts of Swat and Buner. This school has long been recognized from the numerous Buddhist and Hindu miniature images found in the region. It is part of a generalized style which extended to Afghanistan, throughout the Panjab and probably as far south as Sind which absorbed many features of late Gupta art.

Fig. 5 The most impressive example of this school is an addorsed image of Mahesvara from the village of Fattehgarh.³ The principal image is three-headed, the main Siva head framed by smaller heads of Bhairava and Uma; on the reverse is an enigmatic figure whose identity is uncertain. Accompanied by his vehicle, the bull, Siva was originally framed by two diminutive attendants representing his personified weapons, one of which remains.

This image also has a massive frame and stands in a strictly frontal position but the treatment is less linear than at Bejbehara, with swelling volume in the chest, stomach and thighs. It shares only two features with the Karttikeya, the slender sacred thread and the floral garland. The jewellery is again of simple form but instead of a series of necklaces, the image wears a torque with two confronting dragon-heads with beads in their mouths. This may ultimately derive from the Gandhara bodhisattva necklace but a single necklace is more typical of Gupta sculpture. The hair arrangement is not dissimilar to the Karttikeya but the face is much rounder.

Fig. 6 A Vishnu torso found at Baramula, compares directly with the Mahesvara in the general modelling and in the ornament and dress. The Vishnu wears an identical dragon-headed torque which is also found on an *eka-mukha-linga* still under worship at the Kotesvara temple at Baramula.⁴ The dhoti and belt of the Vishnu torso are closer to the Gupta repertoire than to the typical north-west type. The manner of tying the belt is similar to the Mahesvara but there the ends are fanned out at the sides rather than falling parallel on the thigh as in the case of the Vishnu. This treatment is typical of a number of Gupta Buddha and Vishnu images.

Fig. 7 A Hindu triad, lacking the Vishnu, in the Bharat Kala Bhavan in Varanasi, may also be attributed to Baramula. The Siva-linga head has a beaded torque more typical of Gupta treatment, rather than a dragon-headed one, but the hair arrangement and facial type are very similar to the Mahesvara.

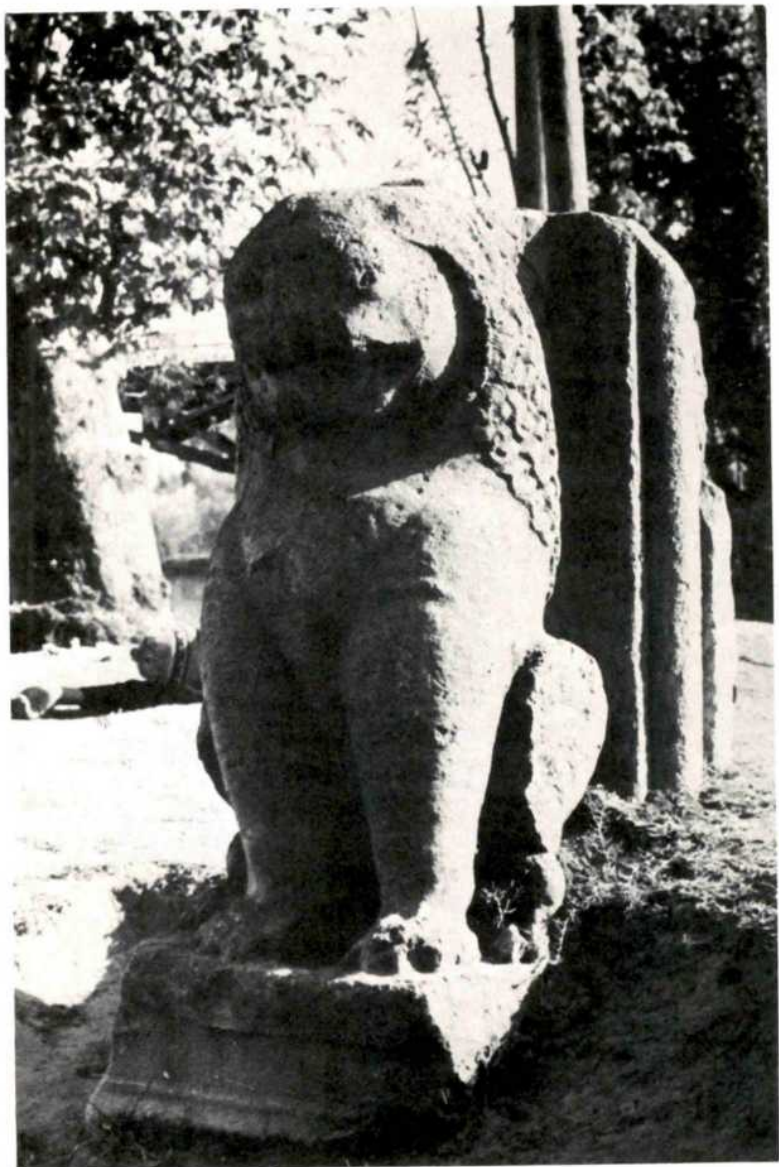
This school may be dated to the sixth century and must have greatly diminished in importance at the end of the century during the construction of the new capital by Pravarasena II when a major diversion of resources must have taken place. The impact of the style generally does not appear to have been very strong on the mainstream development although it appears to have acted as a conduit for a number of Gupta features which can be seen at Pandrethan.

Pandrethan

The modern name derives from the ancient one, Puranadhistana, meaning the old capital. It lies just outside modern Srinagar and was reputedly founded by Asoka. Its importance as a centre of art must go back to the earliest times and did not necessarily diminish after the foundation of the new capital as the construction of the temple of Meruvardhanaswami Vishnu as late as the tenth century shows. The largest group of remains comes from this site which even in the early 1920s was still very extensive. Ram Chandra Kak writing at the time noted that "the area is replete with heaps of ancient ruins which stud the mountain top for more than a mile."⁵ None of the remains appears to date earlier than the sixth century and most of them date from the seventh century or later. The style is very vigorous with strong exaggerated features and the forms are more animated than in the earlier schools. A new repertoire of dress and ornament appears. This is difficult to explain in terms of earlier material since there are so many gaps in our



3. Durga or Mahesvari, Bejbehara; second half of the fifth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



4. Seated lion, Bejbehara town; second half of the fifth century.

5. Addorsed image of Mahesvara, Fattehgarh, near Baramula; sixth century.



6. Vishnu, Baramula; sixth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



7. Hindu triad, Baramula; sixth century. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi.



knowledge but there is some continuity with the art of Bejbehara. The majority of the examples are high relief architectural panels.

An interesting link between the main seventh-century group and the art of Bejbehara is a badly damaged but very beautiful dancing mother goddess probably also from a *matrichakra*. Fig. 9 This figure was reputedly found at Bejbehara and although considerably later, shares the same floral garland and simple jewellery of the Karttikeya and a similar hair arrangement. The three-part crown is tied at one side with flying ribbons of the same corrugated form. A sash is now tied across the hips with the loose ends trailing at one side. The sash is common in Gupta art and appears in some of the post-Gandhara images from the north-west; it was probably introduced via Baramula. The sacred thread passes over the left breast and stomach but now falls just below the line of the skirt. This piece may be dated to the second half of the sixth century.

The Pandrethan Hindu sculptures mostly date from the first half of the seventh century and are roughly contemporaneous with an important group of Buddhist sculptures. The style is characterized by a heavy, fleshy treatment of the body and face and bold ornamentation on a large scale as if in reaction to the restrained tone of the earlier styles. The style of this period is the precursor of the classical art of the eighth-ninth centuries. One piece may be dated to the sixth century and some of the examples are of a very provincial quality and may be later replacements.

The colossal head of Mahesvara illustrates the characteristic facial type with fleshy pouting lips and sharply lidded eyes. A standard treatment of the male and female coiffure may be seen on the principal deities of the Pandrethan sculptures of this period and both are present in this example. Fig. 8 The two male ones are similar to the Baramula examples and may derive from there. There are no Vishnu images from this period but the hair treatment must have followed a standard one of a line of short curls beneath the crown which can be seen on early Vishnu images from Baramula and Bejbehara and on two subsidiary Garuda figures accompanying Varahi and Vaishnavi from Pandrethan.

The mother goddess holding up a cup in one hand probably represents Chamunda and is one of Fig. 10 a group of seven from the site including the one mentioned above. She wears a characteristic waisted tunic with pointed ends open on the left thigh. This garment must have been in common use at the time unlike the iconic chiton used at Bejbehara and it continued to be depicted in sculpture into later periods although the length varied according to fashion. The hair is arranged in a similar way to the Uma head of the Mahesvara above, in two flat wavy sections divided by a centre parting.

3. Head of Mahesvara, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

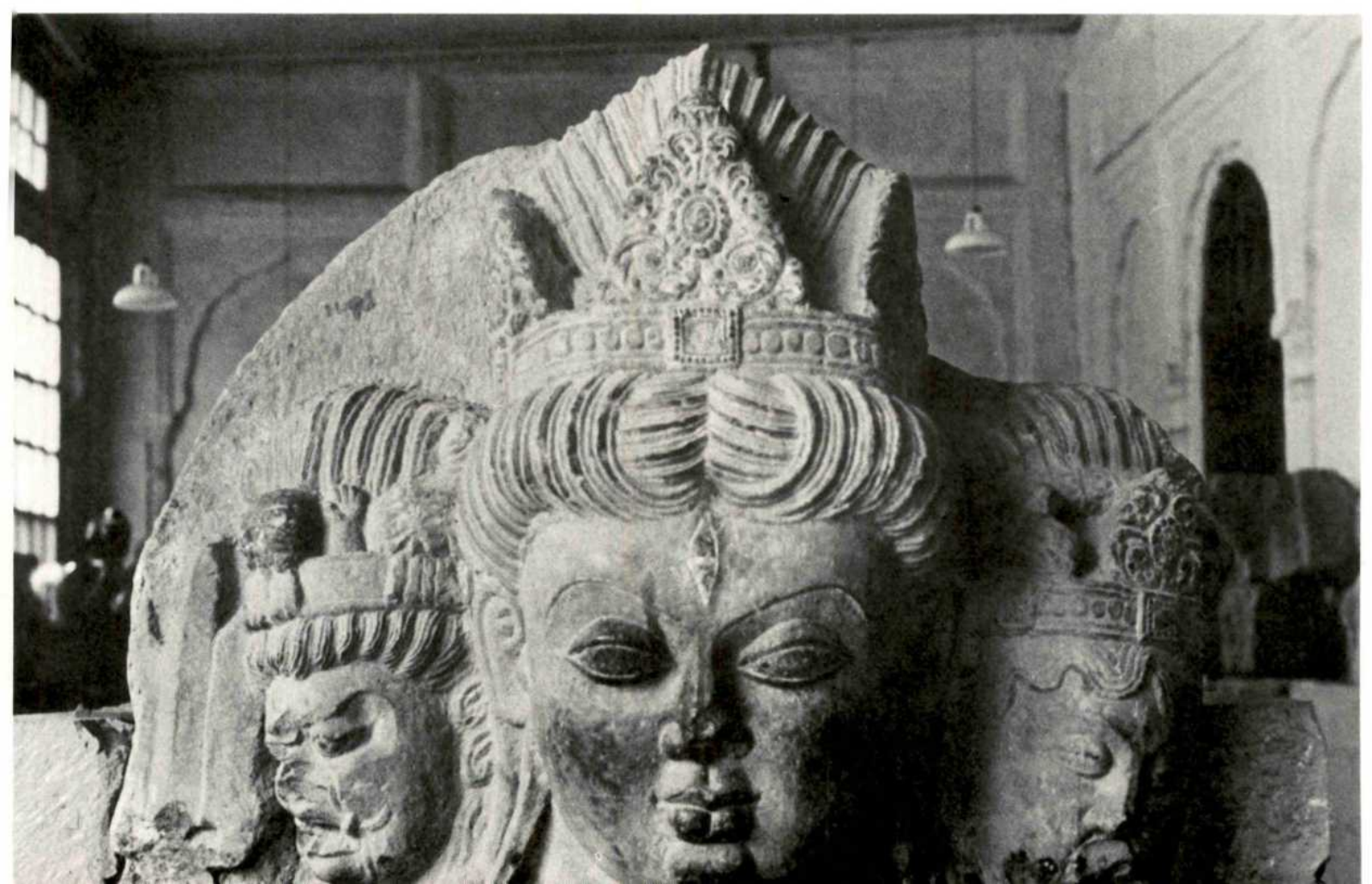


Fig. 11 The large Ganesha sits on a throne with two crouching lions. In Kashmir and other parts of the western Himalayas, he is invariably depicted in this form and his more familiar vehicle, the rat, never appears. As in other parts of India, he was a very popular subject in sculpture. He may also be dated to the seventh century.

The Buddhist sculptures were recovered from a single stupa in excavations conducted by Daya Ram Sahni in 1918.⁶ This is the earliest group of Buddhist sculptures to survive from Kashmir.

Fig. 12 One of the complete pieces, a standing Padmapani, compares directly with a standing Saivite

Fig. 13 figure from the Hindu group in almost every respect. The long beaded necklace compares directly with the long sacred thread of the other which now falls well below the waistband (it subsequently never rises above). The floral garland now more closely resembles the later rendering in the form of an imbricated leaf pattern rather than as overlaid floral segments. These two figures develop directly into the standard bodhisattva and Hindu deity of the classical style of the eighth-ninth centuries.

The Buddhist sculptures from Pandrethan show a number of different features which derive from several sources. The varied treatment of the neckline may be seen as a local innovation from which a distinctive classical treatment later develops.

Fig. 14 The Buddha with the badly damaged head, stands in a flexed pose with the left hand raised at waist level originally holding the corner of his cloak. The pleats of the robe are indicated by 'string folds' which loop towards the right of the body.⁷ The sides are rendered in a series of rippling folds. Both treatments may be seen on Gupta Buddha images from Mathura and this again may have been introduced from the north-west via Baramula. The neckline shows an interesting treatment with the material arranged in a series of wide meandering folds.

Fig. 15 The seated Buddha has a similar arrangement of the pleats and a number of wide meandering folds on the hem of the robe on the left knee. The neckline is rendered in a number of tightly twisted cords. The face is badly damaged but the hair is arranged in horizontal rows of curls with a straight hair-line on the brow which is a standard treatment in the group.

The Pandrethan Buddha image gradually evolves into the classical Kashmir Buddha type which emerges at Parihasapura. Unfortunately, there is no intermediate material in stone although a group of bronze sculptures may partly explain the transition.⁸

9. Mother goddess, Bejbehara; second half of the sixth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (left).

10. Mother goddess, probably Chamunda, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (right).



Parihasapura and the Classical Style

Parihasapura, modern Paraspura, was constructed as the court capital of Lalitaditya-Muktapida on a high plateau about nineteen kilometres from Srinagar. The town was richly endowed by the king and his ministers with a number of magnificent Buddhist and Hindu structures which are described in detail in the *Rajatarangini*. The town was later pillaged for building material by Samkaravarman in the late ninth century for the construction of his capital at nearby Patan although the religious buildings seem to have survived up to the fourteenth century.

None of the Hindu images survives and there is no trace of the imposing stone Garuda pillar mentioned by Kalhana. However, a group of Buddhist sculptures was recovered from a large stupa⁹ believed to be the one erected by Chankuna, Lalitaditya's Tokharian minister. This is the only group of Buddhist sculptures which can be firmly dated.

These sculptures are all architectural reliefs and are now in bad condition. There is little but enough evidence to indicate the full development of the style. A number of new features can also be identified which were common in the art of Buddhist Central Asia. These features



11. Ganesha, Pandrethan;
seventh century. Sri Pratap
Singh Museum, Srinagar.



12. Padmapani, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



13. Saivite deity, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

14. Standing Buddha, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



15. Seated Buddha, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



must have been introduced under the influence of Chankuna who came from an area in the upper Indus Valley in present-day Afghanistan. The Chinese pilgrim Ou-K'ong who arrived in Kashmir in AD 759 also noted that Buddhist Turks (Tokharians) from Central Asia had founded numerous sacred places in Kashmir.

The complete standing crowned Buddha can be taken as a model of the classical Buddha type of Kashmir. The treatment of the body is more restrained and the face is rounder with softer features. The mouth is small and compact and the eyes are almond-shaped with flattened eyelids. An *urna* (the auspicious tuft of hair between the eyebrows) is now visible on the forehead and the curls beneath the crown curve in towards the centre from the sides. Fig. 16

The Buddha wears a short necklace, ear-rings and a three-part crown formed of crescents within which are motifs of flowers. The crown is tied at the sides with flying ribbons of a type common in Central Asian art. The crowned Buddha was a popular subject in Kashmir and there are many examples in bronze. The type is peculiar to Kashmir and appears to express an idea of spiritual kingship.

The most important stylistic detail is the treatment of the robe. The pleats which are indicated by incised lines are now arranged in a series of concentric symmetrical loops falling in the centre of the body. The distinctive treatment of the neckline is of great interest and must develop from the type of experimentation seen at Pandrethan. The ends of the robe are thrown back over the shoulders leaving a line of pleated folds on the right shoulder and a V-shape with two diverging lines of folds on the left. This arrangement is easily modified to the mode where the robe covers the left shoulder only. This mode became an almost constant feature of all contemporary and later Buddha images from Kashmir. It almost invariably occurs with the symmetrical pattern of pleats mentioned above and is unique to Kashmir.

Another more abraded Buddha has a similar treatment with the exception of a garment worn on the shoulders. This three-pointed, tasselled mantle or *camail* with badly damaged sun and moon symbols can be seen at several Central Asian sites such as Bamiyan and Fondukistan. Although it occurs as early as the Kushan period at Mathura and Gandhara, it does not appear in Kashmir before this time and must also have been introduced through the influence of Chankuna and the Turkish Buddhist community. The garment may also be seen at the contemporary Surya temple at Martand. Fig. 17

The standing Atlas is a suaver version of the Pandrethan Padmapani. The bold ornamentation has given way to a simpler treatment and the dhoti is depicted in a more sophisticated manner. He wears two sets of necklaces, a short one and another almost reaching his waistline. Fig. 18



16. Crowned Buddha, Parihasapura; second quarter of the eighth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (left).



17. Crowned Buddha, Parihasapura; second quarter of the eighth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (right).

The leaf pattern garland is of a form similar to that of the Padmapani but is slightly longer. The long scarf appears in this form for the first time in stone sculpture although it can be seen on the much earlier Harwan terracotta tiles. It was also very common in Central Asian art which is again the probable source.

The technical brilliance and virtuosity of the Kashmiri sculptors of the time is demonstrated by the small Buddha Maradarsana relief panel dated in the year 15 of the cyclical Laukika era corresponding to AD 739.¹⁰ It is carved from a grey chlorite schist usually used for sculptures in the round. It may originally have formed part of a miniature shrine or stupa as a number of miniature shrines have survived to suggest such a tradition. The fine quality of the carving suggests a comparison with the ivories of the period. The work serves as a useful point of cross-reference as the general stylistic features accord with those of the Parihasapura sculptures. The facial type is the same with an *urna* and the hair-line curving in at the centre. The pattern of the pleats on the robe is the same with an identical treatment on the left shoulder. The form of Mara at the Buddha's right is similar to the Atlas figure and both wear a short and a long necklace and the same long scarf which is also worn by the earth goddess, Prithvi, shown below as a half figure with a vase.

The recently discovered Vishnu Chaturanana is a sculpture of extraordinary quality and sensitivity and must qualify as the finest example of Kashmiri stone sculpture. This form of Vishnu incorporating the heads of the lion and boar incarnations enjoyed great popularity in Kashmir. He holds his attributes, the lotus and conch, in his two principal hands while the missing two originally rested on the heads of his personified mace and wheel. This figure may also be compared with the Parihasapura sculptures. His sumptuous attire includes a short and long necklace like the Atlas figure and his stance and the form of the dhoti compare closely. The elaborate crown is of the same basic form as that of the crowned Buddhas.

This concludes the discussion of the early stone sculpture of Kashmir down to the classical phase in the second quarter of the eighth century. It should be noted that only sculptures recovered in Kashmir proper have been included. A large group of small plaques and miniature sculptures have been found in the general area (referred to briefly in the section on Baramula) but as these were easily portable and their exact provenance is uncertain, they have been excluded from this essay.

18. Atlas figure, Parihasapura second quarter of the eighth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

19. Buddha Maradarshana, Kashmir; AD 739. National Museum, New Delhi.



20. Vishnu Chaturanana, Kashmir; c. mid-eighth century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.





21. Fertility goddess, Semtha, first/second century; terracotta. Private Collection, London.

22. Head of a bodhisattva, Akhnur; fifth/sixth century; terracotta. British Museum, London.



23. Head of a female attendant, Akhnur; fifth/sixth century; terracotta. British Museum, London.

Terracotta Sculpture

The earliest terracotta finds from Kashmir are from Semthan, ancient Chakradhara, near Bejbehara. A number of sealings and figurines were found there in excavations and as surface finds. These show pronounced Hellenistic features although the face and hair-style have been 'Indianized'. The female figurine may date from the first or second century AD and underlines the importance of the north-west in terms of artistic influence at this comparatively early date. A great many terracotta tiles have survived at Harwan but they are discussed elsewhere in this volume.

Two groups of Buddhist sculptures from Kashmir or within the area of Kashmiri influence, are the schools of Akhnur and Ushkur. They have been variously dated between the fifth and eighth centuries and the Akhnur school is usually thought to be the earlier one. They clearly develop from the late Gandhara tradition of stucco sculpture.¹¹

Most of the remains are in the form of heads showing a wide variety of type and expression. These heads were produced in basic form from moulds and later added to the bodies. They were then individualized by adding various features such as ear-rings, moustache, beard, hair and head-dress as well as facial lines, and finally they were painted. Their context can be guessed at by comparison with relatively well-preserved sites such as Jaulian at Taxila. They were probably also arranged at various levels around a stupa in small groupings with male and female minor gods and religious and lay devotees attending seated or standing Buddhas or bodhisattvas in niches. They may also have formed part of more complex groups of popular scenes from the life of the Buddha such as the assault of Mara or the Buddha meditating in the Indrasala cave.

The greater plasticity of the material makes a comparison with stone sculpture very difficult. The latter is usually confined to rigid iconographic interpretation whereas terracotta art achieves a greater freedom of expression and draws its inspiration from real life. The artist was able to represent a wide range of emotion and an endless variety of hair-style and head-dress.

Akhnur

This site lies on the right bank of the River Chenab about thirty-two kilometres from Jammu. A great number of heads were found here which are now dispersed in various public collections. The type is quite distinctive with a round plump face and a large head-dress or hair arrangement applied like a wig which shows an influence from the Gupta terracotta tradition. The school may be dated to the fifth/sixth century.

The head of a bodhisattva wears a tightly wrapped turban with the cockade missing. The basic form is similar to the standard Gandhara stucco type but this example is richly adorned with gems and rosettes. Instead of wavy hair which is common in Gandhara, a number of tight snail-shell curls show below the sides of the turban.

4. Male head, probably Ushkur; sixth/seventh century; terracotta. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Purchased with Harry and Yvonne Lenart Funds. (left).

5. Male head, probably Ushkur; sixth/seventh century; terracotta. British Museum, London. (right).

Fig. 21

Fig. 22



Fig. 23 The female head has the same exuberant quality in the treatment of the head-dress. A floral wreath replaces the more austere leaf wreath common in Gandhara art. She wears a jewelled headband in front and a large rosette with ribbons at the side. She was probably intended as an attendant as her eyes are lowered in reverence.

Ushkur

The name derives from the ancient Hushkapura named after the Kushan king Huvishka who reputedly founded it. It lay on the opposite side of the river to Baramula and was of equal if not more importance to it. Lalitaditya is recorded as having built the great temple of Vishnu Muktasvamin and a large vihara with a stupa here.

A number of heads and fragments were excavated in 1916 from this site which are now in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum. Several other heads have since appeared which may also be attributed to this site. Not surprisingly, the heads show some similarity with the stone sculpture of Baramula in the general shape of the head, in the long arched eyebrows and in the upwardly slanting eyes. They may be dated to the sixth/seventh century.

Fig. 24 The male head compares closely with the Siva head of the Hindu triad. Instead of incised circles for the pupils, they are rendered as flat discs, a feature of a number of heads of this school. The top section of roughly incised hair is clearly applied to the moulded face.

Fig. 25 A second male head with moustache and ear-rings has the same upwardly slanting eyes. The hair is rendered in large carefully modelled snail-shell curls with a straight line across the brow. He wears a curious skull-cap in the form of a multi-petalled flower. He was probably a lay devotee attending a Buddha or bodhisattva.

The few examples of terracotta sculpture from Kashmir suggest that this art form did not enjoy the same popularity as it did in parts of Afghanistan and Central Asia. Despite being comparatively easier to produce, requiring only a source of good clay, skill in moulding and facilities for firing, it never seriously competed with the art of stone sculpture which had the advantage of greater strength and durability.

NOTES

1. P.G. Paul (1986), fig. 40. This is a seated headless Buddha of the fourth-fifth century from Baramula which is remarkably close to stucco Buddha images of the fifth century from Taxila.
2. *Rajatarangini*, I, 312-316.
3. Discussed and dated to the sixth century by P. Pal (1981).
4. R.C. Kak (1933), fig. 59.
5. R.C. Kak (1923), p. 27.
6. D.R. Sahni (1918).
7. In Gandhara, the pleats of the robe invariably loop towards the right of the body which appears to be the source of this mode. At Mathura, in both the Kushan and Gupta periods, two systems of arranging the pleats are employed: towards the right and in the centre of the body.
8. Two bronzes, part of a stylistic group which may originate from Swat, are illustrated in P. Pal (1975), figs. 19 and 20. In this group, the softer facial type approached that of the Kashmir classical style.
9. D.R. Sahni (1918).
10. This relief is published by P.G. Paul (1986), fig. 80 and dated AD 639 partly on the basis of a comparison with several Gupta sculptures. This dating appears far too early as a number of distinctive features such as the treatment of the robe do not appear until the reign of Lalitaditya.
11. Nine terracotta heads from Akhnur in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay are published by M. Chandra (1973). A number of the Ushkur heads are published by R.C. Kak (1933) and P.G. Paul (1986).

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□

Kashmir and the Tibetan Connection

Pratapaditya Pal

In Kashmir also was followed the tradition of the early central art and of the old western [Indian] art. In the later period one called Hasuraja introduced new technique both in sculpture and painting. It is now called the art of Kashmir.

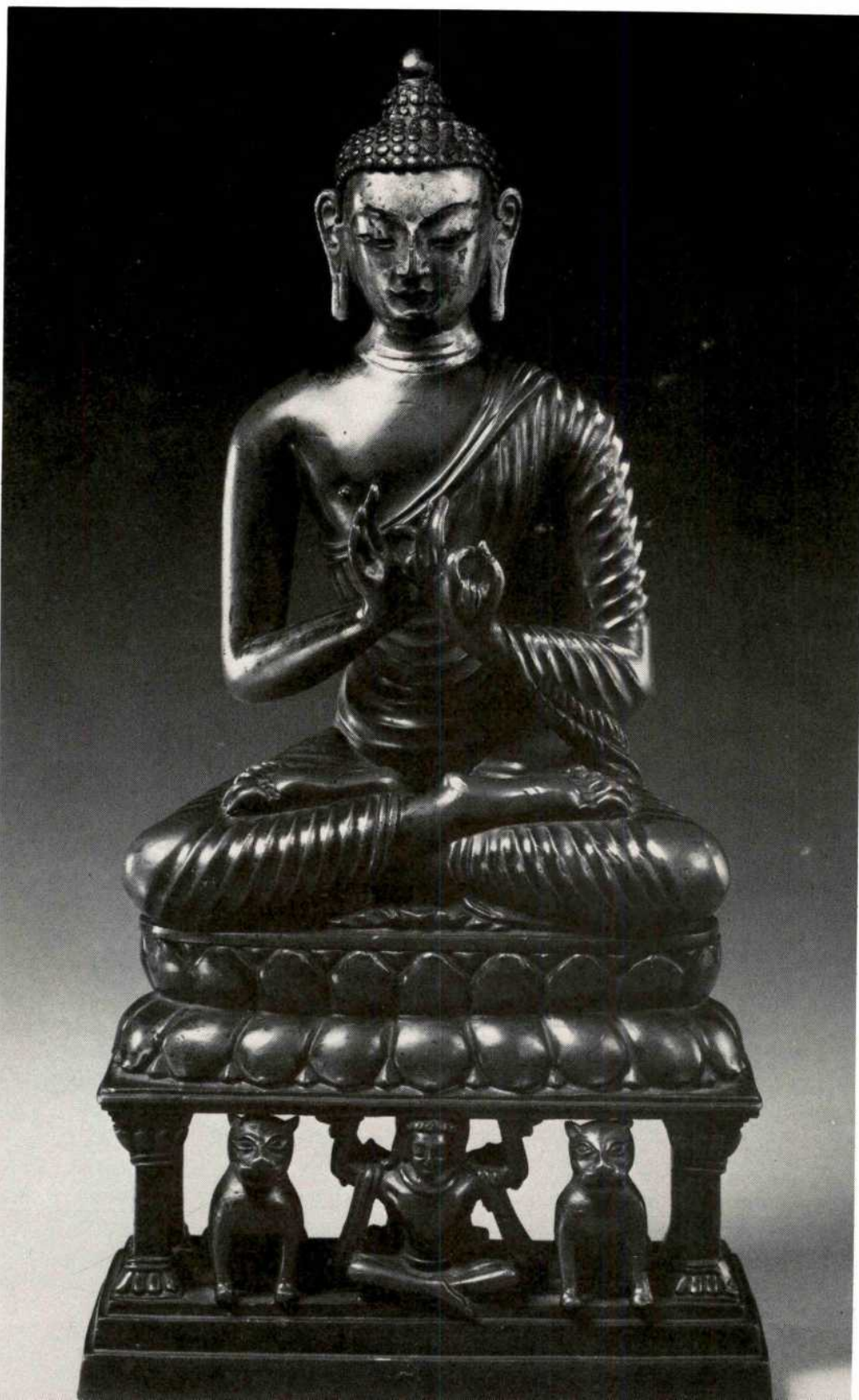
—Taranath¹

One of the fall-outs of the tragic occupation of Tibet by the Chinese and the consequent destruction of monasteries and flight of monks has been the emergence of Kashmiri style bronzes by the scores. These have now clearly established that Kashmir once had a flourishing school of bronze sculpture. Increasingly also it is now becoming possible to distinguish, by technical analyses, between bronzes that were made in Kashmir proper and taken to Tibet by Kashmiri and Tibetan monks, and those that were created in Western Tibetan workshops by Kashmiri as well as Tibetan artists. It is less easy, however, to determine the extent of Kashmiri influence on Tibetan painting. Although in the quotation cited above Taranath, the seventeenth-century Tibetan polymath, mentions the existence of a separate school of Kashmiri painting, no paintings of any antiquity have survived in Kashmir proper. While the tradition of painting in Bihar and Bengal during the Pala period (c. AD 750-1150) can be surmised from at least illuminated manuscripts, curiously to date Tibet has not yielded a single example of a manuscript copied or illustrated in Kashmir. Nor have we any *thankas* in Kashmiri style, though in recent years a large group of early *thankas* has emerged from Tibet that clearly reflects strong Pala influences. Nevertheless, principally through surviving murals in Ladakh, Western Tibet and Himachal Pradesh, one can not only get a fairly good idea of the extent of Kashmir's influence on the Western Tibetan painting tradition, but one can also form an adequate impression of what Kashmiri painting would have looked like in the pre-Islamic age had any examples survived.²

Kashmir's relationship with Tibet began at least as early as the seventh century, when King Song-tsen Gampo sent his minister with a delegation to Kashmir to learn more about Buddhism and bring back a script. Since then, until Buddhism disappeared in Kashmir with the Islamization of its populace, Kashmir proved to be an unfailing source of inspiration for Tibetan Buddhism and its art. This was especially true of Western Tibet, which then included most of Ladakh, Zangskar and portions of Himachal Pradesh which are now parts of India. As a matter of fact, Ladakh today is a district of Kashmir and the murals surviving in monasteries there are therefore considered to be surviving examples of Kashmiri painting. Similarly, another important site is the Tabo (Ta-pho) monastery which is now in India's Himachal Pradesh. At the time these monasteries were built, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, these areas politically belonged to Western Tibetan kingdoms and the monasteries were built by Tibetan

patrons. On the other hand, it is very likely that the architects and artists involved were both Kashmiri and Tibetan. Thus, the arts that have survived in Ladakh and other Himalayan regions of northern India must be regarded as the heritage of both countries.

We do know that the great Tibetan lama Rinchen Sangpo (AD 958-1055) visited Kashmir and not only brought back art to his homeland but also artists, many of whom worked for the monasteries established by him as well as his royal patrons. It is not unlikely that Taranath's Hasuraja was among the artists brought back by Rinchen Sangpo. Some of these Kashmiri artists may have returned home but others probably stayed behind. Certainly they must have trained and employed local talent, for a great many monasteries were built in Ladakh and Western Tibet during this period of revival of the faith in Tibet. Kashmiri styles and art may also have penetrated further into Tibetan hinterlands because many Kashmiri monks did visit monasteries in Southern and Central Tibet. One of the most well known is Sakyasribhadra (AD 1145-1244), who came to be known among Tibetans as Khache Panchen (Pandita of Kashmir) and spent twenty-nine years in various regions of the country. Apart from such



1. A Buddha, Eastern Tibet; seventeenth century; copper alloy; 22.5 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of Michael C. Phillips. (left).



2. Enthroned Buddha; eighth century; brass. Lahore Museum.

3. Reverse of figure 2.



journeys by Kashmiri monks, the existence of Kashmiri bronzes on altars of Central Tibetan monasteries as well as murals on temple walls clearly attest the fact that Kashmiri influence had penetrated far into the central region of the country and beyond.

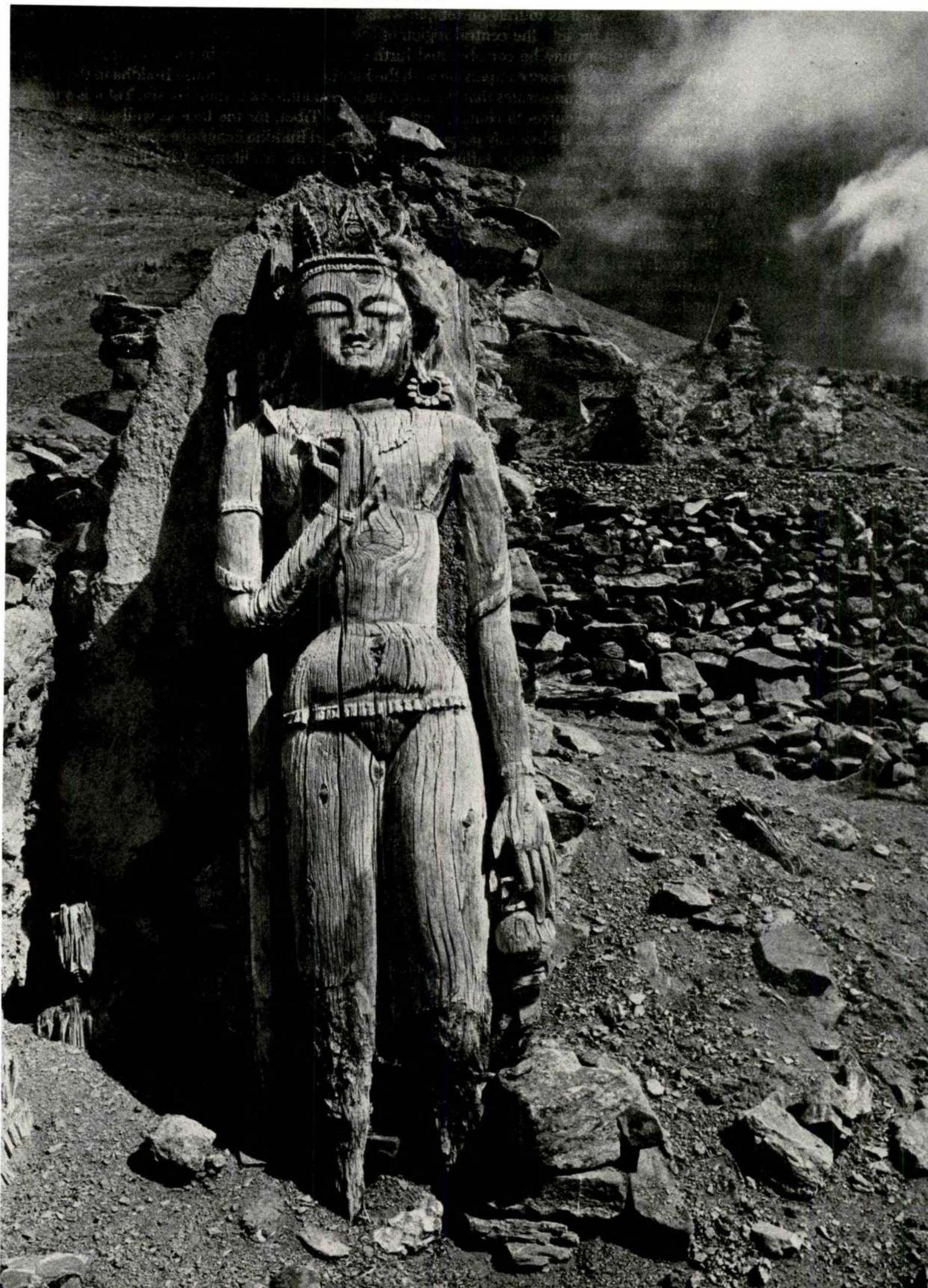
This suggestion may be corroborated further by a bronze now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. A cursory comparison with the Fatehpur Kashmiri bronze Buddha in the Lahore Museum clearly demonstrates that the Los Angeles Buddha is a distant cousin. Yet it is a bronze probably of the seventeenth century cast in Eastern Tibet, for the face as well as style reveal Chinese influences. It obviously perpetuates a Kashmiri Buddha image of extraordinary sanctity.

That Ladakh was strongly influenced by the aesthetic traditions of Kashmir should come as no surprise. Geographically it is contiguous to Kashmir, although culturally it has always been dominated by Tibetan civilization. Its political fortunes have swung between Kashmir and Western Tibet, depending upon which neighbour wielded the greater military might. Many of the so-called Kashmiri bronzes that have appeared in the art market in recent decades have emerged from Ladakhi monasteries, but one cannot yet be certain whether there were local centres for bronze casting. There can be no doubt, however, that many of the impressive rock-cut figures such as the famous Maitreya of Mulbek, or the impressive wood sculpture also representing Maitreya, are the result of local talent. While broadly they reflect strong influences



4. Relief sculpture of Bodhisattva Maitreya, Mulbek, Ladakh; tenth century.

5. Bodhisattva Maitreya, Ladakh; eleventh century; wood; about 3 m.



6. Buddha Sakyamuni;
AD 1000; brass with
silver inlay; 90.5 cm. The
Cleveland Museum of Art,
purchase, John L. Severance
fund.



8. Carved entrance to the Dukhang, Alchi, Ladakh;
eleventh century; painted wood.



7. Shrine with the goddess Tara, Western Tibet or Himachal Pradesh; eleventh
century; wood; 45.1 cm. Kronos Collection, New York.



of the Kashmiri sculptural tradition, the custom of carving colossal images from live rock in Ladakh may well have been inspired by rock-carved reliefs in the Swat Valley and Afghanistan. The carvings at Mulbek, Khartse or Shey may have been rendered in the ninth-century, but the wood Maitreya cannot be dated earlier than the tenth.³ It can be compared with the well-known Cleveland Buddha Sakyamuni of c. AD 1000, or other similarly datable sculptures of the tenth-eleventh century.

Fig. 6
Fig. 7 An exquisitely carved shrine in the Kronos Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is another fine example of ancient wood-carving in the region. Writing about this shrine, Martin Lerner has correctly observed:

While it may not be possible to assign this wood carving to a specific site, the treatment of the female deity fits easily into what we know of the tenth-eleventh century styles of Kashmir, Ladakh, and western Tibet. The elegant attenuation and proportioning of the body, the large *utpala* flower, and the jewelleries and high crown, along with the distinctive asymmetrical hair arrangement, clearly belong to western Himalayan traditions of that date.⁴

Fig. 8 Lerner further suggests Tabo in Himachal Pradesh as a possible provenance. It should be noted though that the carving is stylistically similar to those that still adorn the entrances to some of the temples at Alchi.

Altogether such carvings clearly demonstrate that pre-Islamic Kashmir must have had a flourishing tradition of wood-carving. Wood being more easily perishable, due to both climatic conditions and fires, nothing has survived in Kashmir proper. In his history Kalhana does mention devastating fires in Srinagar, one of the worst being that which occurred in AD 1123:

Srinagara, bereft of its Mathas, shrines, houses, shops and the like was burned, in a mere trice, into a forest which has been burnt down. The colossal statue of Buddha, darkened by smoke and without its dwelling house, was alone visible on high in the city, which had been reduced to mounds of earth and it resembled a charred tree.⁵

These passages make it clear that much of Kashmiri construction then, as later, was done in wood. Wood-carving has remained an important craft in Kashmir, as every visitor knows. The surviving images and architecture in Ladakh, Western Tibet and the northern Himachal Pradesh amply attest the skill and aesthetic sensibility of Kashmiri wood-carvers of the pre-Islamic period. As is the case with bronzes and murals, it is possible that some of these wood sculptures were actually carved by Kashmiri sculptors and therefore they may be regarded as much a legacy of Kashmiri wood-carving as of Tibetan.

Metal Sculpture

Nothing is more problematic than defining the relationship between Kashmir and Western Tibet in the realm of metal sculptures. Sometimes only a very rigorous technical examination of the bronzes themselves can determine whether a bronze was cast in Tibet or in Kashmir.

Fig. 9 For instance, the well-known bodhisattva in the Rockefeller Collection, frequently attributed to Kashmir, has turned out to be of Western Tibetan origin. Nevertheless, so strongly is it related to Kashmiri bronzes of the period that one must entertain the possibility of its having been manufactured in Western Tibet by a Kashmiri artist. On the other hand, the Cleveland Buddha, though bearing a Tibetan inscription, was made in Kashmir and taken to Western Tibet, where it became the personal property of the revered Nagaraja, a local prince.

At least two other stylistically related bronzes, though not of the same quality, also bear inscriptions that identify them as belonging to Lhatsun Nagaraja.⁶ One of the figures represents Bodhisattva Maitreya, while the other is somewhat difficult to identify. The Buddha in his hair is either Akshobhya or Ratnasambhava. His right hand holds a rosary as does Maitreya's. His left hand holds an *utpala* (blue or night lotus) which supports a bowl. The braids of hair on his head, however, make it probable that the figure is a form of the Bodhisattva Manjushri. Stylistically both bronzes seem to be Kashmiri, but one cannot be certain until a technical analysis is carried out whether they were made in Kashmir or in Western Tibet.

Fig. 10
11
Fig. 12 On the other hand, a superbly modelled and finished Buddha has been attributed definitely to Kashmir as a result of technical analysis. Without this, however, the bronze may have been regarded as a Western Tibetan work showing vestigial Kashmiri influences. Neither its physiognomy nor its modelling echoes the Kashmiri style. The abstractly conceived form and the subtle delineation of the robe relate it to sculptures of Gupta India, while the features and shape of the face are only remotely reminiscent of a Kashmiri Buddha. One would have to admit

A bodhisattva, Western Tibet; eleventh century; brass with inlay; 69.2 cm.
The Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd Collection.



10. Bodhisattva Maitreya, Kashmir or Western Tibet;
eleventh century; brass; 32 cm. Private Collection.



11. A bodhisattva, Kashmir or Western Tibet;
eleventh century; brass; 31 cm. Private Collection.





that this particular sculpture is a highly individualistic work by an unknown master sculptor. In a previous catalogue it was assigned to the tenth-eleventh-century Western Himalayas with the suggestion that "the piece is clearly influenced by Northeast Indian art of the ninth and tenth centuries."⁷

The difficulty in distinguishing Kashmiri bronzes from those made in Western Tibet is also evident from the following comparison between the bodhisattva in the Rockefeller Collection and a Vajrasattva in the Musée Guimet in Paris.

As mentioned earlier, the Rockefeller bronze has been consistently published as a Kashmiri figure, while the Guimet bronze has been assigned to Western Tibet.⁸ While the attribution for the Guimet bronze seems assured, a technical analysis has demonstrated that the Rockefeller bronze was also made in Western Tibet. There can be little doubt, as suggested first by Beguin, that the Rockefeller bronze was very likely a creation of Mati, a Kashmiri artist who is known from an inscription on the base of a bronze in the Samada monastery in Western Tibet.⁹ Indeed, the Rockefeller bronze and Mati's bodhisattva at Samada are so alike, and are similar to so many others, such as the impressive figure in the Nitta Collection in Japan, that one must assume that Mati and his atelier, somewhere in Western Tibet (perhaps at Tsaparang, the capital of the Guge Kingdom), were in great demand and may have satisfied the pious needs of Tibetan donors for a long time. Mati's own works such as the Rockefeller or the Nitta bronze are naturally strongly Kashmiri in style, whereas those of his Tibetan colleagues and successors, such as the Guimet bronze, not unexpectedly reflect variations from the models.

2. Buddha Sakyamuni or
Kshobhya, Kashmir; ninth
century; brass; 20.3 cm.
Private Collection.
(opposite page).

3. Bodhisattva Vajrasattva,
Western Tibet; twelfth century;
brass with inlay; 75 cm. Musée
Guimet, Paris. (left).

4. Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara,
Western Tibet; eleventh
century; 82 cm. M. Nitta
collection, Tokyo. (right).

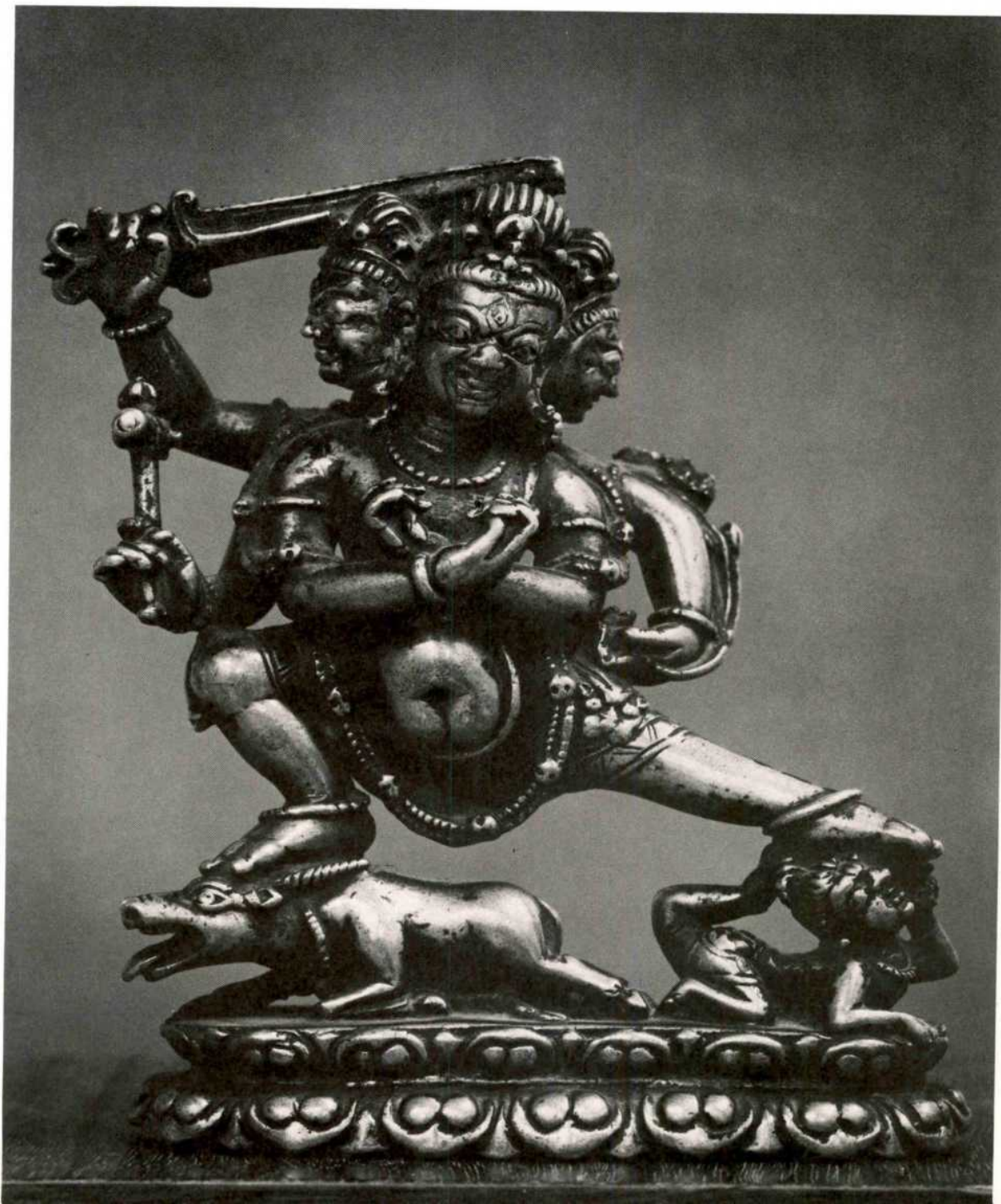
Fig. 13

Fig. 14



Among other sculptures that were made in Western Tibet but in a strongly Kashmiri style, mention may be made here of a spirited representation of a Yama or Yamari and a charming goddess, perhaps representing Kurukulla. Back in 1975, I published the Yama or Yamari as an example of Kashmiri workmanship, a view reiterated by von Schroeder.¹⁰ A technical analysis, however, demonstrates that it was manufactured in Western Tibet, very likely by one of the Kashmiri artists brought by Rinchen Sangpo.¹¹ The Kurukulla is clearly related in style to similar figures that adorn the temples of Alchi and was most likely made either in Ladakh or Western Tibet. A unique Western Tibetan object reflecting Kashmiri influence is a fine, early *phurbu* (magic dagger) which is an object that appears to have been used only in Tibet and cultures dominated by Tibetan Buddhism. Although it is a Tibetan version of a ritual object characterized in Sanskrit texts as a *vajra-kila* (thunderbolt-peg), no example has yet been found in India. The crowning heads in this particular example are closely related to tenth-eleventh century Kashmiri style figures and it may well have been made by a Kashmiri artist in Western Tibet.

The present evidence indicates that the Kashmiri influence was strongly felt in Western Tibetan sculpture during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when dozens of Kashmiri artists were present in the region. Thereafter the flow of Kashmiri bronzes into Western Tibet seems to have decreased, and the later kings of Guge were not as zealous in supporting the faith as were those of the earlier generations. By the fourteenth century Kashmiri influence became vestigial and a more distinctive Western Tibetan style emerged.



15. Yama or Yamari, Western Tibet; eleventh century; brass; 10.2 cm. R. H. Ellsworth Ltd., New York.

6. Goddess Kurukulla (?), Ladakh or Western Tibet; eleventh century; copper alloy; 22.8 cm.
Private Collection.



17. *Phurbu* (magic dagger), Western Tibet; eleventh century; brass; 21 cm. Private Collection.



Mural Painting

A parallel development may also be witnessed in the surviving murals in the monasteries of Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh and Western Tibet. Despite the decay and destruction of many murals, an impressive number has survived. Some, such as those at Alchi in Ladakh, are now well known, but others such as those at Tabo (Ta-pho) or the remains in the Western Tibetan monasteries are less familiar. Once again in such murals one notices a strong Kashmiri style dominant in the late tenth and eleventh centuries and a more recognizably Tibetan style emerging from the thirteenth century. By far the largest number has survived at Alchi and Tabo, and although the murals show some stylistic differences, there is no doubt that they are two different expressions of the same aesthetic vision and painting tradition. Quite possibly, two different groups or families of Kashmiri artists brought by Rinchen Sangpo worked at the two sites. Nevertheless, it is now generally recognized that these murals are of as great an interest for the history of Kashmiri painting as they are for Tibetan.

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

At Alchi, the Kashmiri style paintings, probably rendered in the second half of the eleventh century, are concentrated in the three-storeyed temple known as the Sumstek and the assembly hall known as the Dukhang. Both were built by the brothers Tshultrim O and Kalden Sherab, members of the powerful Dro clan. Belonging to an ancient clan in Western Tibet, the Dro family had provided queens to the Yarlung dynasty of Central Tibet as well as to the tenth-century founder of the Ladakh dynasty. Both Kalden Sherab and Tshultrim O were pious Buddhists and were most probably influenced by the great Rinchen Sangpo. Kalden Sherab was also known as the "teacher of Sumda," a monastery in Zangskar founded by Rinchen Sangpo. That some of the artists responsible for the murals were Kashmiri is clear from some of the faint inscriptions discernible among the Sumstek murals written not in Tibetan but in the Sarada script of Kashmir.

Surviving inscriptions at Tabo inform us that the monastery was founded by Yeshe O and Rinchen Sangpo, but extensive repairs were undertaken by Yeshe O's grandson Changchup O in the mid-eleventh century. Most probably this is when the murals were executed. Although iconographically less complex than the Alchi murals, the early paintings at Tabo are no less fascinating for their subject-matter as well as stylistic brilliance. Unlike Alchi and other

Fig. 20

18. Eleventh-century mural in the Sumstek at Alchi showing Bodhisattva Manjushri and other deities. (left).

19. Eleventh-century mural in the Dukhang at Alchi showing various Buddhist deities. (right).

20. Eleventh-century mural in the Dukhang at Tabo showing a bodhisattva. (opposite page).



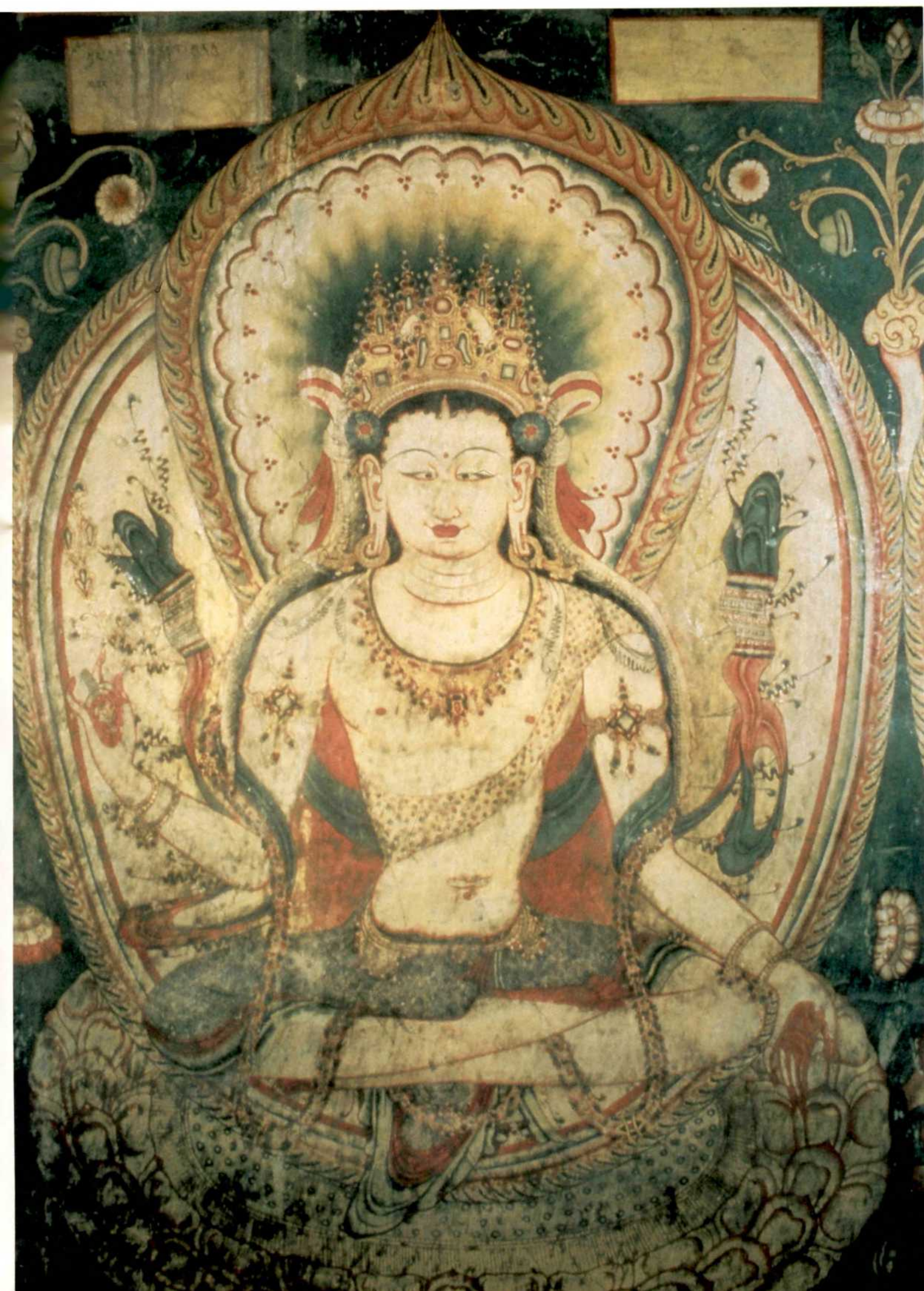


Fig. 21 sites associated with Kashmiri style paintings, the sculptures and murals in the Dukhang at Tabo constitute a giant Vajradhatu mandala dedicated to the cult of the Supreme Buddha known as Sarvavid Vairochana. Thus, when the monks and devotees enter this structure, they immediately become an integral part of the mandala.

Among the most fascinating murals in the Dukhang are the narrative themes occupying the lowermost registers of the walls. There are life scenes of the Buddha Sakyamuni, stories of his previous births known as jatakas, and the story of Sudhana's search for enlightenment which forms the subject-matter of the well-known Mahayana sutra known as the *Gandavyuha*. It may be recalled that these are the cycles of stories that are encountered in the great Borobudur in Java as well. Although as part of the Avatamsaka sutra the *Gandavyuha* played an important role in the Buddhism of China and Japan and in a more limited fashion of Java, there is very little artistic or literary evidence of its popularity in India. The two places in South Asia where this sutra was popular are Nepal and Western Tibet, where it is artistically represented in several monasteries. Thus the importance given to the *Gandavyuha* at Tabo may well indicate familiarity with the text in the Kashmir region. It may be noted that although the *Gandavyuha* is of South Indian origin, it was transmitted to China from Khotan, a region of Central Asia that had close cultural links with Kashmir. Moreover, the Tibetans were a strong physical presence in Central Asia for almost two centuries (c. AD 632-822) and continued to retain religious and other ties with Khotan. It is not improbable that after the ninth century with the arrival of Islam in Khotan and the neighbouring region, monks from the area migrated to Tibetan monasteries.

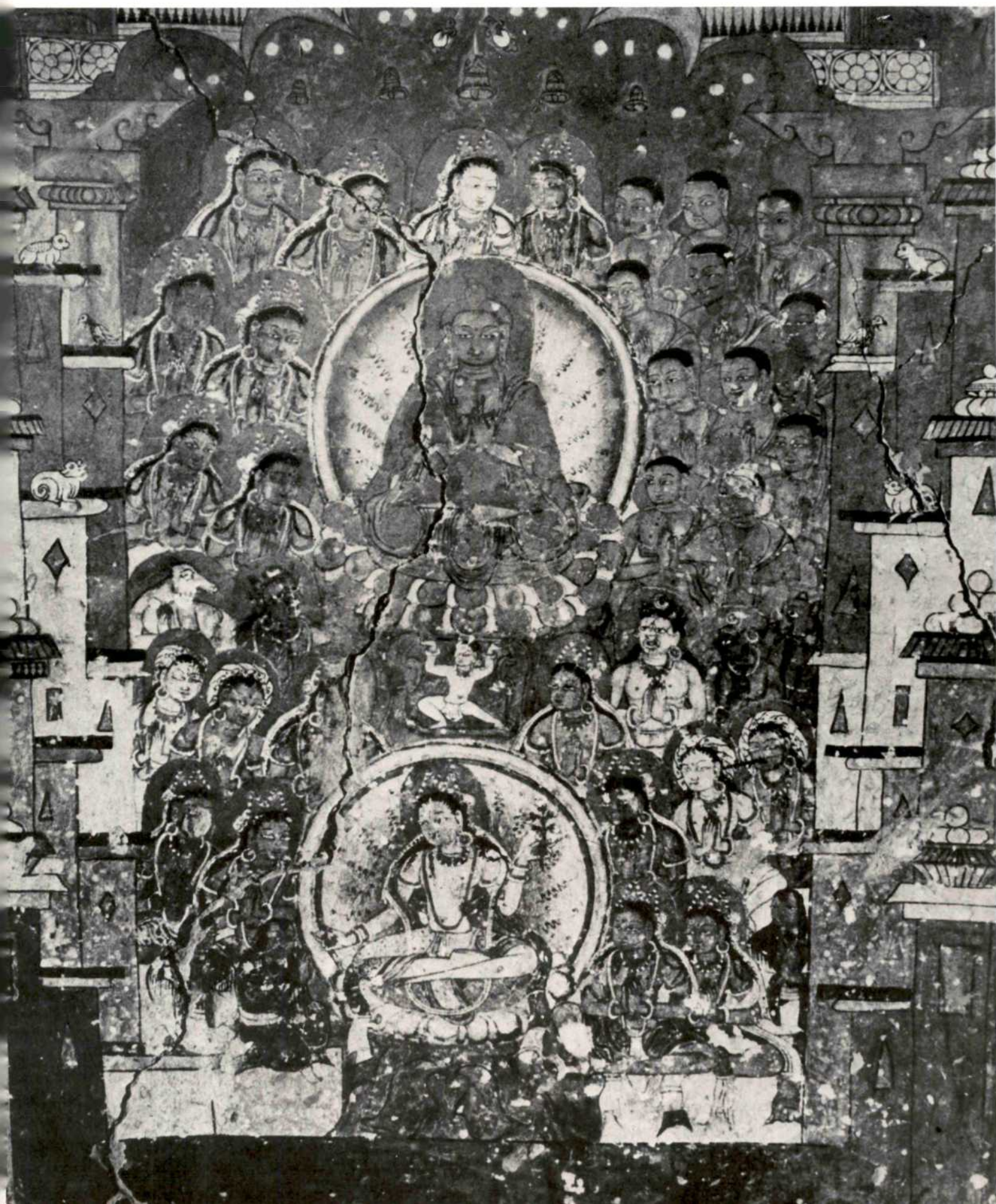
Apart from Rinchen Sangpo's close association with Kashmir, several Kashmiri pundits are known to have visited Tibet during the eleventh century. One of them, Jnanasri, whose exact dates are not known but who must have lived around AD 1050, was known to have visited Tabo and lived there for three years. He may well have participated in Changchup O's restoration of the Dukhang and assisted in devising the iconographic programme. In any event, the selection of the *Gandavyuha* as the sutra to be illustrated was particularly appropriate for at least two reasons. Sudhana's search for enlightenment was very likely a kind of metaphor for Changchup O's own search for the same goal. More importantly, Vairochana is unquestionably the most exalted Buddha in the *Gandavyuha*, as he is in the mandala that constitutes the overall iconographic programme of the Dukhang.

In the illustrations of the sculptures and murals reproduced here we encounter iconic representations of bodhisattvas associated with the mandala of Sarvavid Vairochana and a

21. Eleventh-century painted sculptures in the Dukhang at Tabo.



2. Eleventh-century mural in the Dukhang at Tabo showing a scene from the *Gandavyuha*.



scene from the *Gandavyuha*. This scene very likely depicts the final instruction of Sudhana from the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Framed by lofty mansions representing Samantabhadra's palatial residence, the bodhisattva extends his right arm to touch Sudhana's head and thereby confer the final samadhi. The young Sudhana kneels to the bodhisattva's right. In these representations he is clearly a Tibetan youth. The scene is witnessed by all sorts of divine and celestial figures, including nagas and *yakshas*, presided over by Vairochana.

The close stylistic relationship among these eleventh-century murals, whether at Alchi, Tabo or in the other early temples associated with the Guge royal family and Rinchen Sangpo, is by now an established fact. Even though no paintings survive from Kashmir proper, a comparison with contemporary Kashmiri sculpture makes the kinship clearly evident. The figural types are simply painted versions of bronzes, and reflect a strong predilection for depicting naturalistically modelled forms by both shading and modulated colours. Where the paintings differ from the sculptures and from all other contemporary styles of Indian painting is in the sumptuous delineation of patterned garments and scarves that introduces us to a world of luxuriant ostentation. This is of course in keeping with the paradisaical symbolism of many of the murals, for the Buddhas and bodhisattvas they depict inhabit heavenly rather than earthly realms.

Another noteworthy difference between these Kashmiri style paintings and those in contemporary western India or the eastern Indian monastic establishments may be noted in the application and tonality of the colours. Not only is the palette in Western Tibetan murals much more varied, but the tonality expresses a rich intensity that makes them luminous. There is no doubt that the style depends primarily on colours for its aesthetic effect. Glowing and resonant colours with a smooth glossy finish continuously strike the viewers' senses, as if the divine figures themselves are sources of effulgence. Neither in contemporary Jain nor Buddhist manuscript illuminations elsewhere in India does one encounter so vibrant and resplendent a world of scintillating colours.

What is rather curious is that no *thankas* painted in this style have survived. If they have, they have not yet emerged from the dark recesses of Western Tibetan monasteries. The earliest surviving *thankas* from this region cannot be dated much earlier than the fourteenth century, and they are executed either in a variation of the Kadampa style painting, as witnessed for instance in the Lakhang Soma in Alchi, or in more recognizably Tibetan styles, as seen in the well-known "Guge" style *thankas* or the extraordinary Milarepa *thanka* in Los Angeles.¹² This absence of Kashmiri style *thankas* is particularly surprising when a large number of early *thankas* rendered in the Pala style, which I have characterized as the Kadampa style, has been recognized. Considering that the tradition of painting on cloth was well established in Central Asia, Nepal and Tibet, it would be most unusual if the practice was unknown in Kashmir.

For what it is worth, there is one piece of literary evidence that indicates that *thankas* were not unfamiliar in Guge as early as the eleventh century. In an abridged biography of Atisa translated from the Tibetan by S. C. Das, we are given the following description of the Indian monk's welcome upon his arrival at the outskirts of Toling:

Then when nearing Tholin Lhai Wan Chug, the great minister of the king of Tibet with the palms of his hands joined together thus addressed Atisa:—"We welcome you, oh Prabhu, master of the devotional mood of our religion! You have come thus far out of your compassion to all living beings. You have come to timely import your precepts to us, unmindful of the fatigues of the journey". So saying he presented him with a *tapestry painting of Avalokitesvara which had forty arms worked upon cloth*. [italics ours]. Atisa immediately consecrated it.¹³

If this is true, and there seems no reason to doubt the passage, then we can even form some idea of the appearance of this *thanka*. Among the murals in the Sumstek at Alchi is a beautiful representation of an Eleven-headed Avalokiteshvara with twenty-two instead of forty arms, surrounded by various Buddhas and two Taras.¹⁴ Indeed, the composition of the group, as also of several others among the murals, is strongly reminiscent of *thankas* which may well have been used as models.

Manuscript Illumination

Fig. 23 Fortunately, the chance survival of some eleventh-century examples, now in Los Angeles, demonstrates that there was a tradition of illuminating manuscripts in the Kashmiri style.¹⁵ Recovered by Tucci from a ruined monastery in Toling, they remain the only examples to date

that are directly related to the murals of Western Tibet. In fact, recently some murals have been discovered in a stupa at Toling that leave no doubt of the local origin of the illuminations.¹⁶ A comparison between these murals and one of the Los Angeles manuscript illuminations showing the worship of the goddess Prajnaparamita makes their stylistic kinship obvious.

The monastery at Toling was built by Rinchen Sangpo himself, and it is not improbable that these illuminated pages of a *Prajnaparamita* manuscript are from a copy owned by the great translator himself. Even though the text is written in Tibetan, the illuminations were most probably rendered by one of the Kashmiri artists brought back by Rinchen Sangpo. It may also be noted that Rinchen Sangpo did return with manuscripts copied in Kashmir and some of these may well have been illustrated. One wonders if the Los Angeles pages were not recovered from the stupa where murals in the same style have been discovered.

The only other examples of manuscript illumination that are generally cited as reflecting the Kashmiri tradition are the well-known Gilgit book covers now preserved in Srinagar.¹⁷ Even a cursory comparison of these miniatures, however, with the Los Angeles illuminations and the Western Tibetan murals reveals their strong stylistic differences. The Gilgit covers may well have been done locally or rendered further north. Neither in form nor in colour do they relate directly to the Kashmiri-Tibetan style.

Ever since the illuminated pages in Los Angeles were first published by Tucci in 1949, they have remained the only examples of Kashmiri style portable painting to have emerged from Tibet. Recently, however, a few other documents have come to light that indicate the existence of other examples. One such is a wood book cover with five deities painted on the inside. The size of the cover makes it clear that it was intended for a Tibetan rather than a Kashmiri book. Kashmiri books must have been written on birch bark, and would have been much smaller.

That the paintings are stylistically related to the murals at Alchi and Tabo and the Los Angeles manuscript illuminations is self-evident, although neither the drawing nor the colouring is as sophisticated or brilliant. The relationship with the Alchi murals is particularly clear in the distinct figural forms with attenuated waists, the design of the decorative scrolls above the figures, and especially the stylized animal motifs along the bottom. Again as at Alchi, the artist exhibits his interest in patterned textiles but the details are rendered more sketchily. The artist responsible for this cover seems to have been rather uncomfortable in delineating side faces and in the use of shading. While in the murals or in the Los Angeles illuminations, the

Fig. 24

3. Worship of the goddess
rajnaparamita from a
shtrasahasrika Prajnaparamita
manuscript, Toling, Western
Tibet; eleventh century;
opaque water-colours on paper;
9 x 66.3 cm. Los Angeles
County Museum of Art, From the
Lasli and Alice Heeramanek
Collection, Purchased with
funds from the Jane and Justin
Dart Foundation.



shading is subtle and unobtrusive, in the cover the form of the green Tara on the left of the central cosmic bodhisattva, perhaps Manjushri, demonstrates unusual treatment. Generally the colours are applied much more flatly, and the figures are not as smooth and suave. Most likely the cover was painted in the twelfth century by a Tibetan artist who was not as skilled as the artists responsible for the brilliant murals of Alchi and Tabo or the Los Angeles manuscript illuminations.

In conclusion, there can now be no doubt that Taranath was correct in his observation about the distinctive style of painting in Kashmir. Hasuraja may not be simply a mythical character, but may well have been a master artist who came to Western Tibet and was remembered as an innovator, just as the fourteenth-century Nepali master artist Aniko was in China. Even though no direct evidence of paintings in ancient Kashmir has survived, one can now postulate the existence of a Kashmiri school of painting from surviving murals and manuscript illuminations from Tibet as well as from neighbouring Pakistan, Afghanistan, and from Central Asia where Kashmiri monks played so important a role in disseminating the Buddhist faith. One could assume that Kashmiri artists too followed in their footsteps, just as they did with Rinchen Sangpo and others in Tibet.

As to the literary evidence, Kalhana says nothing about any kind of painting in Kashmir. However, that painted images were used in Hindu rituals in ancient Kashmir is known from the *Nilamatapurana*, a text compiled in Kashmir around the eighth century. Several passages in this text allude to such painted images. Once we are told that "In the month of Asadha, Kesava's [Vishnu's] statue, sleeping on the couch in the form of Sesa, should be made of stone, clay, gold, wood, copper, brass, silver or He may be painted in a picture."¹⁸ Furthermore, the texts inform us that images of Kamadeva as well as of Indra and Sachi should be painted on cloth, while the Buddha's birthday was celebrated, among other means, by adorning the *chaityas* with paintings.¹⁹

These references make it abundantly clear that as elsewhere on the subcontinent, painted images were frequently used in Kashmir by the Hindus. As a matter of fact, one must also consider the *Chitrasutra* of the *Vishnudharmottarapurana* to have been written by Kashmiri pundits since the text in general is said to have been compiled in that part of the world. The technical knowledge and aesthetic theories contained in this text therefore must have been based

24. Book cover, Ladakh or Western Tibet; twelfth century; opaque water-colours on wood. 21.5 x 69.9 cm. Private Collection.



on the Kashmiri painting tradition. Nevertheless, the primary evidence of the lost paintings of the Hindus and Buddhists of Kashmir remains the murals and manuscript illuminations of Western Tibet. The art of Western Tibet is thus as significant for the study of Tibetan civilization as it is for the culture of Kashmir.

NOTES

1. A. Chattopadhyay, trans., *Taranath's History of Buddhism in India* (Calcutta, 1980), p. 348.
2. P. Pal and L. Fournier, *A Buddhist Paradise: The Murals of Alchi* (Basel, 1982).
3. T. Malyon, "The Oldest Wooden Statue in India," *New Scientist* 20 February 1986, 109 (1986), pp. 34-36. On the same pages in a brief boxed article Phillip Denwood also dates this colossal wood Maitreya to c. AD 750, but such an early date is unacceptable. Unfortunately, other than saying the sculpture is in a remote village in Ladakh, neither writer gives the exact location. We are told, however, that "the village rests in a broad valley about 4500 metres above sea level."
4. M. Lerner, *The Flame and the Lotus* (New York, 1984), p. 80.
5. R. S. Pandit, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini* (New Delhi, 1958), p. 500.
6. Parenthetically, it may be mentioned here that the discovery of these two bronzes now brings the total of figures with the same inscription (*lha* on these two bronzes is an abbreviation of *lha tsun* of the Cleveland Buddha) to three. Since they represent three different deities, one cannot accept John Huntington's interpretation of the Cleveland Buddha image. See S. and J. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India* (Tokyo, 1985), p. 371.
7. D. Klimburg-Salter, ed., *The Silk Route and the Diamond Path* (Los Angeles, 1982), p. 170, pl. 81.
8. G. Beguin, "Bronzes Himalayens," *Le Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 24, 4-5 (1974), pp. 333-344.
9. P. Pal, "Off the Silk Route and On the Diamond Path," *Art International*, 26, 2 (1983), pp. 49-52.
10. P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir* (Graz, 1975), p. 168; U. von Schroeder, *Indo-Tibetan Bronzes* (Hong Kong, 1981), pp. 124-125.
11. See reference cited in note 2.
12. See P. Pal, *Art of Tibet* (Los Angeles, 1984), nos. P6-8 and P14.
13. S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 81.
14. Pal and Fournier, op. cit., pl. S62.
15. P. Pal, *Art of Tibet* (Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 123-126 for a discussion and illustrations of all the pages.
16. The murals were photographed some years ago by Japanese scholars. They adorned a ruined chorten near the Golden Temple. It seems they have since been destroyed.
17. See P. Pal and J. Meech-Pekarik, *Buddhist Book Illuminations* (New York, 1988), pp. 41-44 and references cited therein.
18. V. Kumari, *The Nilamata Purana* (Srinagar, 1973), pp. 109-111, 422-423, 432.
19. Ibid., p. 172, v. 679, p. 181, v. 713, p. 192, v. 755. Also p. 198, v. 779 for painted images of Brahma.

□

“Timur and the Princely Vision:
Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century”

William Lillys

“Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century,” a new international loan exhibition organized jointly by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, surveys the arts of the Timurid dynasty in Persia and Central Asia in the context of its political, social, and cultural ambitions.

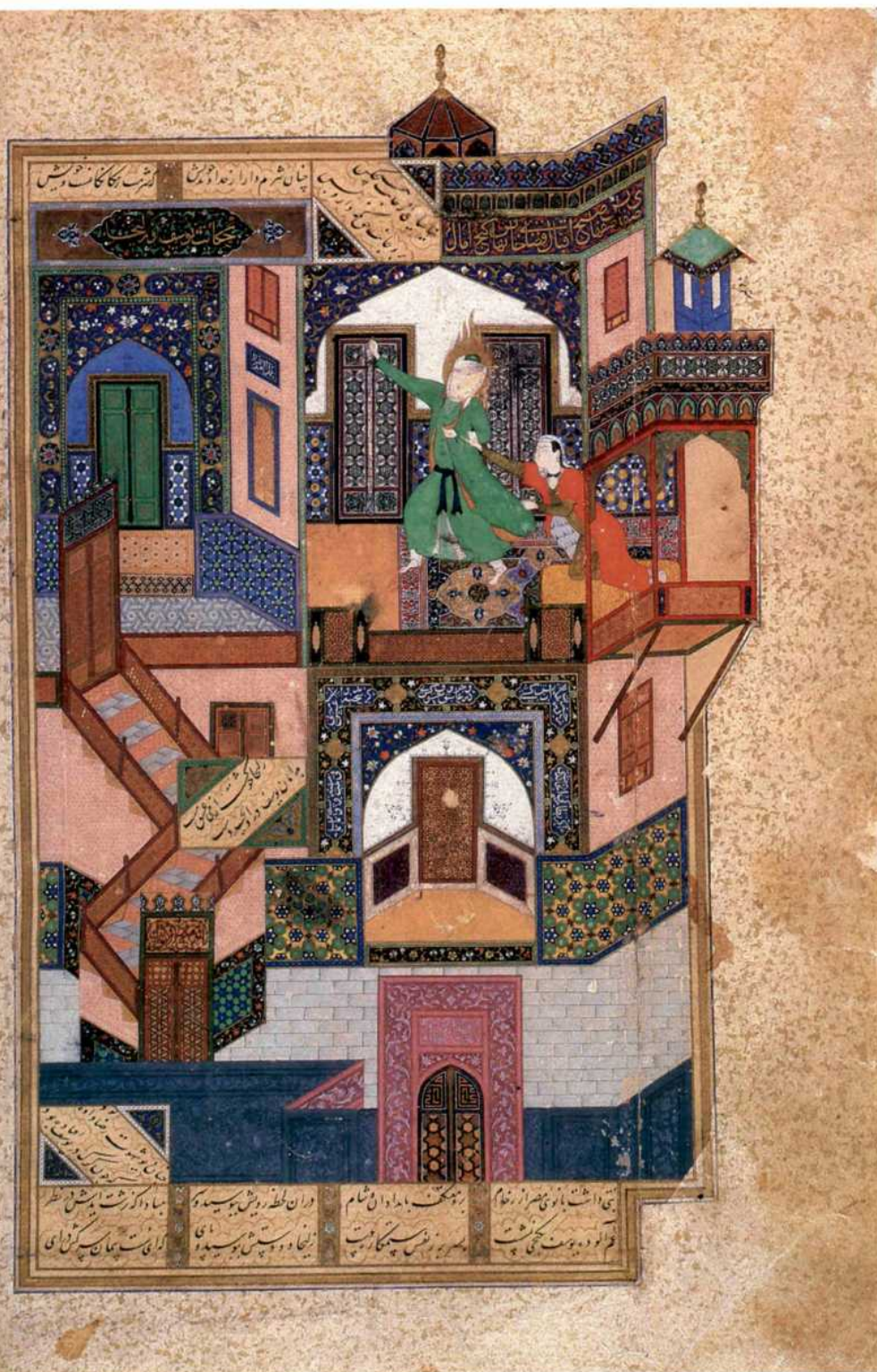
Timur the conqueror, initially one of the many petty chieftains of the Turkic tribes that inhabited what is now Soviet Central Asia, is the key figure in this pioneering exhibition, the first to undertake a comprehensive investigation into the cultural meanings and the aesthetic qualities of Timurid art. A pagan of shamanistic beliefs, with overlays of Islamic mysticism, Timur modelled himself on his hero, Chinghiz Khan, from whom he claimed descent and thus heirship to the Mongol empire. Ambitious, domineering, cruel and charismatic, Timur was preoccupied with conquest and employed the arts to reinforce his image as world conqueror. He ultimately expanded his realm from Anatolia to the borders of China, his plan to invade China thwarted only by his sudden death in 1405.



1. “Humay and Humayun in Combat,” painted by Junayd, copied by Mir Ali ibn Ilyas al-Tabrizi for Sultan Ahmad from the *Diwan* of Khwaju Kirmani, Baghdad; dated AH Jumada I 798 (AD March 1396); opaque water-colour, ink, and gold on paper; 32 x 24 cm. The British Library, London. (Cat no. 13).

2. “Humay and Humayun in a Garden,” from a lost manuscript or anthology, Herat; c. AD 1400; opaque water-colour, ink, and gold on paper; 29 x 17.5 cm. Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris. (Cat. no. 34).



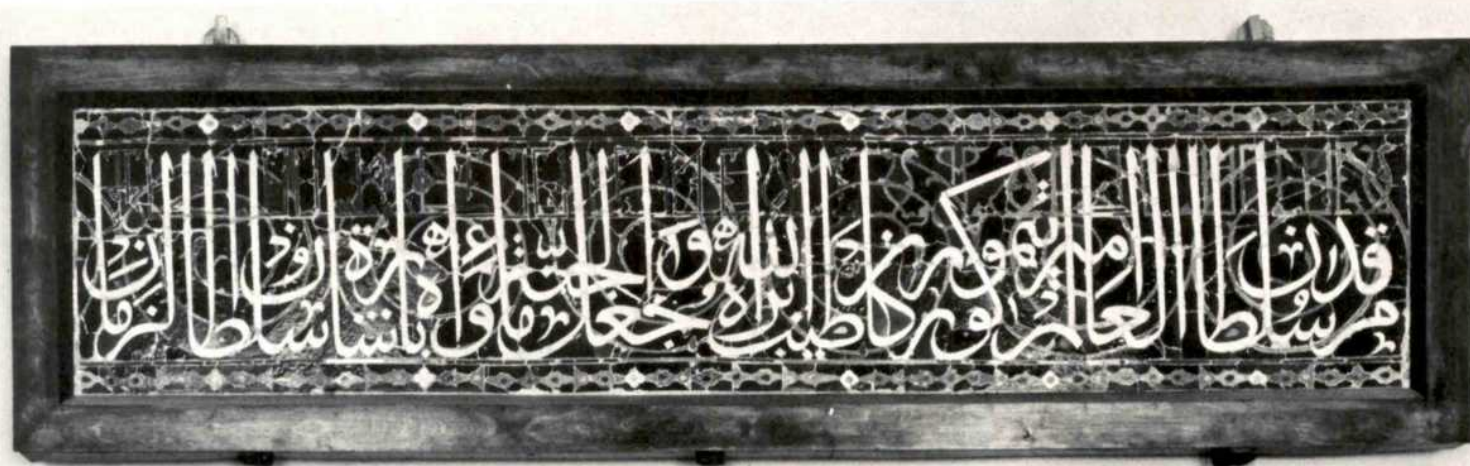


Timur's first political priority was to create a supertribal support network of provincial governors based on personal loyalties of family members and vassal chieftains; and secondly, to gain the co-operation of the landed, sophisticated, and Islamic nobility of Persia.

For Timur's descendants, the political and cultural priorities were quite the reverse. His son and successor, Shahrukh, transferred the capital from Samarqand to the Persian city of Herat. Samarqand was preferred by Timur for its tribal associations. Under Shahrukh it became a provincial city ruled by his son Ulugh Beg. Although ethnic Turkic connections continued to be important to the Timurid princes, they were much more interested in emulating the urbane and literary Persian society. They vied for the artists, poets and intellectuals who could add lustre to their courts. The Timurid penchant for structured ritual and strict behavioural codes demanded a controlled and replicable system of image making that expressed the patron's cultural aspirations. Designers, artists and craftsmen maintained appropriate standards of imagery and craftsmanship. Exhibition loans include many master-works of Timurid painting, calligraphy, and decorative arts from public and private collections around the

3. "The Seduction of Yusuf," painted by Bizhad, copied by Sultan-Ali al-Katib for Sultan-Husayn Mirza, from the *Bustan* of Sa'di, Herat; dated AH Rajab 893 (AD June 1488); 54 folios with 5 illustrations; opaque water-colour, ink, and gold on paper; 30.5 x 21.5 cm. Egyptian National Library, General Egyptian Book Organization. (Cat. no. 146).

4. Calligraphic panel, from Gur-i-Amir, Samarqand; c. AD 1405-1415; tile mosaic; 70 x 260 cm. State Hermitage, Leningrad. (Cat. no. 8).



world. The supremely delicate and elegant Junayd painting of "Humay and Humayun in Combat" from the *Diwan* of Khwaju Kirmani, painted in Baghdad in 1396, is an early example of the pictorial organization and fairy-tale representation that was to become a hallmark of Timurid style (Figure 1). Another work by a Herati artist from Baysunghur's workshop, "Humay and Humayun in a Garden," painted about 1430, is surely the epitome of Timurid poetic painting (Figure 2). It transcends the standardized method of organizing doll-like figure groups, rich foliage, starry sky, and illuminated calligraphy and becomes one of the most beautiful Persian images ever created. Timurid style at its most advanced and refined is represented in the painting "The Seduction of Yusuf" from the extraordinary *Bustan* by Sa'di made for the last Timurid ruler, Sultan Husayn Mirza, in Herat in 1488 (Figure 3). The painter, Bizhad, known in his own day as the "Marvel of the Age," presents this scene of attempted seduction with a realism and a compositional richness that was previously unknown in Persian art.

While calligraphic and abstractly decorated tiles were used to adorn portals and other key parts of building interiors, the Timurids introduced the practice of covering entire buildings with mosaics of coloured tiles. The exhibition has a number of such decorative devices including an important calligraphic tile mosaic that was originally on the Gur-i-Amir mausoleum built for Timur by his grandson Ulugh Beg (Figure 4). An oil lamp of brass inlaid with silver and gold is one of the few surviving works commissioned by Timur (Figure 5). In size and form this lamp projects the image of strength and authority that was of principal concern to Timur. Similarly Ulugh Beg's carved sandalwood box, for all of the delicacy and elegance of its carving, conveys the strength and authority of its owner by its form, proportions, and gold fittings (Figure 6).

The exhibition will be on view at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, from April 30 to July 6, 1989 and at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art from August 13, 1989 to November 5, 1989.



5. Oil lamp, made for Ahmad Yasavi by Timur, Central Asia; c. AD 1397; brass inlaid with silver and gold; 84.5 (diam.) cm. State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (Cat. no. 48).

6. Carved wooden box of Ulugh Beg ibn Shahruxh, Central Asia; c. AD 1420-1449, sandalwood, with polychrome inlaid metal fittings, and silk lining. 19.5 x 17 x 31.2 cm. Sarayi Treasury, Istanbul. (Cat. no. 49).



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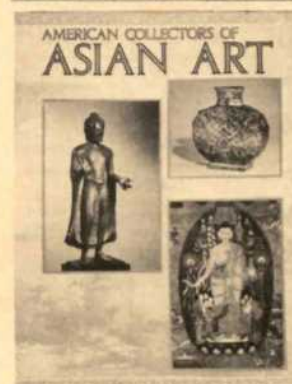


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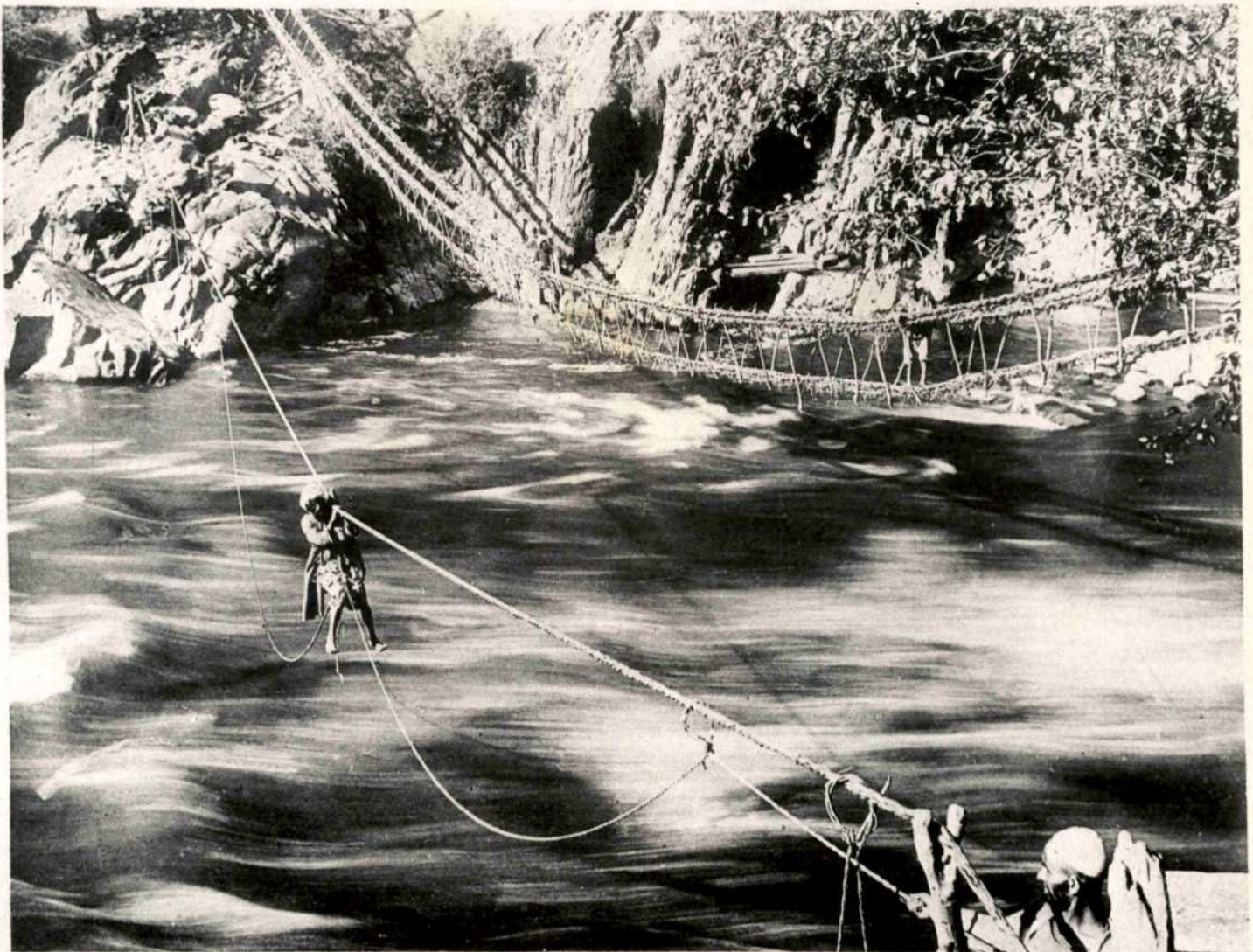
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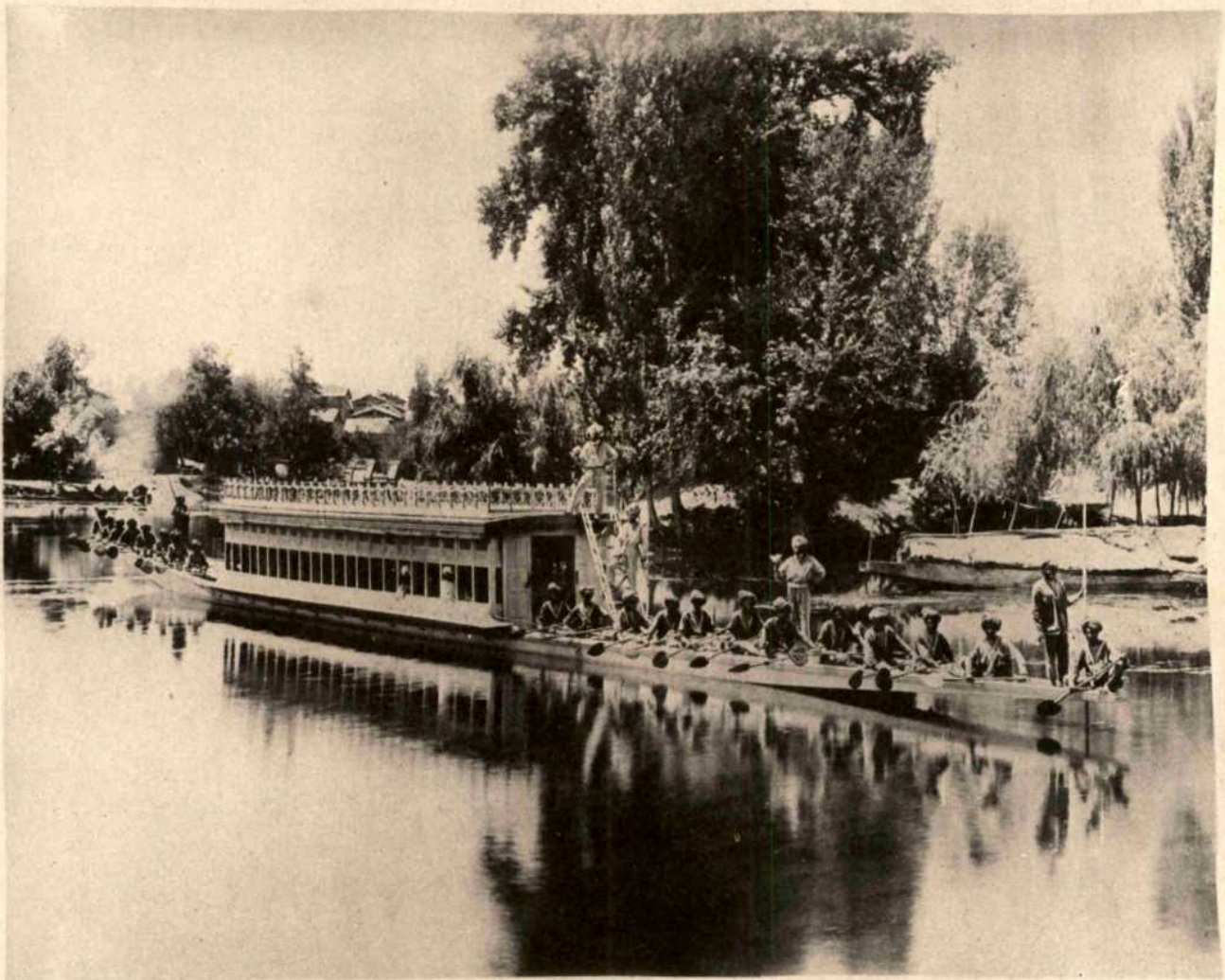




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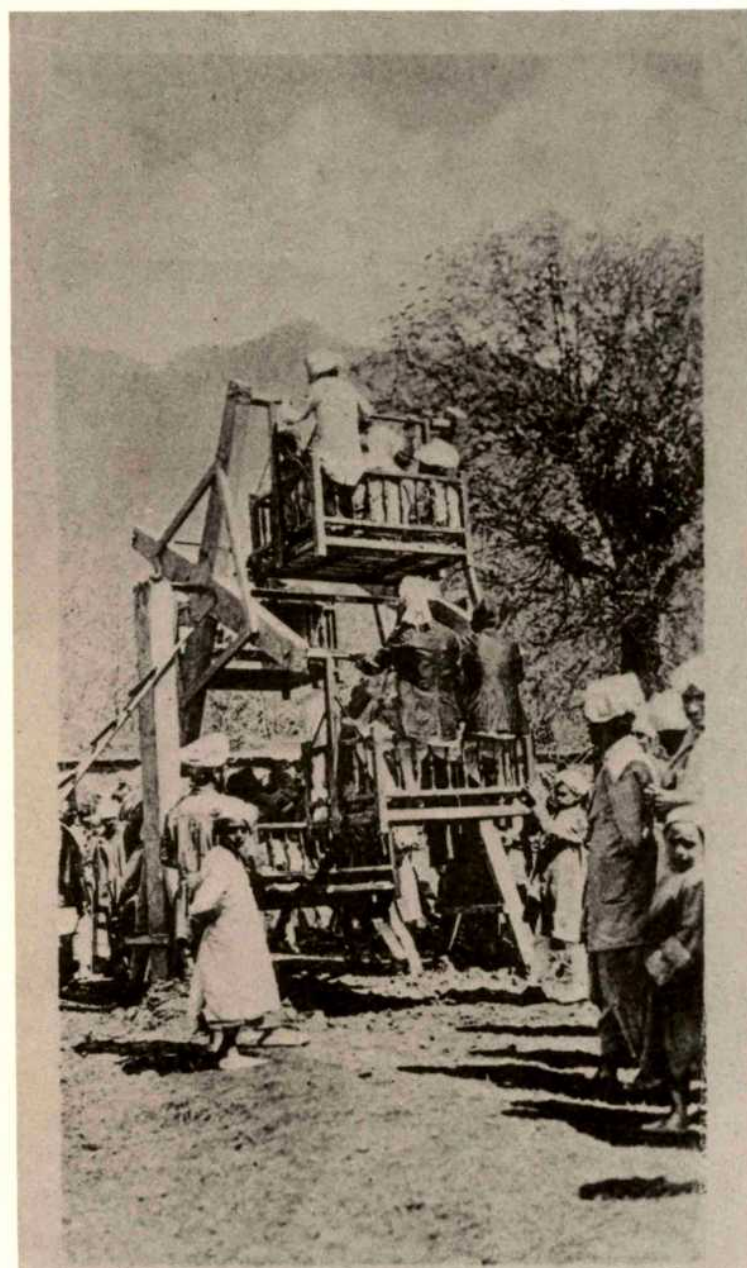
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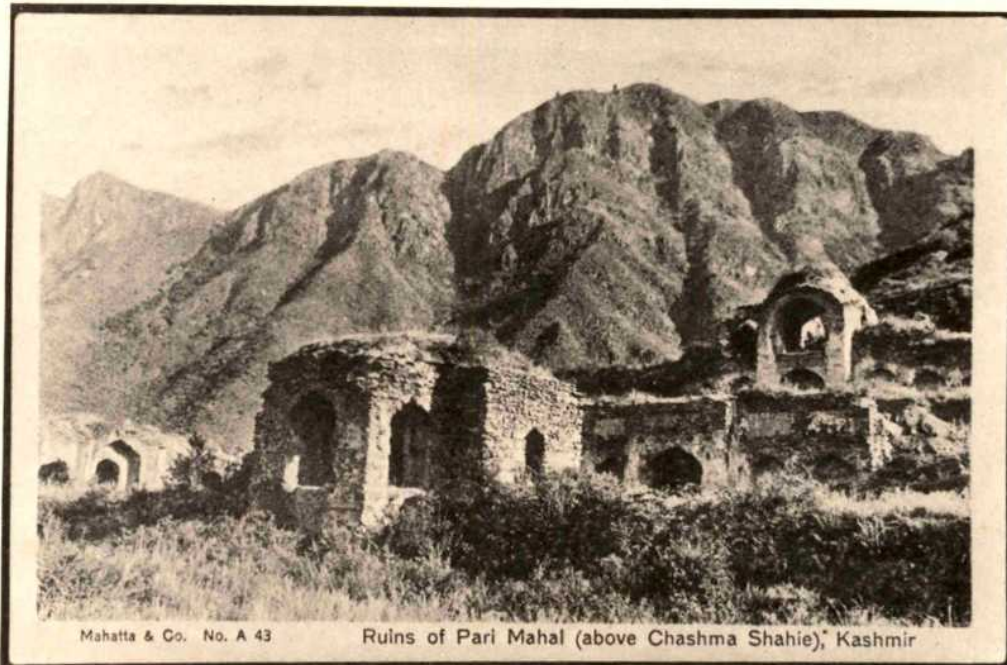
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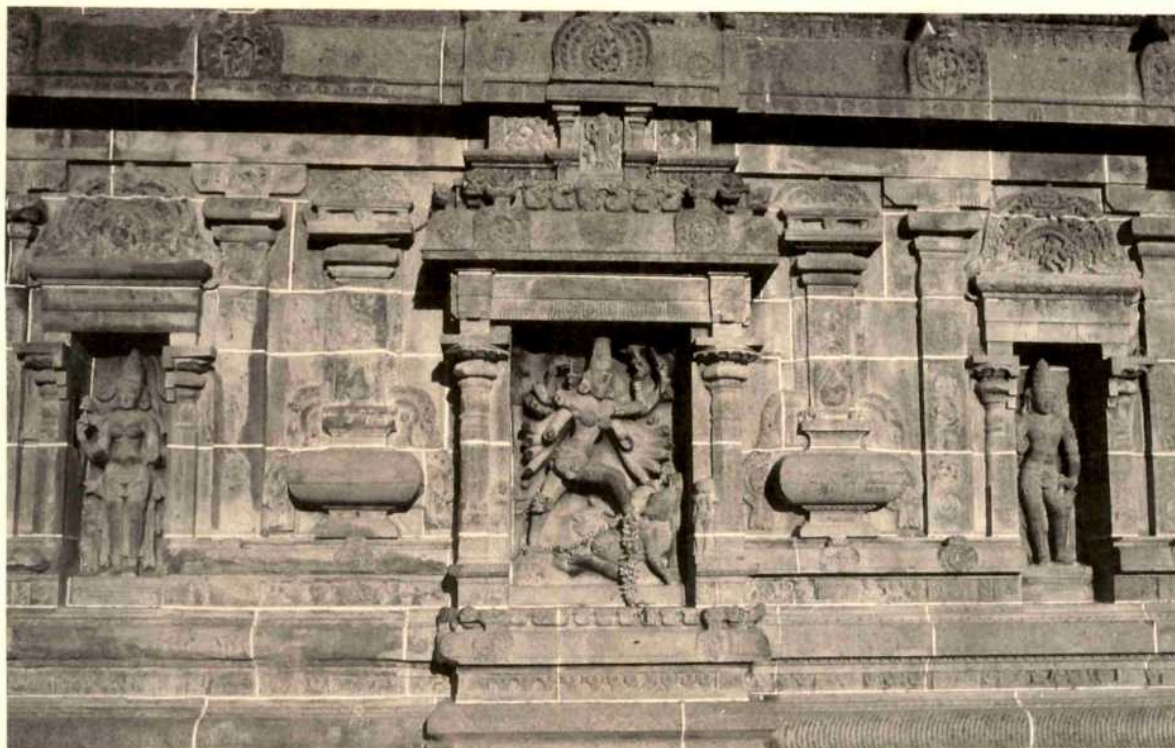
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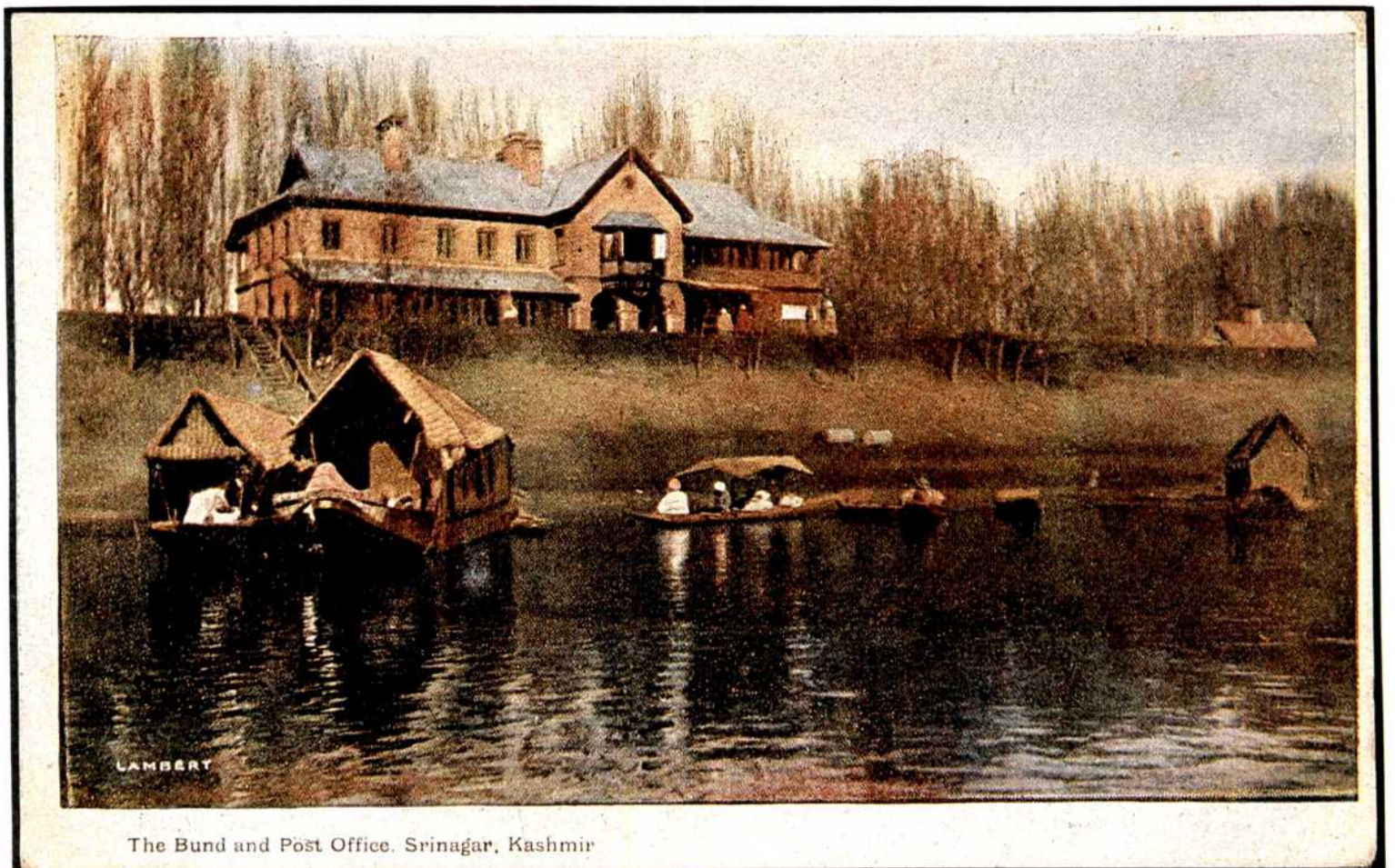
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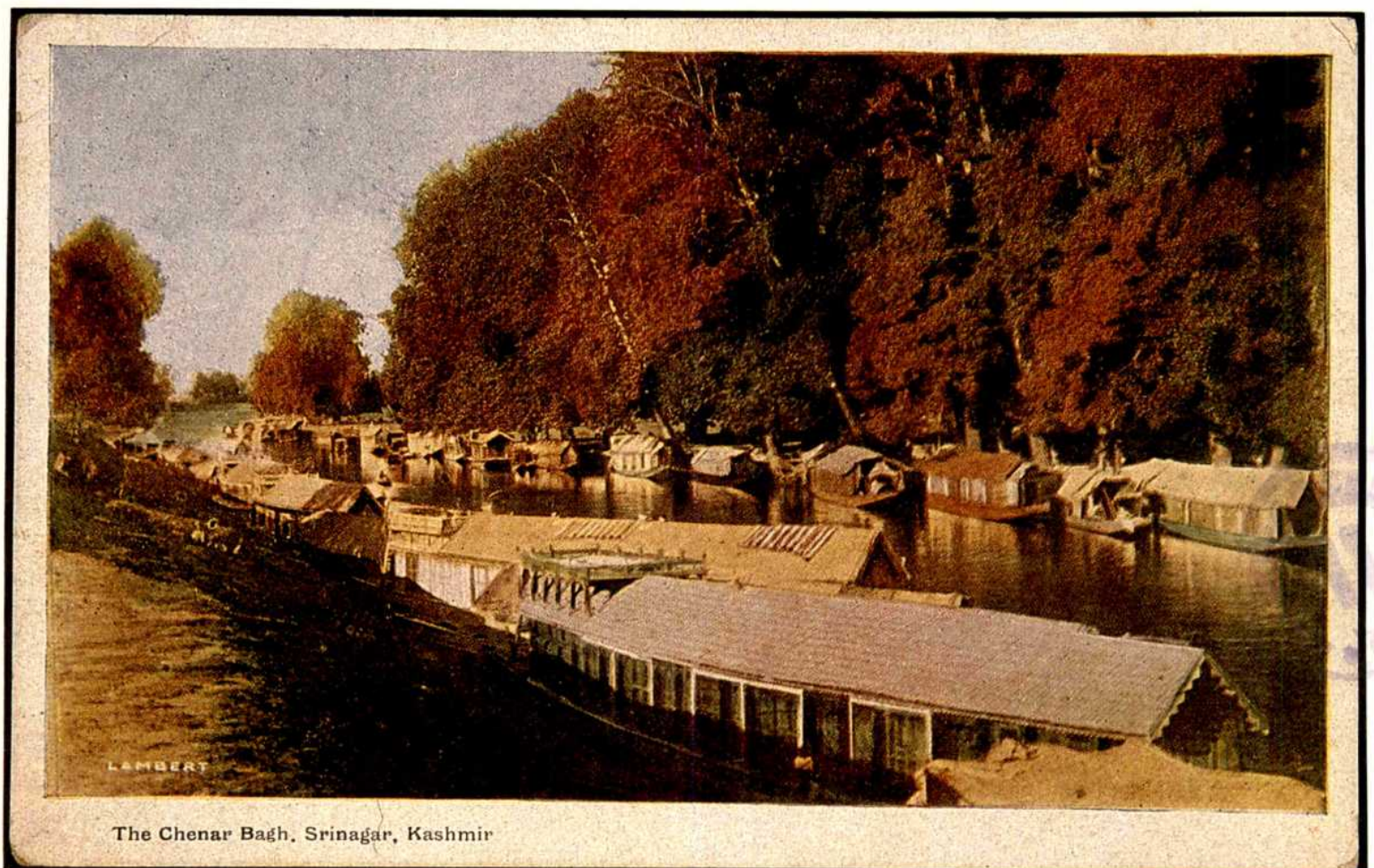
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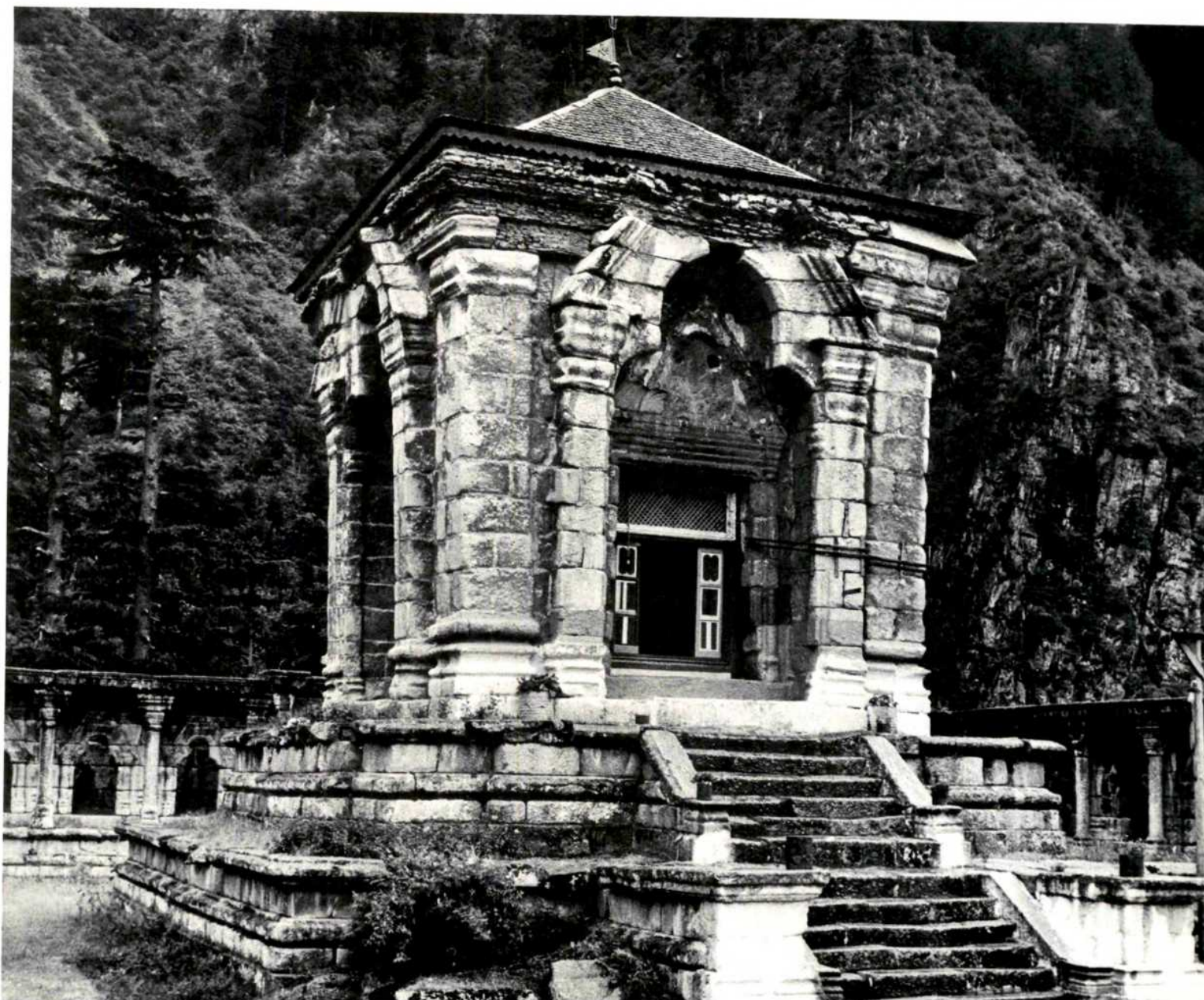
construction. The only decoration upon those ceilings appear to have been lotuses and other floral designs. Each shrine was raised upon a pedestal and most had a drain spout for the lingam, one over one and half metres in diameter. Enormous cut stones are scattered about the area, including one cistern, carved out of a single block, four and a half metres long and two metres wide. Fragments of decorative mouldings, similar to those found at Pandrethan and Payar, support claims that some of the temples here belong to Lalitaditya's reign, while the simplicity of the trefoil niches and details of the stone carving on others point to earlier Karkota donations, closer in date to the temple at Loduv.

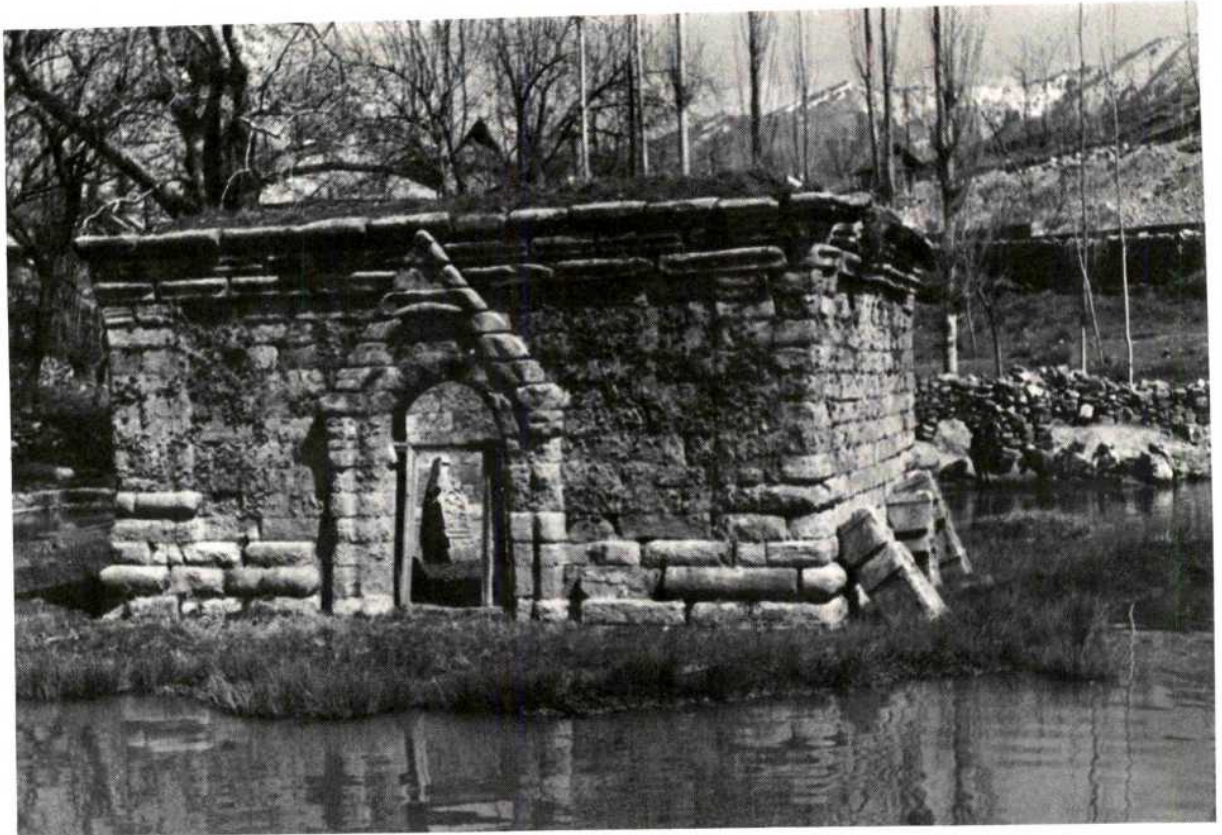
All the evidence at Wangath indicates continuous building over a period of time and occasional modifications of earlier shrines. Of the later constructions, the most interesting is the large stone platform, thirty by twenty metres. In addition to once having a room in the centre, it included the bases of fluted columns, eight of them still in place, each about sixty centimetres in diameter, with an intercolumniation of over 3.6 metres, and a stairway facing the older group of temples. This construction is unique in Kashmir, and Kak may be correct in assigning it to the later period of Jayasimha (AD 1128-1155), when, according to Kalhana, one Sumanas, brother of a minister of the king, erected a *matha* or congregation hall in the midst of the destroyed Wangath temples.⁵

Fig. 3 The best preserved Kashmiri temple complex is at Buniar. With the exception of its pyramidal roof, it remains nearly intact with its raised shrine, monumental stone entrance gate and surrounding cellular peristyle. Although smaller than Martand, it has suffered less damage, due in part to being made of granite which is more durable than the limestone used in nearly all other Kashmiri temples. However, the building of the modern road up to the entrance gate covered over portions of the base and stairway as well as the guardian images once part of the entrance.

The double entrance gate, almost 7.6 metres wide and nearly equal to the width of the cella, provides a visual axis for the entire complex. It repeats the shape of the shrine, anchors the

3. Buniar temple.





1. View of Loduv temple.

angath temples.



of the two regions still seemed to be essentially one. After Huna rule, by the end of the sixth century, Kashmir entered its greatest period of political and cultural attainment with the Karkota dynasty (AD 600-855), including its greatest period of temple building.

Except for neolithic stones, no archaeological remains before the Kushan period are known in Kashmir, although the often mentioned Asokan stupas, with their supporting structures for habitation and worship, must have once been prominent in Srinagar, the town he founded. Asoka's son, Jalauka, is said to have erected Saivite temples in the narrow Wangath valley, although the stone temples there today are all of Karkota or later date. There seems little reason to doubt the native texts, particularly the *Nilamatapurana*, which claims this to be one of the ancient locations of Siva worship, a site along a pilgrimage route and one that continued to be supported for more than a thousand years.³ Despite Stein's diligent search for early remains in the late nineteenth century, no trace of these early Wangath monuments was found.

I. The Early Hindu Style

Just as stone and bronze images of seventh- and eighth-century Karkota rule are regarded as examples of "classic" Kashmiri art, so also Hindu temples of the Karkota dynasty best exemplify the typical architectural style. Although no complete examples survive, the remains at Buniar, Martand, Pandrethan and Payar reveal most of the features that have come to be understood as distinctive of the Kashmiri style. Many of the monuments are linked to Kashmir's remarkable king, Lalitaditya, who ruled during most of the first half of the eighth century and whose military exploits extended Kashmiri influence well beyond the small valley. As so often happens, political achievements, so important at the time, are largely forgotten, but artistic creations remain as a lasting testament. In Lalitaditya's case, Karkota temples better express his vision than any of his ambitious military ventures.

Fig. 1 Nearly all studies of Kashmiri temples give Loduv precedence as the earliest remaining stone structure. Not mentioned by Kalhana or in the accounts of the Chinese monks, it first appears in the writings of nineteenth-century visitors such as Vigne and Courie, who gave the first description in 1866.⁴ Courie listed its essential features, giving a square ground-plan of seven metres on each side with only one doorway. He noted the pilasters at the corners, a slightly overhanging cornice and a single arched, but not trefoil, doorway surmounted with a triangular pediment resting upon two pilasters. His drawing of the doorway, also published later by Foucher (who compares it with the Guniyar temple in Swat), oddly enough omits the trefoil arch surrounding the opening, although it remains clearly visible today, even in photographs. Any evidence of a roof had long ago disappeared. The inside circular plan is unusual, contrary to the outside square. The diameter of over five metres at the floor level diminishes to four and a half metres at the projecting cornice, nearly three metres above the floor. There is no evidence of a surrounding wall although large numbers of stones are scattered about the area.

Loduv exhibits some of the typical Kashmiri features, such as the trefoil niche, rounded, projecting stone courses along the base and the elevated platform (although still partially under water from the nearby spring), and probably once included a pyramidal roof, suggested by the corbelled corners that imply a "lantern" ceiling as found later at Pandrethan or a domed construction such as seen at Payar. The adhesive qualities of the limestone mortar used in Kashmir permitted domes of some size, and spanning a temple the size of Loduv was possible. Its other features suggest an early date, notably the smaller individual stones and a simpler type of trefoil niche, consisting of a rounded arch inside a trefoil pediment. Later doorways include an inner door with another trefoil niche above the lintel, as seen on a number of eighth-century examples. Because of its unique (for Kashmir) circular plan and similarity to the Guniyar temple in Swat, Loduv cannot be dated later than the early years of the Karkota dynasty, perhaps even to the late sixth or early seventh century, following the end of Huna rule.

Several other early Karkota temples are scattered across the Valley, all in deplorable condition. **Fig. 2** The cluster of ruins at Wangath, long a primary site of Siva worship due principally to its location along one of the Saiva pilgrimage routes, is noted by Kalhana as being continuously endowed over many centuries, although by his time it had already become neglected. Of the seventeen ruins remaining, a few retain enough of their original design to indicate their similarity to Loduv and to later monuments in the Valley. There is evidence of the typical Kashmiri stone walls, one temple with a front and rear chamber, one with a single entry door, another with two doors and at least one temple with four openings. Of considerable interest are the remains of stone ceilings, both domical and overlapping, as found at Loduv, and indicating again the "lantern" type of

Stone Temples

Robert E. Fisher

Of all the artistic remains in Kashmir, none is more distinctive than the stone temple. The typical Kashmiri temple exhibits a unique blend of foreign styles and native creativity that resulted in an architectural tradition notably different from others on the subcontinent.

All the surviving stone temples are Hindu but there can be little doubt that the Buddhist temples were also built in the same style. In fact, many fundamental elements of Kashmiri Hindu temples probably derive from the earlier Buddhist models. In addition, foreign styles, which filtered through West Asia, played a major role in the development of Kashmiri stone architecture. Further, Kashmiri builders worked with massive stones, larger than those typically found throughout the rest of India. Kashmir's extant stone temples were all created in less than a millennium. The earliest remains cannot be dated before the fourth or fifth century AD and it appears that no stone temples were built after the fourteenth century.

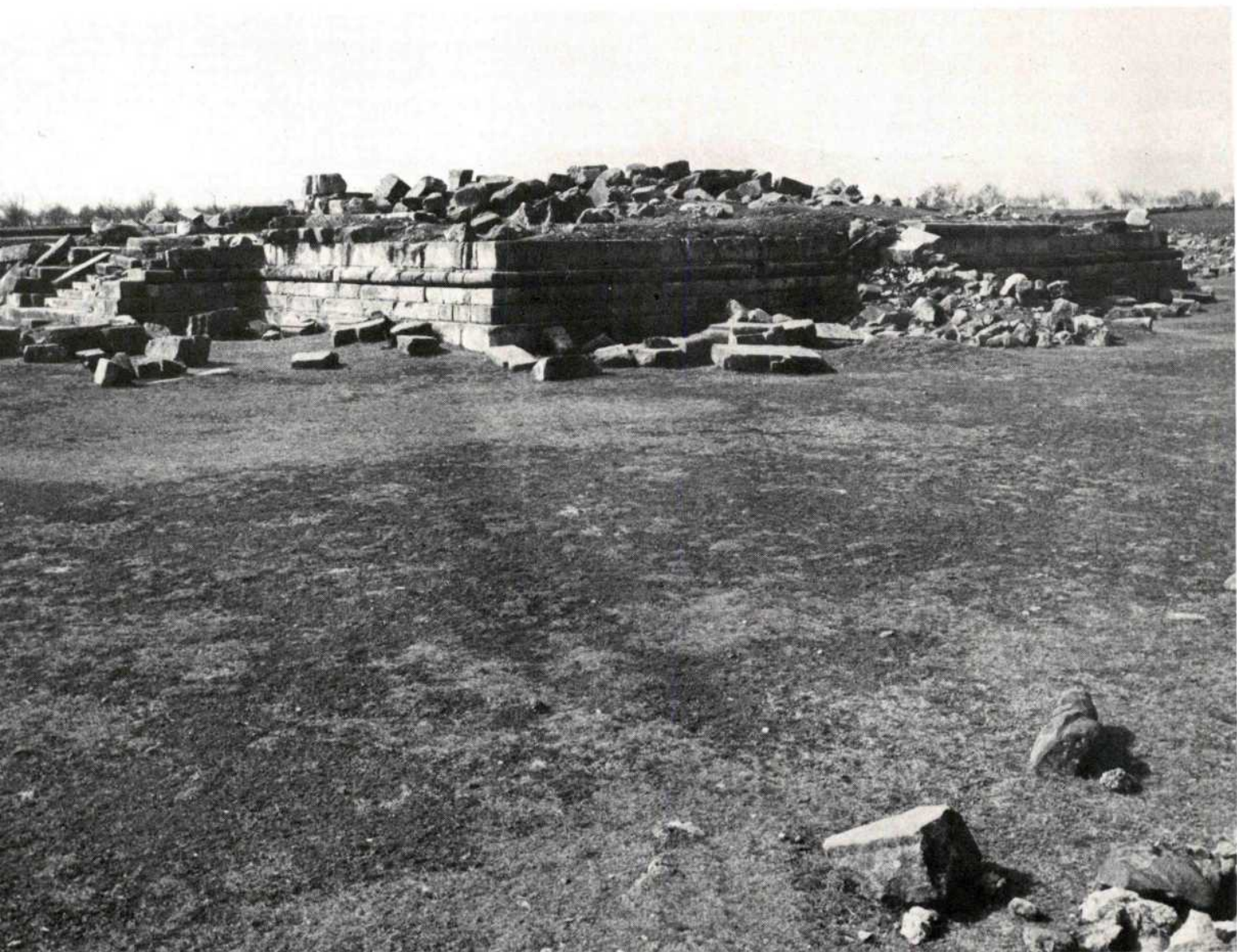
With the paucity of temple remains, literary references are of some help, if used with caution. For example, Kalhana's claim of pre-Asokan Kashmiri viharas is unlikely considering that Buddhism was not introduced into Kashmir before Asoka's time, in the third century BC.¹ Kalhana also cites the "...eighty-four lakhs of stone-buildings. ..." erected by one King Lava, also called a Buddhist, yet active before the arrival of Asokan Buddhism.² One plausible aspect of the early period that does emerge from the various literary sources, however, is the close connection between Kashmir and the area to the west, Gandhara. Beginning at least with the Achaemenian Persians, around 500 BC, and continuing with the Greeks and Saka tribes, the region between Afghanistan and Kashmir was usually viewed as one cultural entity. The name Kashmir was not generally limited to the small Himalayan valley until Kushan times, in the early centuries AD. By the time of the Huna invasions, towards the beginning of the sixth century, which also encompassed both regions, Gandharan kings had used Kashmir as a refuge and likewise Kashmiri rulers could find temporary safety in the neighbouring area when needed. Despite invasions and wars, the commercial and cultural exchange between the adjacent regions continued without interruption. Even to later visitors, such as the Chinese monks of the seventh and eighth centuries, the cultures

A cruciform, terraced structure, surrounded by monks' cells, was furthermore known in Hindu monuments, many of which remain in Kashmir itself, and reached its most elaborate development in the temples of South-east Asia, especially in Cambodia. This structure is similar in concept to the temple/stupa at Ushkur. There, the object to be venerated, the stupa, is moved inside the residential compound, the vihara, creating a new focus for that older structure. At Parihasapura it appears that the vihara contains a shrine, the *chaitya*, in place of the stupa, but the basic arrangement is the same. Both constructions represent a later phase of Buddhist architecture, one seldom found in the rest of India due mainly to the decline of Buddhism by the seventh-eighth century. In fact, the cruciform, terraced structure surrounded by monks' cells is found frequently in Kashmiri Hindu monuments. Nevertheless, it most likely was first developed among Buddhist monastic establishments, such as Ushkur and Parihasapura, and later adopted for Hindu shrines. The ultimate source is probably the various Gandharan Buddhist monuments, from which so much of Kashmiri architecture derives, that had long featured the concept of the stupa within a courtyard.

NOTES

1. Chinese pilgrims were reported already visiting sacred spots in northern India by the third century AD, Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World of Hsuan Tsang*, (London, n.d.), p. x and P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, 2nd ed. (Westport, 1973), p. 60, but the earliest written account of those travels is by Fa-Hsian (399-414), see G. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (New York, 1965).
2. Shaman Hwui Li, *The Life of Hsien-Tsang*, translated by S. Beal (New Delhi, 1973), p. 68.
3. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Calcutta: Oriental Press, 1939), 1:37.
4. F. S. Growse, "The Architecture of Kashmir," *Calcutta Review*, LIV, no. CVII (January, 1872), p. 28.
5. P. Pal, "The Aiduka of the Visnudharmottarapurana and Certain Aspects of Stupa Symbolism," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, n.s., IV, pt. 1, pp. 49-62.
6. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (1933; reprint, New Delhi: Sagar Publications, 1971), pl. XVIII.
7. J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1967), p. 36.
8. D. Snellgrove, *Image of the Buddha* (Tokyo, 1978), p. 137.
9. A similar representation, with the four lance-bearing guardians, in northern dress, belonging to the late Professor G. Tucci, is on view in the Oriental Museum in Rome.
10. S. Beal, *The Life of Hsien-Tsang by the Shaman Hwui-Li* (London, 1911), p. 68.
11. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (New York, 1975), pl. XL and Kak, op. cit., p. 154.
12. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (New Delhi, 1966), p. 66.
13. M. Bussagli, *Painting in Central Asia* (Geneva, 1963), p. 81.
14. T. Akiyama and S. Matsubara, *Arts of China: Buddhist Cave Temples* (Tokyo, 1969), pl. 103.
15. M. A. Stein, trans., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (Delhi, 1961), IV, 200.

□



Rajavihara, Parihasapura.

Chaitya, Parihasapura.





11. Chankuna stupa, Parihasapura.

12. Chankuna stupa (detail), Parihasapura.



The largest of the three monuments is the stupa. This structure has been known as Chankuna's stupa, from a passage in Kalhana's history linking its construction to Lalitaditya's Tokharian minister, an avid supporter of Buddhism. In the centre rests a huge stone, with a one-and-a-half-metre deep hole in the middle, probably the base for the stupa finial. In all respects the foundation and four stairways are similar to the Ushkur remains, though larger and still retaining portions of the second platform. The torus is repeated at each level giving the plinth a majestic silhouette, a hallmark of Kashmiri structures, found also on the small, votive bronzes. Several stone sculptures recovered from this site have been removed to the Sri Pratap Singh Museum but one seated image, inside a niche, remains at the site.

It is difficult to reconstruct the manner in which these few figures might have been placed on the stupa. Probably the seated, meditating Buddha in a trefoil niche was part of a continuous frieze about the base of the stupa, a common practice in Gandhara. Likewise, the standing, crowned Buddha, an iconographic type of interest, and the so-called "atlante" figure, belong to rows of similar images that adorned the plinth of the stupa. The use of figures upon the surface of a stupa was common practice, but certain features of these figures set them apart. The standing image, with both arms upraised, is noticeably different in style from its Gandharan prototypes, especially in the naturalistic modelling of the torso and the presence of the garland falling below the knees. These features are typical of the Kashmiri style, seen most often on bronzes and later Hindu stone images. The unusual crowned Buddha has close parallels, in the treatment of the crown, from Central Asia¹³ and China, especially at Yun Kang,¹⁴ which is certainly of earlier date. These Central Asian and Chinese features add further support to Sarkar's linking of architecture of the north-west with the further "Trans-Indus" regions. The stupa was once surrounded by a wall, and this, along with the recessed plinth and four stairways, ties it closely to the contemporary remains at Ushkur, described above.

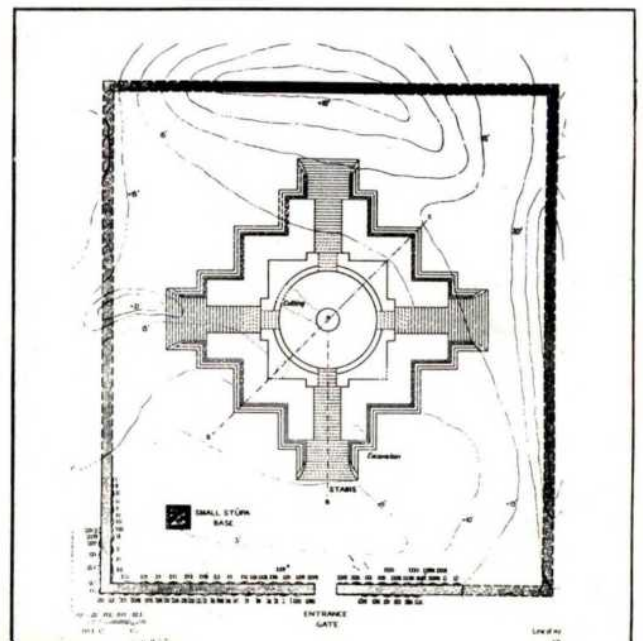
Next to Chankuna's stupa there is a smaller ruin that was once a vihara. Twenty-six cells, fronted with a veranda, surround an open courtyard, with the cell in the centre of the back row larger than the rest, probably for use as a shrine. The plinth carries the same torus found on the other monuments. Evidence of a drain and a water reservoir have been found and some of the walls show signs of repair. This traditional Indian type of vihara, the only one left in Kashmir, is probably the one Kalhana mentions as being erected by Lalitaditya and called the Rajavihara: "That king, who was free from passions, built the ever-rich Rajavihara, with a large quadrangle (*catuhsala*), a large *chaitya*, and a large [image of] the Jina (Buddha)."¹⁵

The third structure is the large *chaitya* mentioned above. The square chamber is eight metres on a side and is surrounded by a circumambulatory passage (*pradaksinapatha*). The bases of four stone columns remain and the roof was probably of the pyramidal type still found on Kashmiri Hindu temples. Pieces of the cornice, a string of stylized *kirtimukhas*, can be found lying about the area. The inner chamber contains a single block of stone, 35.6 x 30.5 x 15.2 cm., upon which the main image must have stood. "Atlante" figures, similar to those from the Chankuna stupa, were also found nearby.

One realizes the importance of this structure when it is compared with the Ushkur, Bhamala and Rawak monuments noted above. It belongs to that late Buddhist tradition where the *chaitya* is joined with the vihara, and is the best example of that arrangement in Kashmir.

1. Bhamala stupa, Gandhara.

2. Diagram of Rawak vihara, Chhotan. (After Stein, *Ancient Chhotan* [New York, 1975], pl. XL).



is different from any found in Kashmir. The geographically closest parallel (in addition to the Taxila site of Bhamala) is found in the nearby Central Asian site of Khotan. The Rawak vihara, dated to the fourth or fifth century, exhibits the same structural features, and Stein's early explorations clearly showed cells built within the surrounding wall, just as Kak proposed for Ushkur.¹¹ The dates of the Rawak vihara, Bhamala and Ushkur are all roughly the same. Along with other such monuments found in Central Asia and Afghanistan, Ushkur (and the Harwan votive plaques) reflects a new direction in the development of Buddhist architecture in the north-west.

This development probably began in Gandhara and most likely coincided with the increased growth of the Mahayana schools. It consisted of the erection of a cruciform temple, or possibly a stupa, inside the vihara compound. This shrine was elevated, often upon a triple, recessed platform, and utilized a stairway on each of four sides. It was never widely adopted in Gandhara but became popular in what Sarkar calls the "Trans-Indus" regions.¹² That would include Kashmir along with Central Asia and Afghanistan. The type continued in Ladakh and Tibet long after Buddhism had disappeared from the other areas, and is remarkably close to monuments in South-east Asia.

If Ushkur belongs to this late development in the history of Buddhist architecture, and further excavations may hold the answer, then a date of the seventh-eighth century would seem appropriate. Excavations may also determine if this design was original with Lalitaditya's building or already present with the foundations over which his monument was erected, foundations that probably date from Kushan times.

Parihasapura, modern Paraspura, is located about twenty-two kilometres north-west of Srinagar, on a plateau, near the centre of the Valley. The ruins of three monuments—a stupa, a vihara and a *chaitya*—are all that remain of Lalitaditya's former capital. Records mention Hindu monuments of great size but only the ruined Buddhist foundations are left. According to Kalhana, each of the three was once surrounded by a wall, characteristic of Lalitaditya's Buddhist and Hindu monuments, and noted at Ushkur.

The decay of the site began immediately after Lalitaditya's rule. His son moved the capital away, Avantivarman (ruled AD 855-883) diverted the river and finally King Samkaravarman (AD 883-902) used stones from the site to build his own temples at nearby Patan. Still, something remained as late as the eleventh century, for Kalhana tells of influential religious leaders from there during the early eleventh-century reign of Samgramaraja, and of a colossal Buddha image, probably in the Rajavihara. The destruction of sacred shrines by Harsha (AD 1089-1101) was felt at Parihasapura when he destroyed the Rajavihara. The final destruction came at the hands of the Muslims after the fourteenth century. As late as the eighteenth century, travellers' reports speak of large remains, indicating that the monuments still retained something of their grandeur clear into modern times. No doubt local inhabitants further reduced the site for needed building materials.



8. Ushkur stupa (detail).

remains of an earlier monument and by adding what may have been monks' cells into the surrounding wall he created a composite structure. The stupa was thus moved inside the vihara, occupying the centre position and thereby creating a temple, of the sort later found in Kashmiri Hindu monuments, with the central shrine and courtyard surrounded by arcaded walls, otherwise unknown among the few Buddhist remains.

The base of the Ushkur stupa/temple is cruciform in plan, with stairs on each of the four sides, each side being nearly thirty-three metres across. A torus still exists about the plinth, but the rest of the stonework has disappeared. Sections of the plinth, between the stairs, consist of angular projections in the manner of other Kashmiri stupas, such as at Parihasapura. This type, less common than the single stairway model, is known from only one site in Gandhara, at Bhamala near Taxila. The ruinous condition of the Ushkur remains prevents further comparison, such as of the presence of rows of cells that once may have been built into it.

This configuration, featuring the four stairs, high plinth and cells built into the enclosure, constitutes a distinct, regional type. It is seldom found on the Indian subcontinent, where the single stairway and circular-plinth types dominate. Some similarity can be found in the late eighth-century eastern India Buddhist vihara at Paharpur, which does use this type of platform, but this is not typical, and the Paharpur platform, with its small shrines attached,

Fig. 8

Fig. 9



7. Votive stupa, Kashmir; eighth-ninth century; brass. The Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection.

stupas, complete with triple terrace, four stairways, four corner columns, a seated image and the thirteen umbrellas. Although the guardians are absent, the donors and devotional figures about the base are shown in foreign dress. The few votive models shown here along with the literary record of the *Vishnudharmottara* make it possible to reconstruct the Kashmiri stupa, despite the paucity of architectural remains. The small number of Kashmiri ruins agree in all respects with the models and there is nothing to suggest that their missing upper portions did not look like those on the plaques and votive bronzes.

The Kashmiri stupa was a towering edifice, quite different from the stupa known in most other parts of India, due mainly to the emphasis upon the umbrellas and the multi-tiered base or platforms. This meant a reduction in the size of the drum as it was dominated by the upper and lower portions. The Kashmiri stupa often featured the use of free-standing columns, at each corner of the top terrace, and these were topped by animals just as were the famous Asokan columns. Some examples included images inside niches, usually four in number, sometimes with varied gestures. At least one example featured guardians in northern dress, exactly as prescribed in the *Vishnudharmottara*.⁹

Fig. 6 Reliefs of stupas with these same features are also known from Gandhara and from at least one example from the Mathura region exists. The latter (actually a Jain stupa) follows a similar arrangement with free-standing pillars and a stairway situated upon a raised platform. The body of the stupa proper is closer to the type found at other sites in India, such as Sanchi, and the elaborate umbrellas, so popular in Gandhara and Kashmir, are reduced to only one, above the *harmika*, with garlands flying to each side. This stupa can be dated to the first or second century AD, making it earlier than any known Gandharan or Kashmiri remains.

It is thus still difficult to determine whether the design of the Kashmir stupa originated in Kashmir, Gandhara or even Mathura. Certainly the evidence of the Kashmiri votive plaques, which are earlier than the Gandharan bronze examples, indicates a probable Kashmiri origin. In any event, this type of stupa with its distinctive stairways and crowning elements of a tower-like configuration of umbrellas, enjoyed a long life in the north-western regions of the subcontinent and remained a model for stupas in Tibet and the pagoda style in Central and East Asia.

Ushkur and Parihasapura

Apart from Harwan, the only Buddhist remains of archaeological value in Kashmir are at Ushkur and Parihasapura. Both are associated with the eighth-century Karkota ruler Lalitaditya and are located in the same general area of the Valley. At Parihasapura, only the ruined foundations of three structures are left from what was once a considerable secular and religious complex. Likewise at Ushkur all that is visible are foundations, though future excavations may well turn up a greater number of remains, as the immediate area is yet to be fully explored and the terrain suggests the presence of other constructions. Despite the ruinous condition of both sites, enough exists to add considerable information to the history of Kashmiri Buddhist architecture, including evidence of the creation of a new, composite structure where the traditionally separate buildings used for worship (*chaityas*—halls) and residences for monks (*viharas*) are joined into one.

According to Kalhana, Ushkur was founded during Kushan times by the Turushka king Huvishka, and named Hushkapura. Cunningham identified this town as the modern day Ushkur, close by the larger Baramula, and Stein, agreeing with Cunningham, listed the records of various travellers whose visits there proved the importance of the place as an early stop upon entering the Valley as well as a religious centre of some consequence. Hsuan Tsang spent his first night in Kashmir there and later the eleventh-century visitor Alberuni, calling it Ushkara, noted its proximity to Baramula. The Chinese Ou-K'ong reported a vihara there in AD 759 and Kalhana described a number of Hindu monuments erected in the immediate area, though little of their presence has yet been discovered. The only monument visible today, of which just portions of the foundations remain, appears to be a stupa of cruciform plan. However, Hsuan Tsang mentions spending the night at a temple, after visiting the several monasteries at Ushkur,¹⁰ but says nothing about a stupa. Kalhana alludes to a great vihara built by Lalitaditya but does not give the name or exact location. This vihara, according to Stein, may well be the "Moung-ti-wei-houo-lo" noted by Ou-K'ong who visited the site shortly after the eighth-century rule of Lalitaditya. Kalhana also relates the story of Lalitaditya erecting a large stupa at Ushkur. There seems little doubt that Lalitaditya erected his stupa over the



4. Votive stupa with four Buddhas, Gandhara; bronze.
Peshawar Museum.

6. Jain stupa, Mathura; stone relief.



5. Votive stupa with four *lokapalas*, Gandhara; bronze.
Peshawar Museum.



3. Votive stupa, Gandhara; bronze. Peshawar Museum.



wooden construction, as does the extreme height, exactly half of the entire monument. The number of umbrellas seems to be either eleven or thirteen, both canonically correct.

The type of stupa found on the Harwan plaques and repeated in the ruined foundations at Harwan, Ushkur and Parihasapura is also known in votive models from the adjacent Gandharan region, and similar examples, in bronze and stone, are found today in museums and temples across Asia. In the Peshawar Museum are several such replicas, in bronze, all similar to those found on the Harwan plaques. One is especially close, differing only in minor respects: a double instead of a triple base and lacking the columns (although they are not present on all Kashmiri models either). The top appears to be damaged, accounting for only five umbrellas. Other bronze models share these same characteristics, including the free-standing pillars and even stylized versions of the streamers, reduced in size due to the limitations of the material.

Some of these votive stupas also differ from the Harwan plaques in the inclusion of figures. On one there is a seated image, rendered in the Kashmiri style, on each of the four sides of the drum. Only three are visible in the photograph but the different hand gestures (*mudras*) suggest that each of the four represents a Buddha in the manner of the Mahayana concept of the transcendent Buddha, with a different form for each of the four directions. This mandala-like arrangement is found on another of the Gandharan votive stupas but the four Buddhas are shown with the same gesture of meditation. This arrangement, of the stupa with four identical seated images of the Buddha, can be found at least as far back as Kushan times and is even considered by some scholars to have originated in the north-west and Kashmir.⁸ Furthermore, some of the Gandharan bronze stupas also include additional figures. In one example, especially close to the Harwan plaques in the details of the stupa itself, there are four figures standing atop the dome, between the struts that support the umbrellas. These figures, dressed in the costume of the north-west, are identical, each holding a long lance. They may be identified as guardians, or *lokapalas*, as mentioned in the description of *aiduka* in the *Vishnudharmottarapurana*. According to that document, the *lokapalas* should carry a spear (*sula*), be dressed in armour and correspond to the four directions. The text points specifically to the northern dress of the guardians, and the images shown on this stupa are clearly so arrayed. About the base of this stupa are several figures in postures of devotion, no doubt meant to portray donors, and one standing figure with a club or stick held at the shoulder. At his feet is a sheep or a goat. Such figures about the base of bronze images are commonly found in Kashmiri works of the eighth-tenth century. In one such bronze, attributed to the eighth or ninth century, are found two

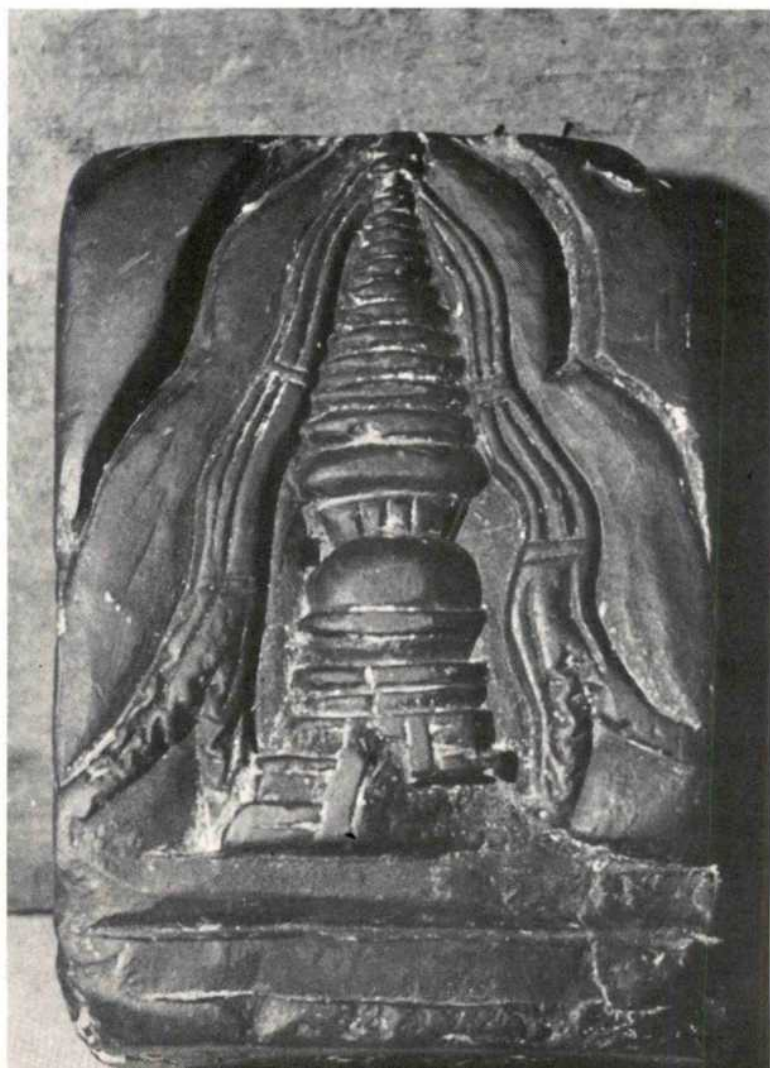
Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 7

1. Plaque with stupa, from Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (left).
2. Plaque with stupa, Kashmir; stone. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. (right).



give any details of the Buddhist establishments existing there. The report of the best known of the Chinese visitors, Hsuan Tsang, is the most detailed chronicle before Kalhana, though very little about stupas is included. He mentions four stupas built by Asoka, each containing "... a pint measure of relics of Tathagata." The story of Hsuan Tsang's trip, as told by the shaman Hwui Li, referring to these same stupas, notes their "... wonderful height and great magnificence."² The eighth-century visitor, Ou K'ong, spent more time in Kashmir, but his chronicle contains fewer details about either the Buddhists or their monuments than does the record of his illustrious predecessor, though he does refer to large numbers of stupas and images in the valley.³ Subsequent reports by visitors do not mention Buddhist remains beyond brief asides, such as Growse, referring to Ushkur, in 1872: "... the remains of a Buddhist stupa, erected at a much later period by King Lalitaditya, may still be seen there."⁴ The Archaeological reports, published early in this century, are able only to offer diagrams of stupa foundations and photographs of ruins. In fact, due to some restoration carried out in the last seventy-five years, the few foundations that can be seen today are probably in better condition than they were at any time in the past one thousand years.

Curiously, one early Hindu text, dating probably from the sixth or seventh century at the latest, provides descriptive information about the Kashmir stupa. The text is the *Vishnudharmottarapurana*, which was compiled in Kashmir or the north-west. In a section titled "aiduka" is a detailed description of the stupa, closely matching that seen on the small plaques discovered at Harwan. The inclusion of a Buddhist monument in a Hindu text and the use of the name "aiduka" instead of stupa has been explained at length.⁵ According to the *Vishnudharmottara*, the base of a stupa should consist of a triple platform, called *bhadrapiṭha*, with four stairways, one for each of the four directions. Above this base is the middle section, called *dhruva*, with four sides. Atop this section are to be thirteen tiers, called *bhumikas*. The entire structure is crowned with an *amalasāraka* and it is decorated with a medallion. In the middle section should be four guardians (*lokapālas*), each carrying a staff or lance. They are armoured and dressed in the northern mode. The text goes on to tie all these to Siva worship, but as has been shown, what is described is clearly the Buddhist stupa, and if one compares that description to the images of stupas found at Harwan as well as to some of the extant bronze votive models, the parallels are remarkable.

Fig. 1 The oldest remaining evidence of the complete Kashmiri stupa is found upon the small, terracotta votive plaques discovered at Harwan. Three were published by Kak in 1933,⁶ and a drawing based upon them appeared in a later publication.⁷ According to Kak, there remains an inscription in Brahmi characters of about the fourth century, stamped in relief below the stupa, consisting of the usual honorific phrase praising the faith. Another similar plaque in the Sri

Fig. 2 Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar belongs with this group. Also in that museum is a slightly different version, of stone, consisting of a seated Buddha flanked by attenuated versions of the same stupa.

None of the plaques was excavated under controlled conditions; they were found, along with numerous terracotta fragments of statuary, about the Harwan site as the process of discovery progressed. It is of interest that the script used was Brahmi, while the characters on the Harwan tiles from the same site were in the earlier Kharoshthi.

The stupa represented on these plaques consists of three recessed platforms (*medhi*), with a distinct decorative moulding around each. A continuous flight of stairs ascends through all three levels to the main platform. Due to the sculptures' low relief, it is not possible to determine whether or not such stairways were found on the other three sides. The one existing stupa foundation, at Harwan, appears to have but one flight of stairs, while other monuments, at Ushkur and Parihasapura, had four, as do various votive bronzes from Gandhara and Kashmir, discussed below. At each corner of the platform, on some of the plaques, are two large, free-standing columns. These are no doubt a lingering tradition from Asokan times, the well-known Asokan columns found with Buddhist monuments throughout India. The size and prominence given the columns indicate their importance. To date, no evidence of Asokan columns has been found at any Kashmiri Buddhist site.

The hemispherical stupa proper (*anda*) is circled with several horizontal bands, with decorative elements visible between two of them. These are most likely niches with figures inside, as found often in Gandharan monuments, fragments of which were found about the area of the Harwan site. The upper third of the dome is left plain and the top supports a number of struts, which in turn are surmounted with a series of circular umbrellas (*chhatravali*) of diminishing size. These are separated from one another by more such struts and culminate in a point from which fly several streamers. The design of the struts and umbrellas indicates

Buddhist Architecture

Robert E. Fisher

Prior to the process of Islamization that began in the fourteenth century in Kashmir, both Hinduism and Buddhism had flourished there for almost two thousand years. Today, the remnants of a few Hindu temples survive and Buddhist monuments are so fragmentary that their original forms must be completely reconstructed from other evidence. Even during Kalhana's time in the twelfth century, Buddhist monuments were few compared to the Hindu temples that were still in worship.

The destruction of Buddhist establishments was begun by zealous Hindu kings, such as Harsha who destroyed many of the eighth-century Buddhist monuments of Parihasapura during civil strife in AD 1100, as well as by others who used cut stones from Buddhist monuments to build Hindu temples, and was continued by iconoclastic Muslim rulers in the fourteenth century and thereafter. During the past seven centuries, when Buddhism disappeared altogether and Hinduism barely survived, nature's gradual erosion added to the neglected temples, causing further decay and leaving modern visitors with but a glimpse of Kashmir's former architectural grandeur.

The Stupa

The most familiar Buddhist monument is the stupa and even though no architectural example survives, its importance and distinctive form can be determined from literature and from artistic evidence. Kalhana's chronicle mentions the construction of several stupas at various locations in the Valley by the third century BC by the Mauryan emperor Asoka. Later, Meghavahana, ruling around the middle of the fourth century, is cited by Kalhana as being responsible for the construction of at least one well-known stupa. It is of interest that Meghavahana is said to have come to Kashmir from either Tibet or Ladakh, and these areas were to carry on the traditional style of stupa architecture developed in Kashmir. Unfortunately, nothing is known of the appearance of this or other early stupas. Meghavahana is credited with numerous other donations and he and his queens are associated with several Buddhist monuments, especially viharas. Kalhana also mentions Lalitaditya's Buddhist monuments, notably the vihara and stupa at Ushkur and the great stupa erected at Parihasapura by his minister Chankuna, all of which were most probably seen by him. The stupas reputed to be from Asoka's time were no doubt reconstructed several times before Kalhana saw them, and retained little of their original design.

Other literary records include references by various Chinese visitors, who have left accounts from at least as early as the fifth century.¹ Although it would appear that most of the Chinese pilgrims travelling to India by way of Central Asia visited Kashmir, only the records of a few

The enigma of Harwan still remains. Except for the ascetic plaques everything found there is compatible with known Buddhist practices. However, the one certain Buddhist area, the lower terrace with its stupa, included pavement tiles clearly borrowed from the establishment above, indicating that someone occupied the location prior to the Buddhists' arrival. Although no firm evidence of Ajivika activity in Kashmir is known, the apsidal shrine, various motifs upon the tiles and the emaciated ascetics agree with their known practices. The early date, confirmed by the Kharoshthi inscriptions, is consistent with the evidence found at the early Ajivika caves in Bihar and the Ajivikas' association with potters is affirmed by the extensive use of terracotta at Harwan. It is an intriguing idea to think of Harwan as having been occupied originally by Ajivikas who had either deserted the site or were displaced by the Buddhists, leaving behind evidence of their activities, all of which was easily incorporated by the Buddhists, except for the ascetic tiles.

NOTES

1. M. A. Stein, trans., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (Delhi, 1961), vol. I, verse 173 (hereafter referred to as R.T., I, 173).
2. R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1923), pp. 110-115.
3. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933), pp. 105-111 and pls. XV-XLII.
4. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1927), p. 141.
5. Mr. Willy Frei, Zurich, has had his Harwan plaque tested and found it to be between 1,350 and 1,850 years old, or between the second and sixth centuries AD.
6. Noted by P. G. Paul, *Early Sculpture of Kashmir* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 48ff.
7. I am most grateful to Dr. Trudy Kawami who pointed out this and other comparative material, especially regarding Parthian influences.
8. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore, 1970), p. 150.
9. O. Ferrari, "Floorings," *The Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. XIII (New York, 1967), p. 475.
10. C. M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1981), p. 244.
11. Ferrari, op. cit., p. 477.
12. M. A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (Ithaca, 1977), p. 25.
13. M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. V (1935), fig. 32.
14. A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928), p. 61.
15. *Kaogu* (1978), no. 6, pp. 380-387 (in Chinese).
16. *5000 Years of Korean Art* (San Francisco, 1979), figs. 65, 66.
17. J. Marshall, *Taxila* (Delhi, 1975), I: 393.
18. D. Facenna, *Sculptures From the Sacred Area of Butkara I* (Rome, 1962), vol. II, 2, pl. IV.
19. J. Irwin, "The Stupa and the Cosmic Axis," *South Asian Archaeology, 1977* (Naples, 1979), fig. 22. Robert Skelton, former Keeper at the Victoria and Albert Museum, very kindly pointed out these tiles and suggested their similarity to Harwan.
20. M. H. Makhdoomi, "Ancient Buddhist Site Discovered at Lidroo, Pahalgam," (press release, Government of Jammu and Kashmir, July 25, 1978).
21. Colledge, op. cit., p. 25.
22. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 231.
23. A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia* (Cleveland and New York), p. 100.
24. Belenitsky, op. cit., p. 153 and G. Pugachenkova, *Istoria iskusstva Uzbekistan* (Moscow, 1965), pls. 10-13, 162 (in Russian).
25. E. J. Keall, "Qal 'eh-i Yazdigird: The Question of its Date," *Iran*, (1977), vol. XV, pl. IIIb, another Parthian source kindly suggested by Dr. Trudy Kawami.
26. D. Schlumberger, "The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLVII (London, 1961), pp. 77-95.
27. First brought to my attention by Dr. Robert Brown of U.C.L.A., see Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Tibetan, Nepalese, Kashmir Art* (London: July 9, 1979), pl. XXXV.
28. I am grateful to Mr. Willy Frei, Zurich, for this observation.
29. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933), pl. XXII.
30. P. Shah, *Visnudharmottara-Purana*, Third Khanda (Baroda, 1961), II: 48.
31. *Todalatantram*, 2: 17-18, as translated by Dr. P. Pal who kindly suggested this passage for its similarity to the Harwan figures.
32. H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* (Hamden, 1971), pls. 54, 82-86.
33. Mission Paul Pelliot, *Tumchouq: Planches* (Paris, 1961), pls. 171, 434.
34. Most of our information about the Ajivikas comes from the detailed study by A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas* (London, 1951).
35. H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (Princeton, 1969), p. 267.
36. Basham, op. cit., pp. 150-160.
37. Basham, *ibid.*, pp. 110-111.
38. Basham, *ibid.*, pp. 205-212.
39. Basham, *ibid.*, p. 109.

□

and defilement of images, actually carried out by individuals who could have been Ajivikas, according to Basham. There is no question that ascetics of various sects migrated from other parts of India to Kashmir and among those cults could well have been the Ajivikas.

If one now reviews the remains at Harwan in the light of what is known of Ajivika beliefs and practices, the usual assumption of a Buddhist origin for the site is less tenable. Even Kalhana's reference to the Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna residing there could be interpreted as a reoccupation of an earlier monastic establishment. It is clear from Kak's excavation reports that the terracotta tiles surrounding the Buddhist stupa on the lower terrace were taken from the pavement above. They were so broken and poorly aligned as to indicate that the Buddhists had simply climbed the short distance up the hill to secure ready-made paving tiles. The shape of the apsidal temple at Harwan agrees with the design of the caves dedicated to the Ajivikas at Barabar, discussed above. There is no way to determine how the circular structure at the far end was used, but it would be imprudent to assume that it must have been a Buddhist stupa. Among the pavement tiles appear several images which were also popular with the Ajivikas: the elephant (the "last sprinkling elephant" was one of their eight finalities), and the abundance of flowers (the Ajivikas were said to adorn the hermitage, and the peculiar figures on the balcony hold flowers). Moreover, the extensive use of terracotta may also indicate an Ajivika association, for the sect was closely associated with the community of potters. The ascetic plaques provide additional evidence. The geese below may refer to ascetics in general, for these wandering figures are sometimes called wild geese or swans, *hamsa*, because of their migratory habits, especially from southern areas into the Himalayas. The figure of the ascetic agrees in nearly every respect with descriptions of the Ajivika: emaciation, long hair, nudity and the squatting posture can all be found in various texts. Only the sometimes mentioned rod or staff is absent:

... we may envisage the typical Ajivika of the early period as usually completely naked, no doubt covered with dust and dirt, perhaps bent and crippled, and armed with a bamboo staff.³⁹

One might look once again at this figure in terms of one of the Ajivikas' best-known practices, that of doing extreme penance inside a clay jar. The confined posture neatly conforms to what an individual would look like if inside such a container.



17. Flying (?) figure, India; Gupta period, c. fifth century; terracotta. Private Collection.

Asokan inscriptions upon cave entrances in Barabar, Bihar and dating from the third century BC, indicate early sympathy for the Ajivikas and at the imperial level. Three of these caves (Lomas Rishi, Sudama and Visvamisra) are of unusual shape: apsidal in plan with a circular construction at the far end. If Buddhist, this arrangement would indicate the presence of a circular stupa. According to Basham, these caves may originally have been stone replicas of the earliest Ajivika meeting place, a circular thatched hut at the end of a courtyard.³⁶ There is ample evidence that these caves were later used by Hindus, Buddhists and even Muslims with attendant defacements and added inscriptions. It is of interest to note that when Cunningham inspected the caves in the nineteenth century, vast quantities of broken pottery littered the floors, to a depth of nearly one metre. The Ajivikas were believed to have practised severe austerities inside clay pots and in much of the literature they are associated with potters. A potter hosted Gosala for sixteen years and there seems little doubt that many early members of the sect were potters by trade. The Ajivikas were known to adopt "... a squatting posture ..." for some of their extreme practices, encouraged nudity, allowed their hair to grow long and carried a lotus while begging.³⁷

Basham also devotes a section to the evidence of Ajivika activity within Kashmir.³⁸ He notes that some of Kalhana's references to various religious groups agree with known Ajivika practices and in such descriptions as "... strange and naked ascetics ..." and "... crippled and naked ascetics ..." he finds possible allusions to the Ajivikas. The tenth-century Kashmiri ruler, Harsha, is described as an iconoclast who directed the destruction

16. The sages Nara and Narayan
Uttar Pradesh; fifth century;
red terracotta; 57.2 cm.
Los Angeles County Museum of
Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harry
Lenart.





ascetic sect known as the Ajivikas. Their founder, Gosala, spent several years in the company of the Jain leader Mahavira and the two sects shared many attitudes and practices. The Ajivikas have left no written records and our information about them comes primarily from the seldom flattering reports in Jain and Buddhist chronicles. These indicate that the Ajivikas were active, in most areas of India, until late medieval times, finally to be absorbed into the Indian mainstream like numerous other cults.³⁴

Because of their often unorthodox practices such as nudity, extreme yogic habits and bodily abuses, the Ajivikas were not destined for widespread support. They did, however, manage to establish a religious system based upon their fatalistic belief that man is not the master of his fate, that no amount of good deeds or accumulated karma could alter the inevitable process all must endure:

Our words and deeds, that is to say, announce to ourselves—and to the world—every minute, just what milestone we have come to. Thus perfect asceticism, though it has no causative, has yet a symptomatic value: it is the characteristic mode of life of a being who is on the point of reaching the goal of isolation (*kaivalya*); and conversely, those who are not readily drawn to it are comparatively low in the human scale. Any pronounced inability to conform to the most advanced ascetic standards simply proclaims how woefully far one stands from the summit of the cosmic social climb.³⁵

No images and no monuments of the Ajivikas beyond a few inscriptions upon cave entrances, are known to have survived. They must have produced something but their gradual decline and the Indian practice of sects occupying sites of earlier cults served to eradicate any remains. A summary of the scant evidence available, mostly from Basham's thorough study, does enable one to draw certain conclusions about Ajivika practices which may throw some light upon the significance of the Harwan site.



14. Seated figure of ascetic, India; third-first century BC; terracotta; 8.2 cm. Collection of Dr. Bertram Schaffner, on loan to The Brooklyn Museum, New York.

15. Emaciated figure, Iraq; Babylonian (Larsa), c. nineteenth century BC; bronze; 14.9 cm. Cincinnati Art Museum, John J. Emery Fund. (opposite page).

the head. It has been pointed out that this may have been done to avoid the lengthy, higher numbers.²⁸ By beginning over, in a different place, the less cumbersome, lower numerals could be used twice. The facial features, hair-styles and jewellery of the heads atop each tile have suggested to some scholars a people from outside India, a likely possibility during the early centuries of the first millennium. Kak even interprets their appearance as reflecting the Kushan peoples of the previous epoch.

This posture of the ascetic is seldom found elsewhere. The only attempt at a direct identification was by Kak, with an otherwise unknown posture he labels *kakasana* or “crow posture.”²⁹ A small terracotta figurine of a seated ascetic, probably made during the last centuries BC, is a rare example of an image approximating this pose. Here emaciation is indicated by deep rib lines that reach around to the back. There is no indication of clothing although the figure wears large ear ornaments. The hands rest atop the shoulders rather than upon the knees and the head is shaved, unlike the flowing hair of the Harwan ascetics. Fig. 1. 1

As in the case of the known images, the various texts describing the many yogic postures also fail to quite match the Harwan pose. For instance the Kashmiri text, the *Visnudharmottarapurana*, describes a posture known as *viskambhita* in which one “. . . is thoughtful, anxious, depressed, dejected or love-lorn.” According to the text, it consists of the legs, thighs and hand “. . . all curved up . . .” with the eyes closed.³⁰ A stone relief, perhaps of Maurya or Sunga date, may be an example of this pose, rare among archaeological remains. A Tantric text from Bengal describes another yogic posture that has a stronger resemblance to the Harwan representation. The adept should sit in a posture called *yonimudrasana* and “. . . his knees should be so raised that they touch his chin and his arms should bind the knees. Thus he should sit with his gaunt body and do breathing exercises.”³¹

Although the exact Harwan type of ascetic is not known elsewhere, the portrayal of the ascetic type itself is widespread. Asceticism plays a part in almost all Indian religious systems, differing in the extent of the practice from sect to sect and, judging from archaeological remains, from one geographic area to another. Most Buddhist and Hindu representations show the ascetic type in a seated pose, usually in proximity to a hermit’s thatched hut or a tree and nearly always wearing some type of clothing. Usually the ascetic is a brahmin, with the sacred thread (*yajnopavita*), and has his hair arranged in some fashion, often piled atop his head. In a rare Gupta terracotta illustrating the Hindu Nara-Narayana story we see two ascetics in conversation under a tree, the symbol of a hermitage or *asrama*. The figure on the left is Nara, a partly divine sage, and the other is Narayana, identified with the god Vishnu. Both have their long, matted hair elaborately arranged and wear garments. Nara is shown slightly obese, common among Indian ascetic images, while Narayana is represented as emaciated, though not to the extent seen at Harwan. The Buddhists often portray ascetics, usually in a narrative context of a group being converted by the Buddha’s greater wisdom. When portrayed alone, the solitary individual is often shown beside a thatched hut.³² There are many terracotta images of ascetics from Central Asian Buddhist sites, where they are shown in a variety of poses, wearing garments, and with exaggerated features to emphasize their contrast with other figures.³³ Examples of extreme asceticism are rare, as the Buddha renounced this means to Enlightenment as excessive. Only in the north-western or Gandharan region is this emaciated type of image often found and here it denotes a particular episode from the life of the Buddha, when he exercised extreme physical denial in his own search for the truth. This dramatic image serves, therefore, to warn against such extreme practices. Among Jain images one finds numerous portrayals of naked, meditating figures, but the figures are never shown as emaciated. Seated Jain images differ only slightly from their Buddhist counterparts, primarily in their nudity. Although the Jain practice involved slow starvation while meditating, it is interesting that emaciated ascetics play no role in their imagery. There is no mention of the existence of Jainism in Kalhana’s chronicle and no Jain images have been discovered from Kashmir. Fig. 1. 2

A rare example of an ascetic exhibiting something of the intensity and emaciation of the Harwan figures is found in an unidentified Gupta terracotta fragment. Of unknown provenance and clearly broken away from a larger panel, this remarkable naked figure with flowing hair and gaunt torso and with a look of fear expressed by the gaping mouth and bulging eyes, seems to be running (or flying) from the flames behind. In our search for images comparable with those from Harwan, this figure, though in a different pose, may be closest in feeling and spirit. Fig. 1. 3

Since the ascetic figures at Harwan do not readily match the usual types found in Hindu, Buddhist or Jain establishments, we may be advised to look elsewhere for answers. Contemporary with the founding of Jainism and a century before Buddhism began there existed another

Asians and even possibly the Kushans. Another site, near Bukhara, has revealed numbers of decorative stuccos with geometric and vegetation ornament and processions of animals and birds.²⁴ Fragments of wall-paintings from the Parthian site of Toprak Kala also illustrate themes similar to those seen at Harwan and the intertwined serpents from Lidroo are also found among Parthian remains in Iran.²⁵

Fig. 13 The overall plan of Harwan may also be due to Parthian influence. The great Parthian fire temple at Surkh Kotal dedicated by Kanishka and located in northern Afghanistan,²⁶ is a terraced structure with a courtyard surrounding the main temple, located upon the highest level. Both Harwan and Surkh Kotal originally had a stairway leading through the centre of each terrace.

Parthian influence however does not entirely explain the pictorial imagery of the Harwan floor tiles. Some of the images clearly originate from Indian sources. The motif of a conversing couple upon a balcony was a popular subject in earlier Indian art. Figures playing amidst a flowering vine and others seated in cross-legged posture as well as the *makara*-type creature are more closely related to Indian representations than to Parthian.

Amidst all the images at Harwan, be they foreign or Indian, one stands apart with compelling force. The repeated portrayals of a crouching ascetic form a dramatic border to the variety of lively forms of the floor and provide the most enigmatic problem for the entire site.

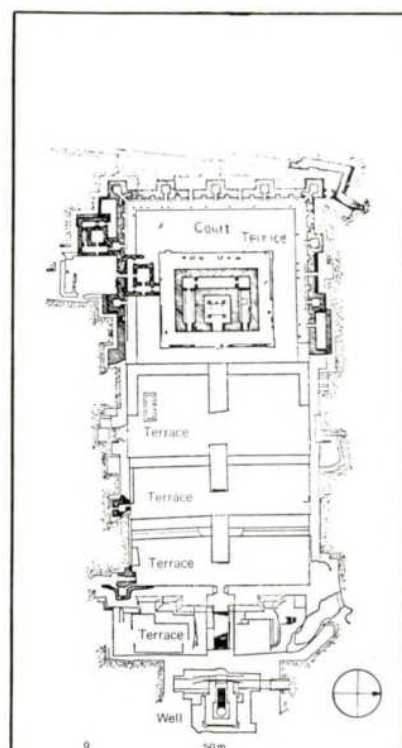
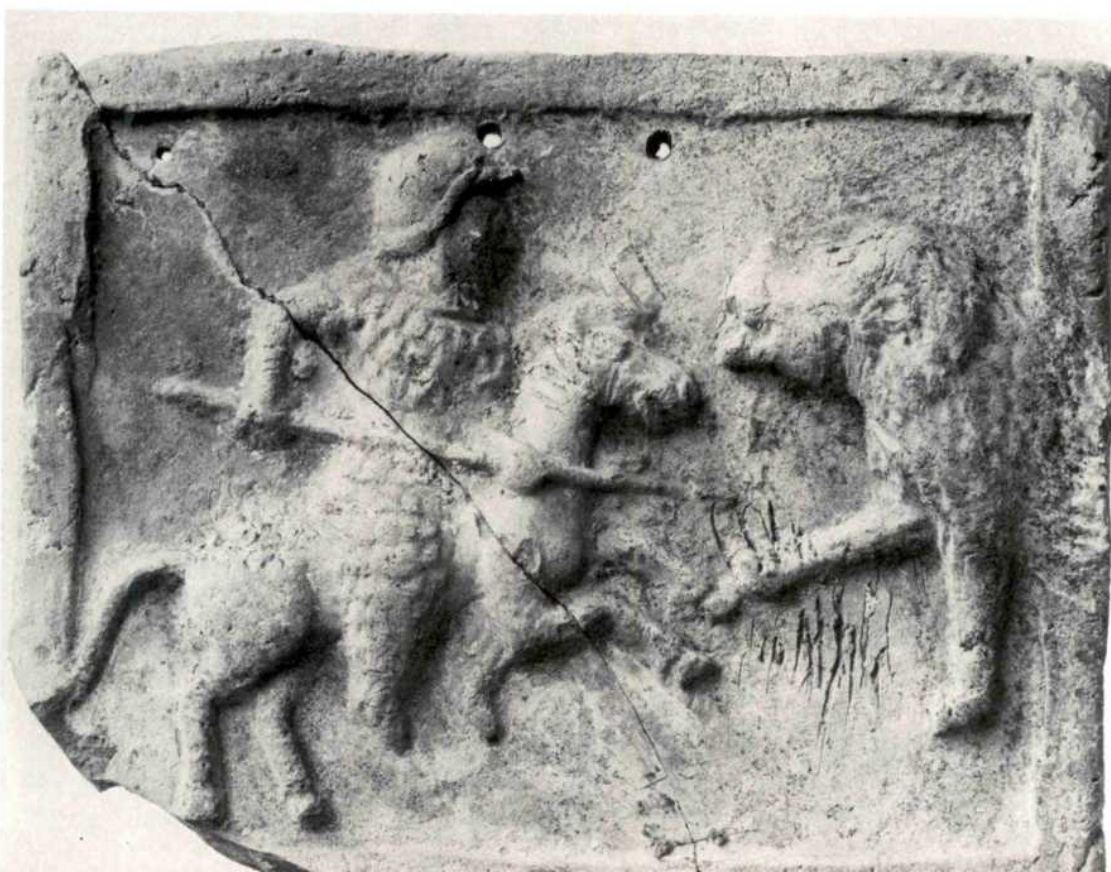
II. Plaques with Ascetics

Surrounding the upper terrace, these remarkable images dominate the site by virtue of their placement, repetition and haunting strangeness. These emaciated figures cast an intense, ominous feeling over an otherwise lively array of images that seems to celebrate the everyday world of man and nature. The contrast is startling.

The seated ascetic is shown in profile against a plain background which serves to accentuate his dramatic features. The emaciation, so vivid in the deep eye sockets and thin, drawn torso, is emphasized by the unusual pose. The thin legs are pulled up against the body and the legs are pressed together by weak, frail arms with hands resting atop the knees. Long, untied and unadorned hair flows back over the shoulders. No evidence of garments or ornaments can be found. This vision of extreme yogic asceticism seems to float without support, as if so cramped inside some invisible container that the figure is unnaturally compressed. Individual tiles often have one of its border images divided and thus the numerals enabled the installation to proceed quickly.²⁷ On some of the tiles the Kharoshthi numerals are found upon the raised area between the two ascetics while on others the numbers are placed above and behind

12. Tile with hunting scene; Parthian, c. second century. Trustees of the British Museum

13. Diagram of Surkh Kotal, Afghanistan. (After Colledge, *Parthian Art*, p. 43).





8. Tile with aquatic motifs, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

10. Tile with composite mythical animals, Lidroo; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



9. Tiles from Mathura. Government Museum, Mathura.

11. Tile with man and deer, Lidroo; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



Some remains of floor tiles have been found within India and the areas of the north-west adjacent to Kashmir. At least one Buddhist monument from Gandhara, dated to the fourth or fifth century,¹⁷ once contained a courtyard of such tiles. The designs on the terracottas at Bhamala consist entirely of geometric patterns with none of the pictorial richness of Harwan. Marshall also found evidence of the use of tiles made of glass and his excavations led him to suggest that the entire processional path (*pradaksinapatha*) around one stupa may have been so constructed. These floor tiles were made of a coarse, translucent glass, of bright azure colour, with a few of black, white or yellow. Many were apparently removed from their original positions and reused elsewhere. The Italian excavations in Swat revealed another processional path made, in part, of blue glass tiles.¹⁸ However, like those found by Marshall at Taxila, these have no pictorial decoration.

Fig. 9 Two examples of early glazed floor tiles from the Mathura region, with patterns similar to those from Bhamala, have recently been published.¹⁹ These tiles, according to Irwin, were also once part of a processional path and possibly symbolized water around the stupa. Their lotus designs, indicative of water plants, and the blue glass tiles from Taxila and Swat, tend to support his thesis of the stupa floating upon the cosmic ocean. Such tiles were often reused, as in the case of Harwan, where some of the floor tiles described here were removed and utilized as flooring around the Buddhist stupa on a lower terrace.

This summary of types of floor decoration suggests that Harwan, with its moulded terracottas of such pictorial variety, is unusual but not unique. With the possible exception of the Korean tiles (and their placement on the floor is open to question) this method of floor construction did not appear again in Kashmir or elsewhere. However, there is one site in Kashmir, presently under study, which indicates that the Kashmiri tradition did not begin with Harwan. Mr. M. H. Makhdoomi, former curator of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar, has uncovered numbers of terracotta floor tiles near Pahalgam.²⁰ He has thus far published only line drawings of some of them but they suggest an earlier tradition, also pointing to Western associations such as the moulded tiles and imagery on seal impressions from Nisa in Russian Central Asia. Kharoshthi numerals appear on these tiles as well and Makhdoomi feels the site was an early Hinayana construction of Kushan times, and the earliest thus far known in Kashmir.

Although the direct sources of the particular type of moulded terracottas at Harwan are not easily found, many of the motifs and their style of representation are readily identified. Some of the themes on the Harwan tiles can be linked to material remains of the Parthian people. Occupying a vast area, the movements of these semi-nomads about West Asia spread their culture from Syria clear into Northern India. They inherited the remnants of the Achaemenian Kingdom of Iran as well as the Hellenistic culture left by Alexander's conquests in the late fourth century BC. During the early centuries of their activity they spread a Greco-Iranian art over a wide area and though they were conquered by the Sassanians of the third-fourth centuries, much of their cultural achievement continued. The Parthians actually occupied areas of Gandhara (Taxila), and the Sakas (Scythians) who settled into much of the north-west Swat Valley of Pakistan and the Western Punjab were closely linked to them. There are remains of their architectural monuments as well as painting and sculpture. They used glass tesserae for mosaics and fired brick floors have been found at their shrines in Babylonia, Iran and India, including at the Mat shrine near Mathura.²¹ Many of these elements are continued into Sassanian times, giving the era from the third century BC until the advent of Islam both consistency and continuity. The similarity between the subjects found at Harwan and many of the painted ceiling panels at Dura Europas, in the extreme western part of the Parthian area, is best explained by the long history and extent of this empire. The most obvious Parthian feature of the Harwan tiles is the presence of the archer on horseback. This motif was so closely associated with these peoples that it is known universally as the "Parthian Shot." Copied throughout much of Asia, including China, it is found as far east as Korea. The Parthian mode of dress, with leggings and long skirts, diaphanous garments and prominent ear-rings is well known among Gandharan images and is also found upon the Harwan tiles. The long-horned stag, a sacred animal among the nomads of West Asia,²² and the rooster, probably of symbolic meaning also, became popular decorative images at Harwan.

Some of the descriptions of Parthian finds north of the Oxus River in Soviet Central Asia are similar to those from Harwan. From Khalachayan in Uzbekistan have come fired tiles (from walls) illustrating classical figures and representations of people who "... no doubt belonged to the native population of the area."²³ Kak had long ago suggested that the facial types at Harwan reflected the ethnic peoples then occupying Kashmir, namely Central

animal with a serpent-like body and curling tail, a large head with the tongue protruding from an open mouth and a nose that curves upwards somewhat like an elephant's trunk. Various flowers surround the beast and a symbol of two interlocking circles is placed above and slightly behind the creature.

The floral designs consist of variations of lotus plants and aquatic leaves that not only fill individual tiles but also serve as border motifs, either as continuous patterns or as individual plants or stylized petals. Round pots with small necks and sprouting flowers appear frequently, and individual circular patterns, made up of petals and leaves as well as a stylized version of the well-known fleur-de-lis, are represented. There is at least one instance of a floral scroll consisting of a vine and bunches of grapes. Floral motifs used as border designs include roundels and dots, geometric repeat patterns, rosettes and simple hatching. Fig. 8

This summary of motifs is based upon material published by Kak and subsequent publications of various museums. To date, no complete inventory of the pavement tiles stored in Kashmir or of the fragments scattered about in other collections has been done.

The visual impact of this site, amidst nature's splendour, must have been considerable. The rubble-filled walls of the raised apsidal temple, its doorway looking out upon the valley, were probably covered with a layer of smooth plaster and the lowest portions faced with the same terracotta plaques of ascetic figures which surrounded the area on three sides, forming a low wall that established the limits of the temple and separated it from the hillside behind. The hundreds of terracotta tiles which covered the ground around the temple, arranged in several concentric circles, were perhaps painted in bright colours to accentuate their pictorial designs. Upon climbing the rather steep hillside, the worshipper was confronted with this splendid array of decorative and figurative images surrounding a house of worship. The moulded tiles of the floor, with the lotus as the most frequent image, must have reminded the worshipper of the lakes he had left below.

Such a dynamic and possibly colourful floor treatment, not common by any means, is known from much earlier times and over a wide geographic area. Textiles no doubt have a long history of use as colourful and decorative floor covering. Assyrian palaces from the late eighth century BC made this longer lasting by carving such decorative textile designs into stone slabs but limited only to thresholds.⁷ They also utilized baked bricks set into bitumen as floor covering.⁸ In the ancient Mediterranean world it was common to overlay beaten earth with another material, such as brick or gypsum, then a layer of plaster. In Egypt and Crete this was sometimes painted.⁹ Hellenistic Greece was known for pebble floor mosaics as early as c. 300 BC and at Pella inlaid terracotta strips were utilized to help define portions of the pictorial subject.¹⁰ In addition to their fame as producers of colourful mosaic floors, the Romans also utilized terracotta squares. Apparently, glazed decorative floor tiles did not appear in the West until the thirteenth century as a result of Islamic influence.¹¹ However, none of these cultures utilized decorative clay or terracotta tiles to the extent found at Harwan, although Parthian and Sassanian cultures, occupying most of Iran and West Asia from the third century BC until the coming of Islam in the seventh century, did continue that region's tradition of clay as a primary construction material.

In the eastern areas of Parthian rule some clay bricks even included numbers, similar to the system used at Harwan, to assist in correct placement.¹² However, despite the popularity of brick and terracotta in Parthian and Sassanian areas, little mention of moulded designs upon floor tiles has been recorded. What moulded decoration does occur seems to be limited to wall plaques, of terracotta and stucco, with motifs similar to some painted designs such as are preserved from Parthian remains at Dura Europas.¹³

Central Asian sites have revealed some use of decorative floors. In his diary of the German expeditions to Turfan, von Le Coq notes that the "... beautiful fired tiles which covered the floors of many temples ..." were much coveted by the local people as building material.¹⁴ No tile is illustrated but one might assume they are similar to those found at Dunhuang, consisting of floral motifs of many-petalled lotuses but otherwise having no pictorial representations. Similar fired floor tiles have been excavated within China proper. Of Tang date, the tiles are decorated entirely with floral patterns.¹⁵

It would appear that the most richly decorated, pictorial floor tiles in Central and East Asia are found in Korea. In addition to their own version of the Chinese decorative tile, during the sixth-seventh centuries the Koreans of the Paekche Kingdom produced several remarkable examples with moulded portrayals of a landscape and a mythical beast.¹⁶ Forming a repeat pattern, they were part of a series; however the excavation reports do not clearly indicate whether they were exclusively for wall or floor use.

The animals, both real and mythical, are presented in a fairly wide variety. Among the more naturalistic representations are the galloping horse, the long-horned stag, the familiar and inevitable elephant, walking through what appears to be a lotus garden, and a cow suckling her calf. The horned stags are usually seen standing with their heads turned back as if looking at the large, crescent-shaped object in the corner of the tile. Among birds, the goose or gander and the rooster seem to have especially caught the fancy of the Harwan artists. Roosters appear in several forms: inside roundels with elaborate foliate tails, a more elaborate version with outstretched wings (more like a phoenix), and as a pair, perhaps fighting or playing with what seems to be a flower bud between them. There is also a *makara* type of fanciful or mythical



7. Tile with conversing couple and a deer, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

climbs higher the iconography becomes more intriguing. Upon reaching the highest terrace one encounters the ruins of an apsidal shrine and the unique courtyard of remarkable terracotta tiles, surrounded on three sides by a low wall of numbered plaques each portraying identical images of an emaciated ascetic figure. Neither the pavement tiles nor the plaques with figures of ascetics agree readily with known Buddhist sites. In fact, Hindu and Jain establishments likewise fail to suggest a prototype or even later, comparable examples. Fig. 2

Thus, while one is intrigued by the architectural elements of Harwan, one is mystified by the arresting figures of ascetics who do not appear to be particularly Buddhist. Indeed, Buddhism generally abhors such extreme asceticism and self-mortification and, while figures of ascetics are found in Buddhist reliefs, in a narrative context, in no other Buddhist site, whether in India or abroad, is the ascetic motif so prominently displayed. Who are these ascetics and what are they doing in a Buddhist monument? Can their presence be explained in a Buddhist context, or are we encountering here a religious establishment of some other persuasion that was later occupied by the Buddhists? Before attempting to answer some of these questions it is helpful to first review what remains of this little-known but fascinating site. Fig. 3

I. The Floor Tiles

Harwan was first noticed in modern times, around 1895, when part of its decorated brick pavement was unearthed by accident during the construction of the Srinagar waterworks. These fragments continued to be discovered about the hillside, and R. C. Kak illustrated several in his 1923 catalogue of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum.² During the same decade Kak conducted an excavation, briefly noting his discoveries in the *Illustrated London News* and more fully in his book on Kashmir monuments, published in the following decade.³ Coomaraswamy mentioned the site and its tiles in his 1927 survey of Indian art, with a trenchant remark about the similarity between the Harwan tiles and examples from China.⁴ Subsequent allusions to Harwan have generally repeated Kak's findings and no further excavations have been reported, although some restoration work is presently underway. The site is dated variously between the fourth and seventh century. Some of the tiles are kept in the museum in Srinagar, others in a building at the site and unknown numbers are in museums and private collections around the world. Unfortunately, few photographs of the tiles were taken *in situ* before their dispersal and those that were only afford partial views. Fig. 4

Historical and literary information about Harwan is also limited. It is mentioned only twice in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* and although Hsuan Tsang (seventh century) and Ou-K'ong (eighth century) have both left records of their visits to Kashmir, neither mentions Harwan, which is rather curious in view of their interest in Buddhism, and the unique features of this monument.

The entire site of Harwan is not very large, consisting of about ten ruins located upon several terraces cut into a steep hillside. The highest terrace, as mentioned before, contains the ruined foundations of what was once an apsidal temple and around this structure was located a pavement of terracotta tiles. The shapes of the tiles were determined by their location within concentric circles, with most about 30.5—46 centimetres long. According to Kak, they occupied an area 49 by 38 metres. The Kharoshthi numerals found on the tiles indicate a date sometime before the end of the fifth century, when Kharoshthi ceased to be used in the north-west, and limited thermoluminescence testing supports this date.⁵

Remarkable in its variety, the subject-matter of the tiles may be divided into four main categories: humans, animals, flora and abstract designs. Among the human representations are found both male and female figures engaged in many different activities. Some dance as they play a drum and others are seen carrying water-pots. A graceful lady on one tile walks with a basket while on another a male stands guard, holding a long spear in his left hand. Elsewhere a hunter shoots an arrow while riding an animal, while on another, a male figure, wielding a mace-like weapon and striding over a spoked wheel, appears to be in combat with a feline, griffin-like creature which stands on its hind legs, similar to an early relief from Sanchi's stupa number two.⁶ There are several variations on the theme of figures conversing behind a railing or balcony. On some, only the heads are shown and one of the figures holds the stalk of a flower. On others, the bust of the figure is represented, and most groups (usually four) appear to be in animated conversation. Quite a few of the tiles illustrate the continuous pattern made by figures supporting a large garland or vine, with the rest of the space being occupied by various flowers and vases with flowers. Fig. 5
Fig. 6
Fig. 7



4. Pavement and platform at apsidal temple, Harwan. (After D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* [Calcutta, 1980], pl. 85).

5. Tile with man carrying pots and a woman carrying a bowl, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

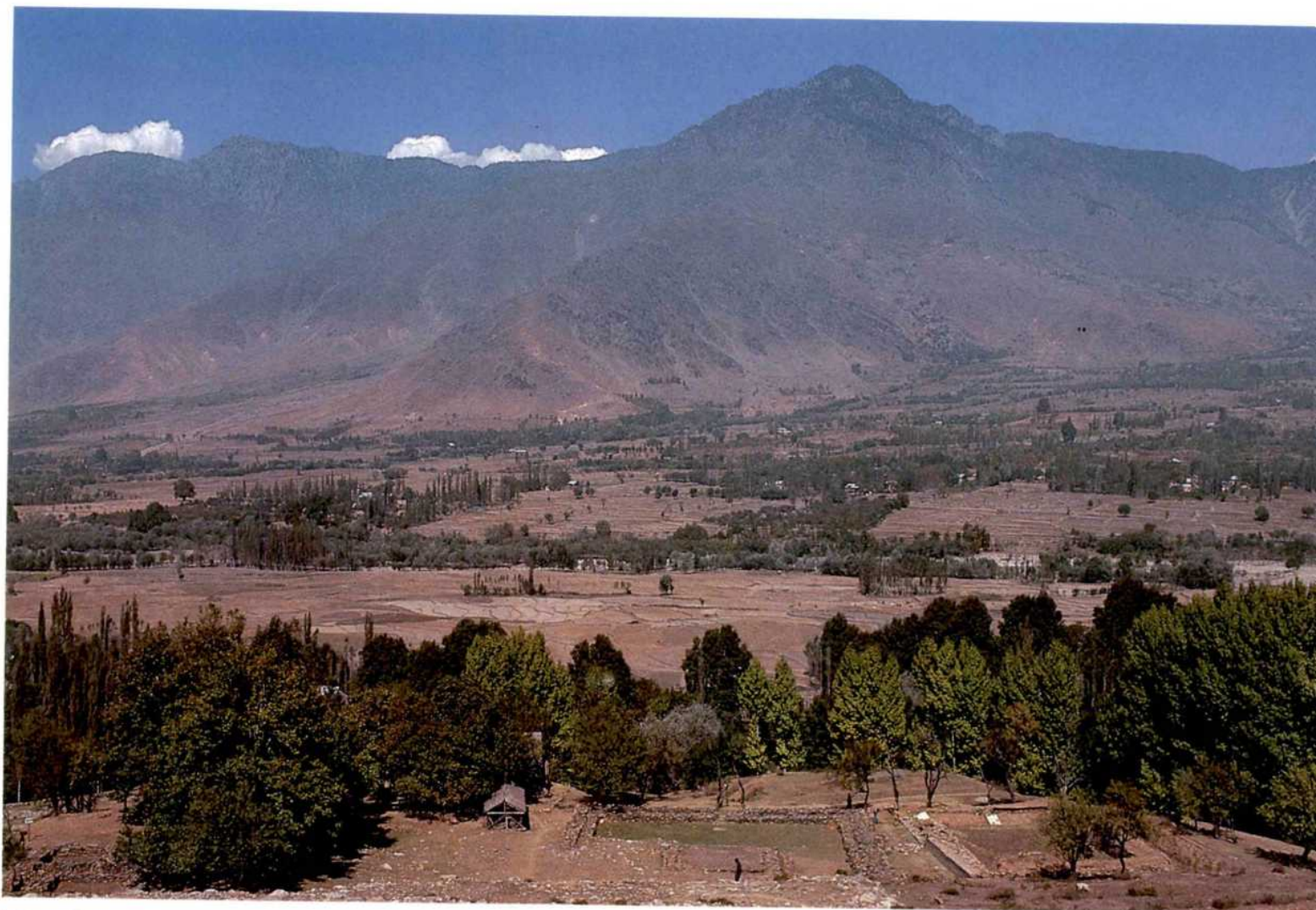


6. Tile with hunter and a deer, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.



3. Plaque with figures, Harwan; third-fourth century; red terracotta; 52 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Given in memory of Christian Humann by Robert Hatfield Elsworth.





1. View from upper terraces at Harwan to valley beyond.

2. Apsidal temple upon highest terrace at Harwan.



The Enigma of Harwan

Robert E. Fisher

While the Mughal emperor Jahangir's Shalimar gardens in Kashmir continue to enjoy popularity, few visitors proceed further around the hill to visit the ancient ruins of Harwan, where, over a thousand years before Jahangir, some equally perceptive though unknown person selected the dramatic hillside location to build a monastic establishment. This site remained hidden under rock and landslides until the early years of the twentieth century when an excavation revealed remarkable finds that indicate several unusual, perhaps unique, aspects of early art and architecture in Kashmir. In addition to several ruined foundations, the greatest number of objects recovered from the site consists of terracotta tiles, modest in size but rich in pictorial imagery and unlike any others known. It is the presence of these tiles that not only contributes to the unusual interest of the architectural arrangement of Harwan but also to its fascinating mystery.

All reports refer to Harwan as Buddhist and there is ample evidence of this association with the site. The lowest terrace contains the remains of what was once a stupa and scattered about this area were fragments of terracotta statues of Buddhist images. Several smaller foundations may be the remains of viharas, the residential quarters for Buddhist monks. Small terracotta and stone plaques, bearing likenesses of Buddhist stupas, were also found among the ruins. Fig. 1

In a note to his translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Stein equates this modern Harwan with Kalhana's Sadarhadvana. According to Kalhana: "And a Bodhisattva lived then in this country as the sole lord of the land, namely the glorious Nagarjuna, who resided at Sadarhadvana."¹

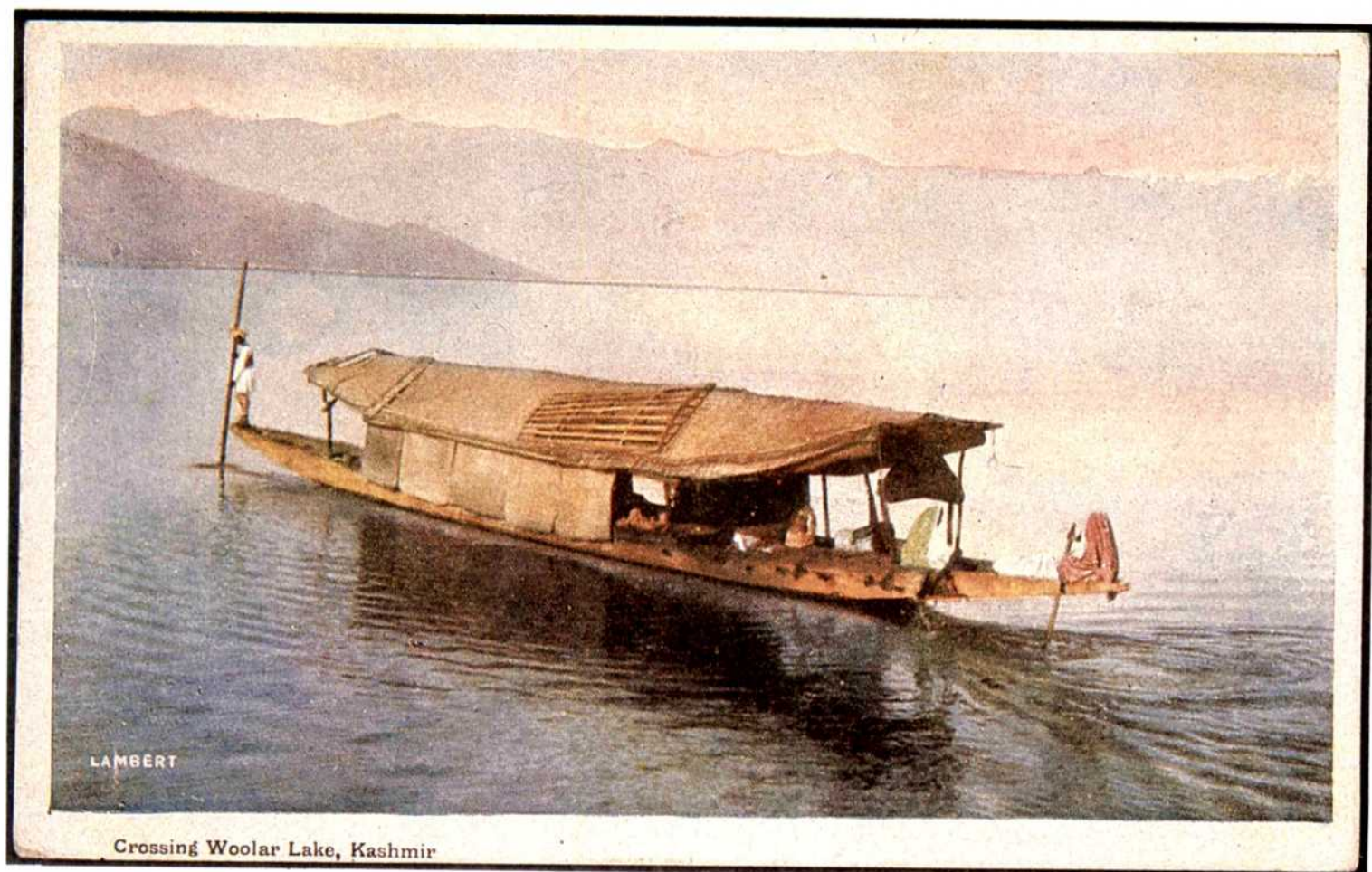
Stein's identification of Sadarhadvana with modern Harwan is based upon the earlier interpretations (by other scholars) of Kalhana's work, which placed it near the Shalimar gardens, as well as Stein's own awareness of artefacts being found near Harwan village as the Srinagar waterworks were being constructed. The name Nagarjuna, one of the early masters of Buddhist philosophy and the founder of the Madhyamika school, is mentioned only once again by Kalhana, and Harwan (or Sadarhadvana) is otherwise unknown in the literature of Kashmir, including the records of Chinese visitors. Very little is known of the life of Nagarjuna, beyond the likelihood that he lived in the second century in the region known today as Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh. His visit to Kashmir is not improbable, but there is no independent evidence to corroborate Kalhana's statement.

All the Buddhist remains at Harwan were found about the lower terraces, but as one

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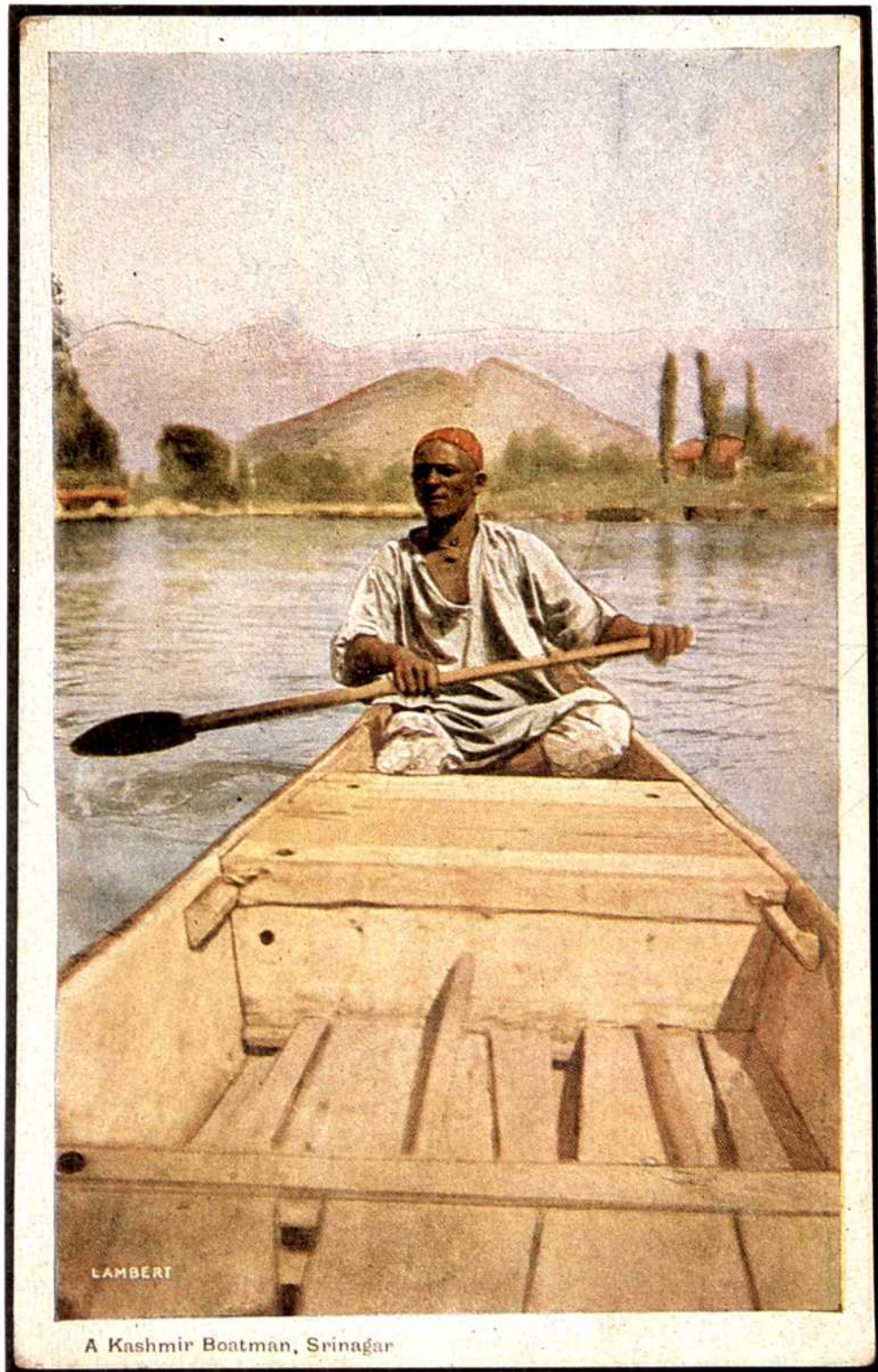
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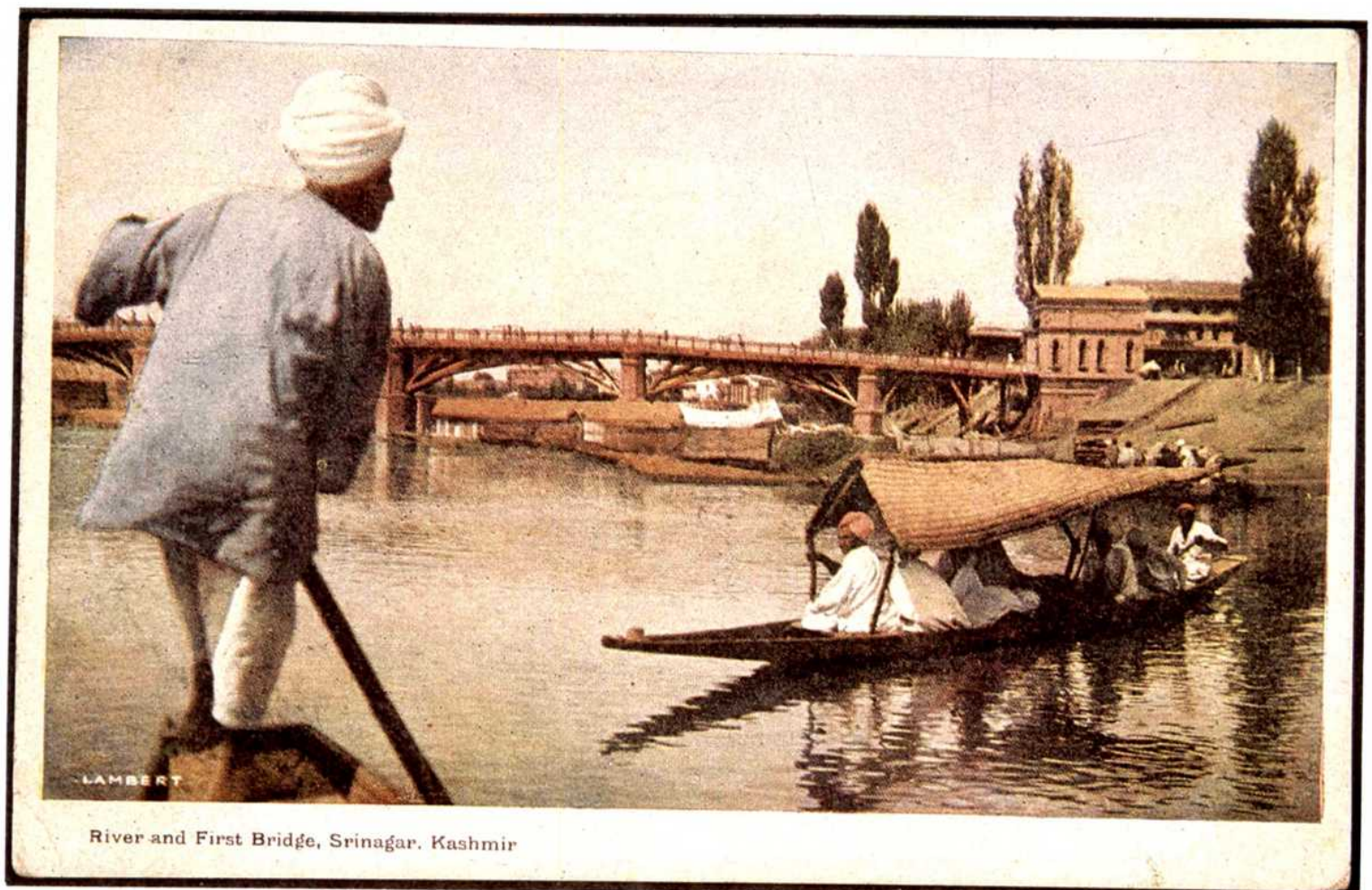
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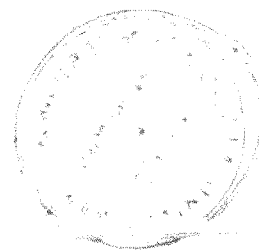
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Plaque with stupa, Kashmir; stone. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

Tile with man carrying pots and a woman carrying a bowl, Harwan; terracotta. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

Buddha Sakyamuni or Akshobhya, Kashmir; ninth century; brass; 20.3 cm. Private Collection.

Buniar temple.

Padmapani, Pandrethan; first half of the seventh century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.

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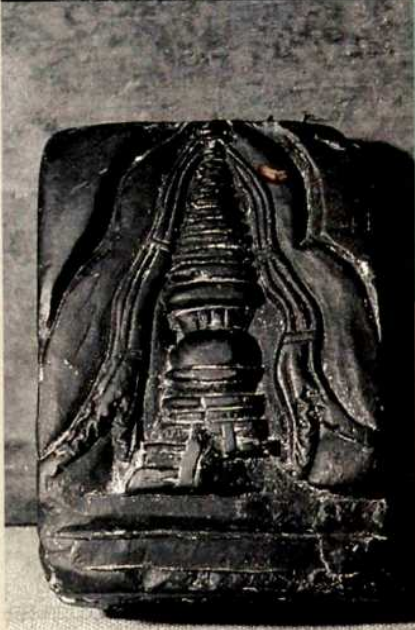
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View of votive stupas in front of the Mahabodhi temple. Stone. Bodhgaya.



View of votive stupa in the north-east section of the Mahabodhi temple compound, Bodhgaya.

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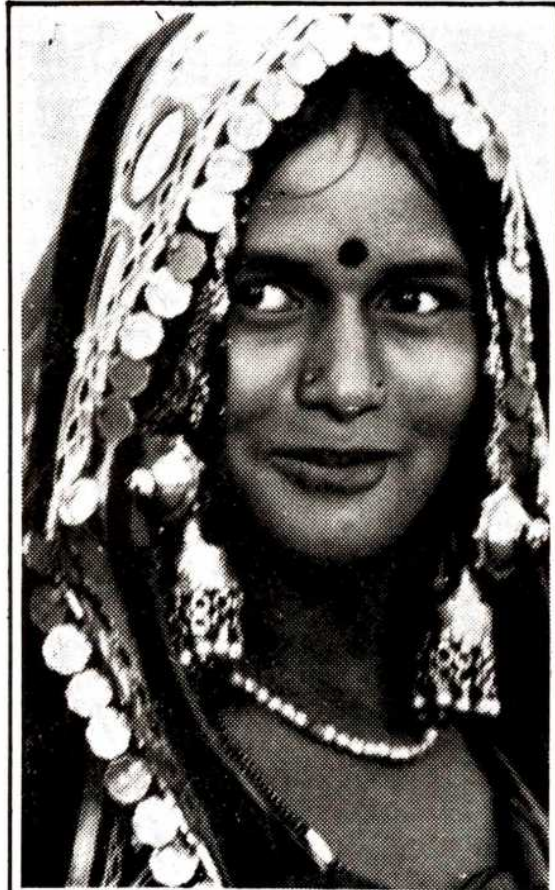
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Detail of gateway in front of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya. 8th century.



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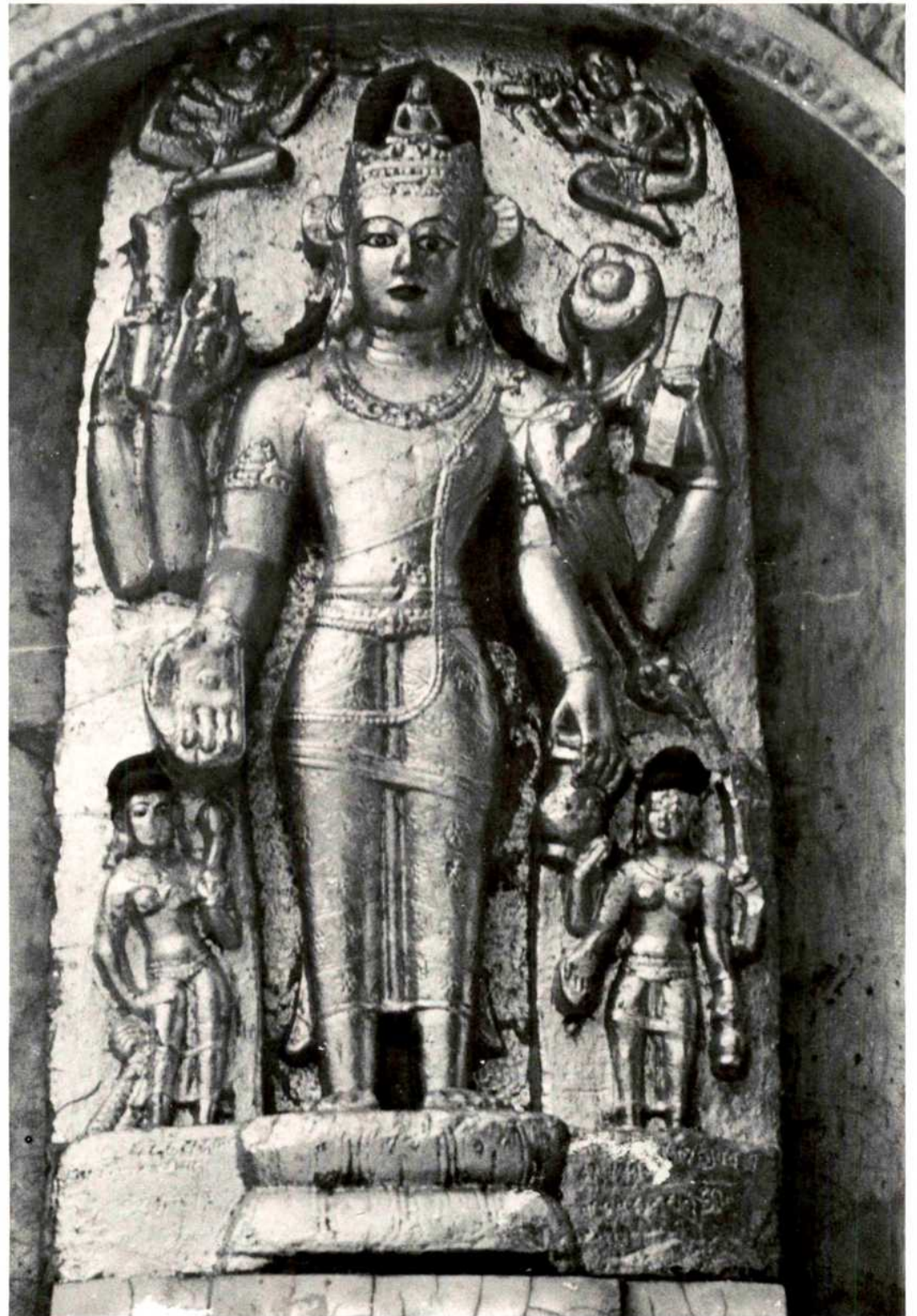
Shrine image, Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.
Buddha in main shrine, late 10th century. (In worship).

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Painted six-armed Avalokitesvara. 9th century. Stone. In exterior niche of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



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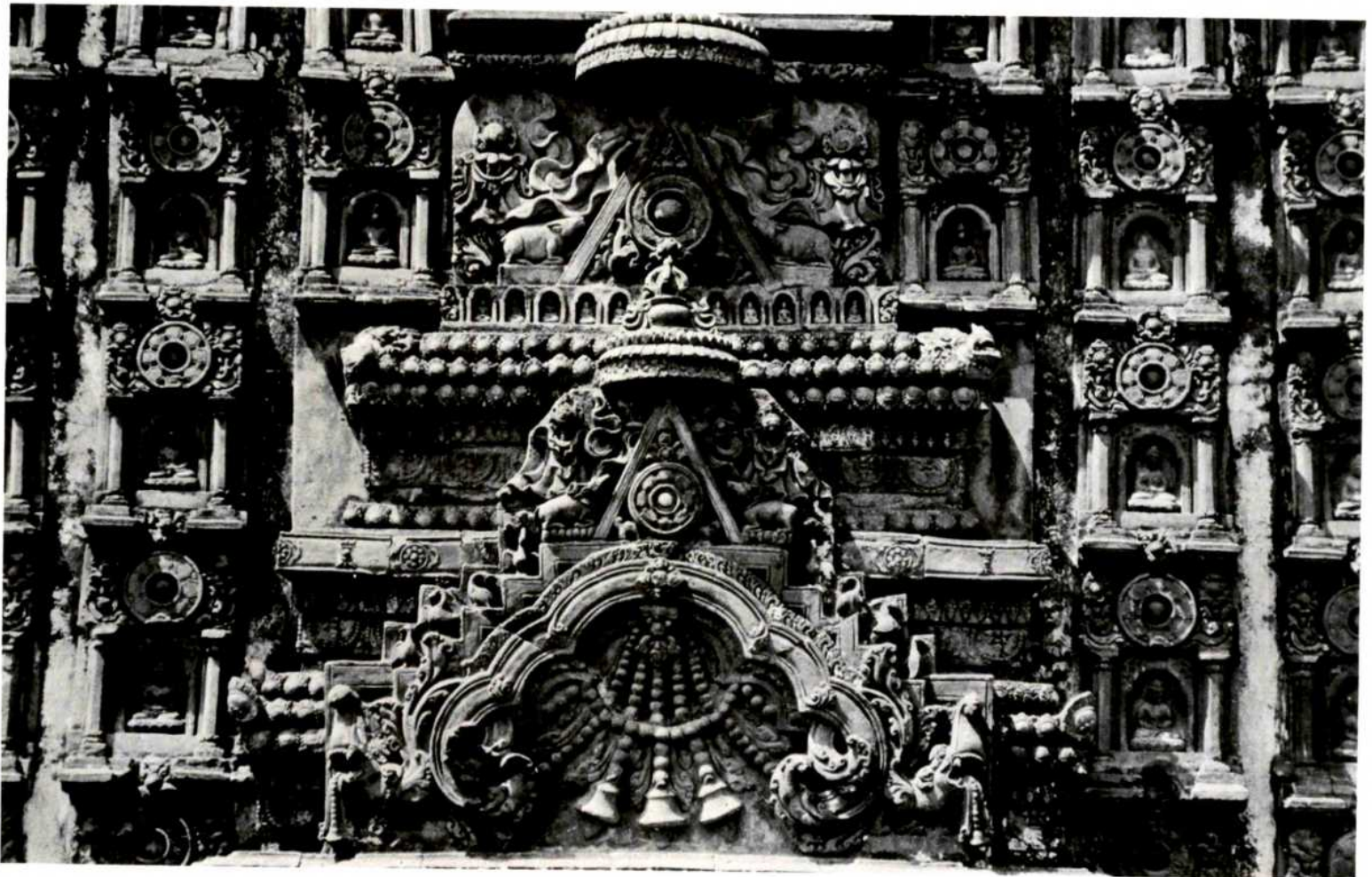
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Mahabauddha temple (detail), Patan, Kathmandu valley, Nepal. Constructed late 16th century. Brick, stone and terracotta.



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Detail of Maitreya from Buddha sculpture on the landing of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



Uma-Mahesvara. c. 9th century. Stone. Under a tree, north of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



Simhanada Lokeshvara. 11th century. Stone. Mahant's compound, Bodhgaya.

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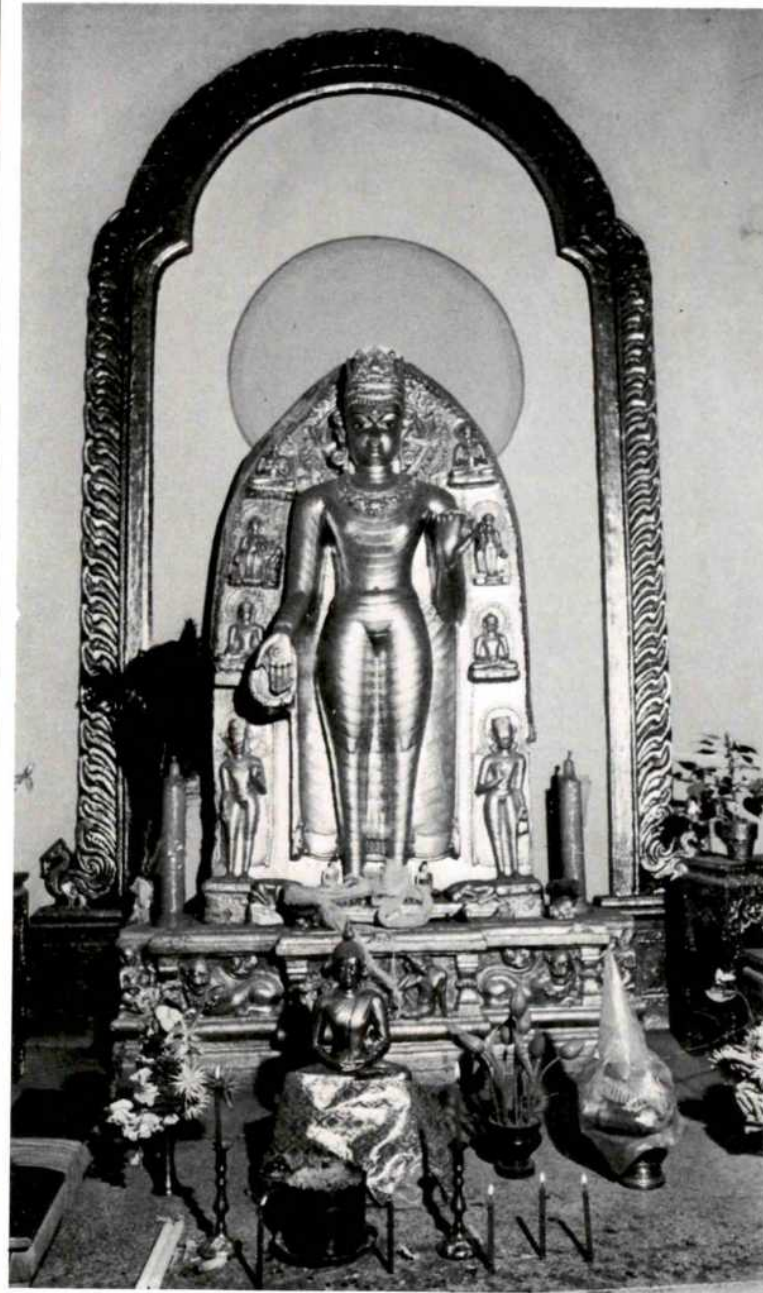
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Buddha sculpture installed in the shrine in front of the Mahabodhi temple. 10th century. Stone.



Painted image of crowned Buddha. 11th century. Stone. 3 m. Second storey shrine of the Mahabodhi temple, Bodhgaya.



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Nagaraja. Stone. In the Mahant's compound, Bodhgaya.



Vajrasana Buddha. c. 11th century. Stone. About 1.20 m. In the Mahabodhi temple compound, Bodhgaya.

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and *swarajatis* play a significant role in dance rituals. Some structural changes undergone during this period in this sphere form the subject-matter of a well-organized sub-section in this thesis. Similarly *varnams*, *padams*, *javalis* and *tillanas* which came to play a great role in the last three centuries are also discussed. The advent of Mahrattas brought Mahratta musical and poetic forms, specially in the field of *bhajans* and *katha kalakshepams*. Such compositions like *arya*, *saki*, *dindi*, *ovi*, *abhangas*, *lavani*, and *pada* became popular in Tanjore, and their adaption forms a fascinating portion of this thesis. Such forms were soon adopted for Tamil compositions, for example Gopalakrishna Bharati in Nandanar Charitam uses Mahratta forms like *dhora*, *khatga*, *lavani* and *tukkada*. This and the next chapter on Lakshana Granthas contain valuable information for musicologists.

Dr. Seetha's researches clearly define the term *chaturdandi* representing *alapa*, *thaya*, *gita*, and *prabhandam* while a different version is given by another writer who names them as *sthai*, *arohi*, *avarohi*, and *sanchari*. Venkata Makhin, the author of Chaturdandi Prakasika, is considered the father of modern Carnatic music as he for the first time analysed and formulated the seventy-two *melas* on the basis of twelve *svarasthanas*. Dr. Seetha devotes considerable attention to the concept of the *mela*, the difference between the *mela* and *janaya* ragas and the latter's inseparable connection with the *mela*. The *mela* is defined as the regular and homogeneous arrangement of seven *svaras* with uniform ascent and descent, characterized by absolute pitches, definable in terms of vina pitches. While the *mela* is the scale form of anatomical structure, capable of being indicated by ascent and descent of the *svaras* and the interval between them, the *raga* stands for the total expression, with a definite sound picture capable of evoking a specific melodic mood. Dr. Seetha considers the concepts of *mela* and *janaya* raga flexible from the practical musical point of view, to which later writers gave rigidity. The Mahratta rulers Shahaji and Tulajaji did splendid service to music by standardizing the raga *lakshana*. An unpublished manuscript in Telugu in the TMSS Library is an invaluable work by Shahaji which enumerates twenty *melas* and groups one hundred and twenty-two ragas under them.

The history of the vina is another fascinating chapter. Dr. Seetha discusses this under different heads like the concept of frets, their functional significance, the number of frets used in different *vinas*, the shape and the make of the frets, the principle of fretting, etc., from an historical angle. The following points brought out as a result of this research are of immense interest to lovers of music and dance. Hindustani ragas like Jogi, Asaveri, Belavel and Brindavani in the compositions of Giriraja kavi praising Shahaji and Serfoji show that with the advent of the Mahratta *bhajan* and *kirtan* style of singing, Hindustani music became more popular in the south. Words of salutation to the kings, like *salam* and *salamure*, are made use of in a large number of *padams* from this time. The credit of composing songs with the divisions *pallavi*, *anupallavi* and *garana* goes to the Talapakkam composers. The earliest available *jatisvara* are those of the Tanjore quartet who were responsible for systematizing the dance concert programme. Saint Thyagaraja pays homage to Namadeva, Gnanadeva, Jayadeva, Tukaram and Narayana Tirtha in his 'Prahlada Vijayam'. South Indian 'Hari Katha Kalakshepam' emerged in its present form in the Mahratta period. When Samarth Ramadas established his *matha* in Tanjore in the late seventeenth century he laid the foundation for the North Indian kirtan in the State. The *mathas* established in Tanjore, like "Bhimaraja Goswami Matha", "Govindabala Swami Matha", "Joliram Goswami Matha", "Sri Annaji Bhava Matha" and "Sethu Bhava Matha" helped in furthering instrumental and vocal music. Veerabhadraia, till now known as the composer of "*svara jati*", is also found to have been the earliest composer of *ragamalika*,

varnams, and *tillana*. The origin of *javali* can be traced to the *sringara padas* of the court poets of Tanjore in praise of their patrons and also the influence of Hindustani music.

Such a valuable contribution to music by Dr. Seetha suffers from a minor nevertheless perceptible shortcoming in that it approaches the subject with reverence rather than a critical appraisal of each composer. Not that Dr. Seetha has failed to note certain shortcomings, for example, while speaking of the *mela* formulated on the basis of twenty-two and twenty-four *svarasthanas* she states that they are of mere academic interest, but those based on the twelve *svarasthanas* have both theoretical and practical significance (p. 576). However, what strikes a reader is the high praise showered on almost all the composers, at least some of whom owe their names more to court patronage than to the greatness of their work. Some of the compositions are not only devoid of delicacy but also rhythm and naturally failed to appeal. According to the present reviewer there was a general decline and deterioration and a trend towards over-ornamentation and cumbersome and complicated grouping of ragas—a trend that is noticed in other fields as well, like architecture, sculpture, painting, literature, and also dance as gleaned from illustrations. Except for a few outstanding personalities like Thyagaraja and Shyama Sastri, and Dikshitar and Gopalakrishna Bharati in Tamil, other exponents represent the trend of the age. Dr. Seetha's work will however remain a basic and important treatise on Carnatic music as it furnishes chronological perspective to most of the important developments in the last three centuries.

R. Nagaswamy

the greatest stone temples with delicate sculptures were built. Inscriptions attest that these institutions were endowed with highly accomplished musicians and dancers. Raja Raja's contribution to music and dance is unparalleled and deserves a separate dissertation. When the Cholas were uprooted towards the end of the thirteenth century and until about the end of the fifteenth century, the arts, literature, music, dance, that grew, flowered and reached their zenith, lost their vitality and gradually lost their hold. With the advent of the Vijayanagar emperor Krishnadeva Raya (1509-1529), an era of renaissance was heralded. Barring the art forms that had disappeared, the waning ones gained some strength and survived, at times recapitulating their forms, at times modified or altered by incoming traditions. Music and dance being essentially performing arts, many of their forms can be understood only from practising traditions. Any attempt to trace the history of Carnatic music can thus begin only from the present and be traced back. It is therefore appropriate that Dr. Seetha has chosen to deal with the growth of music for the past three centuries with Tanjore as its centre. She has been fortunate in having the late Professor Sambamurthi, the doyen of Carnatic music, as her guide.

Dr. Seetha has based her study on the valuable source material available in the Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Library. In seven chapters, beginning with the historical backdrop, the scholar traces the history of the patrons of music, the music composers, their contributions, the evolution in musical forms, the compilation of scientific treatises on music called 'Lakshana Grantha', and the role of Tanjore. The subject being purely technical and difficult to present in writing, the scholar has chosen an absorbing and lucid style and has done yeomen service to the history of Carnatic music. The data collected is voluminous and the writer has maintained a balance in the presentation of her subject-heads. Dr. Seetha has also acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu, essential for any dealing with a subject of such a complex nature. This adds greatly to the richness of her thesis. Many important facets of Carnatic music are placed in their proper historic perspective and in that sense this work is a very valuable source book for future researchers in the field.

In the seventeenth century, the Nayaks were the rulers of Tanjore, while the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the rule of the Mahrattas. A point of interest is that almost all the rulers of this period were not merely great patrons of music and dance, but also were themselves great musicians and authors of several musical compositions and dance dramas, a very rare phenomenon in the history of a State. This indicates the prevalent atmosphere of the royal court. It seems that not only had a king to undergo in his youth rigorous training in warfare and statecraft but he also had to undergo intense schooling in music, dance and literature.

The most outstanding personality among the Nayaks of Tanjore was Raghunatha Nayak (1600-1630) who was a mighty conqueror, an able administrator, a great devotee of Rama, an eminent musician and an erudite scholar, unrivalled among the seventeenth-century rulers of South India. As a youth he recited his maiden performance in the court of his father. Raghunatha was not only a great musician but also a dancer. With the blessings of his preceptor and minister Govinda Dikshita, he wrote a treatise on music called Sangita Sudha and invented new ragas like Jayantasena, and a new tala, Ramananda. The vina was perfected by him with twenty-four frets and named Raghunathendra vina, which is now used by all musicians. He composed several dance dramas in Telugu and Sanskrit which were enacted in his presence. He also distinguished himself as a teacher of music; the great Yagnanarayana Dikshita mentions that he learnt music from the ruler. It must be said that the present flourishing state of

Carnatic music owes much to Raghunatha Nayak and his preceptor Govinda Dikshita who may be called the twin Sangita nidhis. His son and successor Vijaya Raghava Nayak was also a great man of letters and a composer of dance dramas and *prabandhams* in music. The available account on him by historians is a distorted picture of a weak ruler under whom everything suffered. Such evaluations are mainly based on successes or failures in wars and battles, but pay very little attention to achievements in the field of culture. Dr. Seetha's work shows in an excellent manner the flourishing state of music and dance under Vijaya Raghava, which calls for an immediate revision of the history of the age.

Among the Mahrattas of Tanjore, Serfoji II (1799-1833) has been eulogized by most of the scholars but from a careful analysis of the historical data available, Shahaji I (1683-1713) stands out as the brightest star excelling in all fields of activity and aesthetic taste. As a critical historian, the present reviewer would place Shahaji's achievement far above that of Serfoji II. Dr. Seetha's evaluation of Shahaji is quite fittingly based on the available records and compositions preserved in the TMSS Library and she vividly portrays his personality. Shahaji was a great devotee of Lord Thyagesa, the presiding deity of Thiruvavur, on whom he composed several dance dramas and *padams*. Over twenty-two musical dance dramas and two hundred *padams* composed by him are known with his *mudras* Thyagesa. The Sankara Pallakki Seva Prabandha, a dance drama of lyrical quality and devotion, was enacted till recent times in the Thiruvavur temple. It is the earliest Geyanataka in Telugu in the history of South Indian music. In his Pancaratna Prabandha he cleverly introduced five of his court artists, including two dancing girls and one Nattuvanar, who are portrayed as visiting Kailasha where Lord Siva sends his blessings to Shahaji through them. He was a great scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu and Persian besides being an erudite scholar in his own mother tongue, Maharatti. He invited several well-known Hindustani musicians to his court. Many songs in the mode of "Gitagovinda" were composed in his court. Tulaja, a brother of Shahaji, composed a great treatise on music, Sangita Saramrita. It is from his time that Hindustani *sangita parampara* became very popular in Tanjore. Dr. Seetha offers interesting data about payments made, in the courts of the Mahrattas to dancers and musicians, as found in the modi records.

The chapter on musical composers of the age is of great value as it not only gives the account of great composers and their significant contributions but also brings to light many hitherto unknown musicians. The galaxy of musicians listed which includes such names in the field of music like the music trinity, Thyagaraja Swamy, Muttuswamy Dikshitar and Shyama Sastri, the *pada* composer, Kshetrajna and the authors of the authoritative treatises on music, Raghunatha Nayak (Sangita Sudha), Venkata Makhin (Chaturdandi Prakasika) and Tulaja (Sangita Saramrita) shows that these centuries mark a creative age in the field of music and dance.

The chapter on developments in the sphere of musical forms is technical and could be handled only by experts in music. Dr. Seetha herself being a musician has been able to present the subject without any pedantry. She discusses the emergence of the raga concept and the birth of the musical composition, called 'desi', the subtle differences among *padams*, *kritis*, and *kirtanams*. Saint Thyagaraja defines the *kriti* as a song of worship (*bhajan*) with vedantic concepts and devotional fervour. It should have relevant *yati visrama* and *navarasas* and must be sung with devotion, elegance and *svara sudha*. Dr. Seetha has some important points to make regarding the evolutionary stages of the *kriti*, distinguishing it from the *kirtanams* with illustrations of composers like Thyagaraja, Dikshitar, and Shyama Sastri. The writer also points out the role played by *anupallavi* in *kritis* and its dispensation in *kirtanams*. *Jatiswarams*

edition bore the name of one Mr. Amar Singh as the editor, but did not contain a preface. Again, the frontispiece of the present volume and its reverse too bear the name of Amar Prakashan as publishers, but this was *on the front but not on the reverse* sought to be changed by pasting it over with a printed slip reading "H.P. New Delhi Harnam Publications 1983", which has again been stamped over in ink by "Amar Prakashan". This is indeed strange and defies common sense, even if one charitably takes it to be an unintentional affront to a knowledgeable reader of studies on Islam.

However, this has nothing to do with the book itself, the importance and popularity of which is more than indicated, at least on the face of it, by the fact that it underwent a second edition—albeit with an addition 'for the first time in the present volume', the learned writer's letters to *The Times* during 1918-1921—within a comparatively short period, in India at least, of four-five years.

Justice Sayed Ameer Ali (1849-1928), who had read Gibbon before he was twelve and other great English masters by the time he was twenty, is one of the most widely-known Indian or rather Asian writers on Islam in the West in the closing quarter of the last and the first three decades of the present century. He has been unquestioningly acclaimed by competent orientalists and Western writers on Islam as the foremost advocate of the glory of Islamic culture, as a liberal modernist interpreter of Islam, whose most significant works, *The Spirit of Islam*, 'a scholarly, comprehensive, generally sober work, altogether able to impress and convince' and *A Short History of the Saracens*, a brilliant work on the political and cultural history of Islam till the end of the Abbasid Caliphate, have been favourably received and have to date remained influential in the West as well as in Islamic countries such as Egypt and Turkey. These, supplemented by a steady stream of articles contributed to magazines both in India and abroad, especially in Great Britain, were instrumental in creating and fostering a favourable appreciation of Islam in the West as also among educated Muslims of the Indian subcontinent and some other Islamic countries.

The present volume contains articles written between 1891 and 1928 on such subjects as Islam and women, Islam and Christianity and its Christian critics, the Caliphate, Islamic culture in the Indian subcontinent, the relevance of Islam in modern times and the necessity of reforms in Islamic jurisprudence. Ameer Ali has discussed all these topics with the thoroughness of a scientific approach, and a masterly command over the English language. His orthodox and yet progressive views on polygamy, divorce and the purdah-system among the Muslims did more perhaps than anybody else to move even the conservative section of the Muslim society to accept and support some of the positions he took up. It is indeed a tribute to his learned and authentic forceful expositions of Islam that Ameer Ali is best remembered today as a modernist liberal writer on Islam, and through his activities in other fields—as a Professor of Islamic Law, at the Bar, on the Bench, in social service, government administration and politics. He also wrote a number of books on Anglo-Mohammadan law and other legal subjects; very few knowledgeable scholars even know that he had edited and published in four volumes, an Urdu translation entitled *Ainul-Hidaya* of the famous Hanafite law-work *al-Hidaya*, initially prepared by a group of Hanafi Ulemas (vide Appendix to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Dacca vol. IV [1959], 96).

One should have expected from the editor of the book under review, who has already made his mark as a social historian, an evaluation in greater detail than what has been done in a very brief introduction and comment on Ameer Ali's views, particularly

on the burning issues of the present-day Muslim society of the sub-continent, for example, personal law and its relevance to or impact on, if any, the current thinking of the various sections of the community. The editor could have also corrected factual lapses, albeit not many, of the book, to name only a couple of these: Nawab Sikandra Begam of Bhopal (p. 71) instead of Sikandar Jahan Begam; a Quranic verse stated to be a saying of the Prophet (p. 73); and so on.

The book has, comparatively, a large number of printing mistakes. Careful proof-reading could have avoided errors, at least of names of writers, poets and books. At quite a few places, there appear more than one mistake on a single page and in quite a few instances sentences have either remained incomplete or grammatically incorrect.

Lastly, one would have wished that the dates of publication of the articles (which have been given in the list of contents) were given, along with the names of the journals in which they were published, at the end of the article concerned.

In spite of such editorial errors, the publishers do deserve to be credited for facilitating the study of various aspects of Islam by making available another edition of the articles by a brilliant and foremost authority on Islam.

Z. A. Desai

Title	: Tanjore As a Seat of Music
Writer	: Dr. S. Seetha
Publisher	: University of Madras, (1981)
Format	: 16 x 24 cm; viii + 654 pages, 12 black and white illustrations
Price	: Rs. 40.00

Tanjore district is hailed as the cultural bowl of the south. It owes its importance mainly to the fertility of the soil enriched by the waters of the perennial Kaveri River whose bounty has left its profound influence on those that inhabited the region. From the Sangam age—the third century BC—Tanjore has been the greatest centre of learning, music, dance and art traditions, fostered by thousands of temples dedicated to various gods. Rightly did the greatest of the Carnatic music composers, Saint Thyagaraja, pay tribute to this area as the most beautiful land in the world with the Kaveri River flowing, fulfilling the desires of all, touching shrine after shrine, and worshipping deity after deity, with holy men paying obeisance to her on either side. From recorded history the Chola dynasty is the earliest associated with it and it is called the Chola land even seven hundred years after the total eclipse of that dynasty. The great bhakti movement headed by Saivite saints and the Vaishnavite Alvars with thousands of melodious songs addressed to the presiding deities of the temples concentrated particularly in Tanjore district, turned the area into a land of devotional music. In the period between the ninth and thirteenth centuries when the Chola rule was at its zenith, the Chola emperors, their queens and the nobles under them contributed immensely to monumental art and architecture. Especially in the tenth and eleventh centuries and under Aditya, Parantaka, and Raja Raja,

Title : Artistic Form and Yoga in the Sacred Images of India
Writer : Heinrich Zimmer (Translated by Gerald Chapple and James B. Lawson)
Publisher : Oxford University Press, Delhi (1985)
Format : 22 x 14 cm; 290 pages, 54 black and white illustrations
Price : Rs. 250.00

The German scholar Heinrich Zimmer is already well known to us for his famous two-volume work, *The Art of Indian Asia*. The book under review is also a masterpiece in every sense. Originally written in German in 1926, it generated a great deal of interest among the Germans in the psychological and spiritual significance of Indian sculpture which is inseparably linked with the science of *yantras*.

This remarkable discussion is spread over six clearly defined and lucidly written chapters. At the very outset, Zimmer points out the radical differences between Indian sculpture and Greek sculpture. Each chapter displays Zimmer's unique genius and interpretative powers. In subsequent chapters, he examines the spiritual foundations of a tradition of sacred images. He finds in the relationship between yoga and art a highly refined array of dialectics used in the Hindu tradition. 'Yoga and the Figurative Sacred Image' unfolds the spiritual world in which the Indian sacred image is firmly rooted. This spiritual world is intimately linked with the great traditions of the Hindu sects as well as with an extensive body of literary works of a more or less esoteric nature. The significant contribution of tantric literature is especially invaluable for an adequate understanding of the philosophical background of these sacred images. Zimmer pays the much deserved tribute to Arthur Avalon, also known as Sir John Woodroff, who was mainly responsible for a correct interpretation of the tantras. Before the publication of Avalon's books, it was not known that the tantric texts also help in the understanding of the formal characteristics of the Indian sacred images. Zimmer is more than correct in stating that the sacred image was used as a tool or *yantra*. He establishes the relationship between the image, the *yantra* and the mandala. This is followed by a long and meaningful discussion of the role of yoga, *sadhana*, samadhi, outward sight and inward vision in the creation of sacred images.

Zimmer quotes heavily from a large number of tantric texts to establish clearly the meaning of the sacred symbols and their religious function in daily worship. The *yantras* which are mainly linear diagrams or geometric shapes were evolved and used for worship as visual aids. This discussion of tantric *yantras*, mandalas and mantras leads us to Tibetan or lamaist mandalas which are mainly linear *yantras* containing figures of the deities. The writer has displayed superb skill in defining the relationship between these mandalas and other forms of art including temple architectural plans and superstructures. This leads us to the famous stupa of Borobudur in Central Java which is symbolically presented as an architectural mandala of the pilgrim's path. Zimmer perceives Borobudur as a mandala of monumental proportions whose purpose was to guide the spiritual seeker. It is already well known that the plan of this stupa is based on the most significant *yantra* known as the Sriyantra or Srichakra, the king of all tantric *yantras*. According to Hindu philosophy, the *yantras* are cosmic symbols and their central point, that is, the Bindu, is the still point of the universe (Siva, etc.) around which swirls the multiplicity of stars and galaxies in an ordered array.

The extensive chapter entitled 'Yoga and the Linear Sacred Image' takes into account the above discussion. In addition, it discusses the linear composition in magic and in cults, the unfolding and enfolding of inner visions, linear *yantras* containing figures of the deities, the purely linear *yantras* comprising the figurative sacred image and the linear *yantra*, the purely linear

yantra: its language of forms. The pages devoted to this discussion make interesting reading. It is an absorbing account of the iconographic features of the prominent and minor deities of Hinduism. This discussion will be useful for art historians and researchers. Zimmer brings out admirably the distinction between the linear *yantra* and the purely figurative *yantra*. But he adds that although the two differ radically in form, they serve the same purpose. They are designed as receptacles for the visualization of a god whom the believer has summoned up before his inner eye. The *yantras* are also viewed as tools of conscious transformation that enable the meditating devotee to realize complete coalescence with the object of devotion. There is an interesting and enlightened discussion on the formal elements of Sriyantra.

The canonical proportions of the craftsman's tradition preserve the technical secret of how to give the sacred image, as an external palpable object, the same characteristic quality of the inner visualizations. It serves as the focal point and surrogate during the act of worship.

All the chapters are written in an excellent style, easily readable and enjoyable. Especially the chapters devoted to proportions and the language of signs in the canon of Indian art and the place of the sacred image in the world of the believer. Indian aesthetic theory preserves the technical secret underlying the formal relationship between the figurative construct and its geometric organizing schema. Throughout, the theory basically stresses the stringent restrictions determining the form of the figurative works of art and the role artistic freedom plays within these limitations—a freedom that makes the art art and not some mechanical formulaic reproduction. As we read the book from cover to cover, the essence of Indian sacred images and their relation with yoga is brought home to us in a lucid style. Fifty years ago, Zimmer pointed out how necessary it was for an art historian to be fully conversant with tantric and religious philosophy which influenced the diverse forms of Indian art and symbols.

This book should be the prize possession of all scholars, students and lovers of Indian art. The publisher deserves our praise for making the English translation available to a wide circle of interested readers.

Subhashini Aryan

Title : Ameer Ali on Islam
Editor : Imtiaz Ali
Publisher : Amar Prakashan, Delhi (1982)
Format : 22 x 14 cm; viii + 255 pages, no illustrations
Price : Rs. 95.00

The history of the book under review or rather its production is somewhat intriguing. Called *Ameer Ali on Islam*, its editorship is ascribed to Imtiaz Ali who has written a two-page preface, and on the reverse of the frontispiece it is claimed to have been first published in India in 1982. But, on the other hand, the blurb blandly states that the 'Present volume is the second edition of Ameer Ali's most book [sic] Islamic History and Culture which was first published in India in 1978': Incidentally, the earlier



7. "Shah Jahan enthroned with Mahabat Khan and a Shaykh", painting signed by 'Abid and originally an illustration to the *Padshahnama*; Mughal India. II Shahjahani/AD 1629-1630. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0406.

so many other Islamic master-works, dispersed in Paris in the early twentieth century. Vever at least seems to have had the first choice of the album's fabulous folios for the ones now in Washington include some of the most penetrating portraits of the elderly emperor as well as many striking marginal decorations. Another notable example of Mughal art is an enthronement scene, signed by the painter 'Abid, "brother of Nadir al-Zaman of Mashhad", and dated in the second regnal year of Shah Jahan

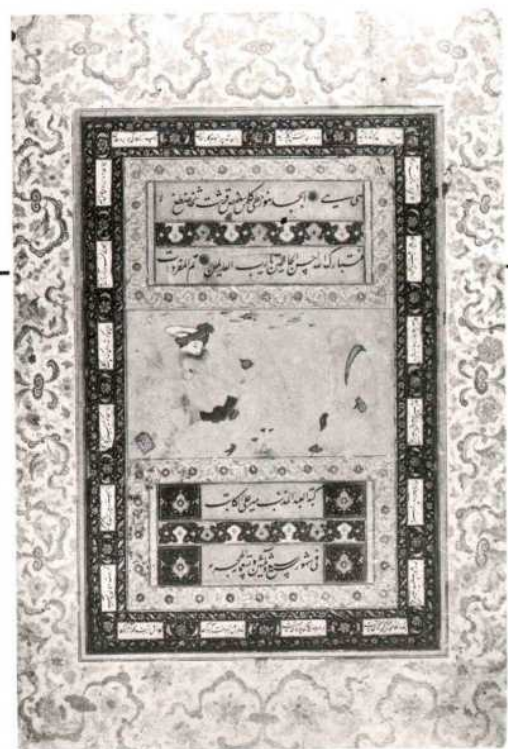
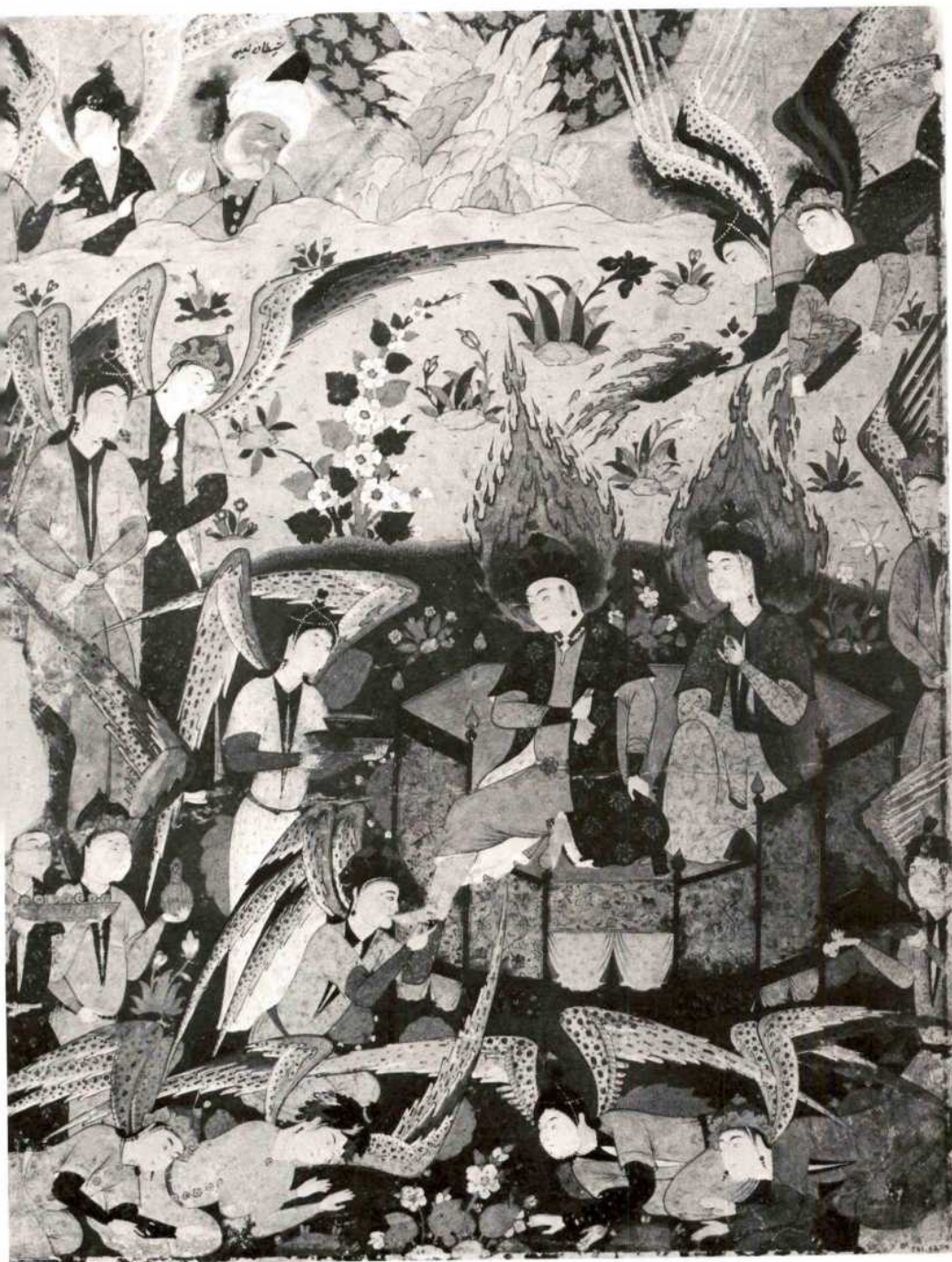
(1628-1629), which probably originally belonged to the *Padshahnama* now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (figure 7).

It is impossible here to do full justice to the wealth and diversity of the Vever Collection. Similarly, it is impossible to underestimate its value in extending our knowledge and enhancing our enjoyment of one of the world's great traditions of the pictorial and calligraphic arts. We are indeed fortunate, therefore, that this legendary collection has finally emerged from the packing cases and into the public domain.

The exhibition can be viewed at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, D.C. from November 20, 1988 to April 30, 1989.

NOTES

1. B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library* (London, 1980), 95.
2. Glenn D. Lowry with Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection*; Glenn D. Lowry and Milo C. Beach, with Roya Marefat and Wheeler M. Thackston, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*; both publications are from the University of Washington Press, 1988.
3. Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol "Shahnama"* (Chicago and London, 1980).
4. Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture Iranienne sous les Derniers Abbasides et les Ilkhans* (Bruges, 1936), 93.



It now seems possible to reconstruct the original sequence of the 1341 *Shahnama* folios, and to begin the long-overdue process of investigating the patronage of the Inju dynasty and its leaders within the context of the early history of Persian manuscript illustration.

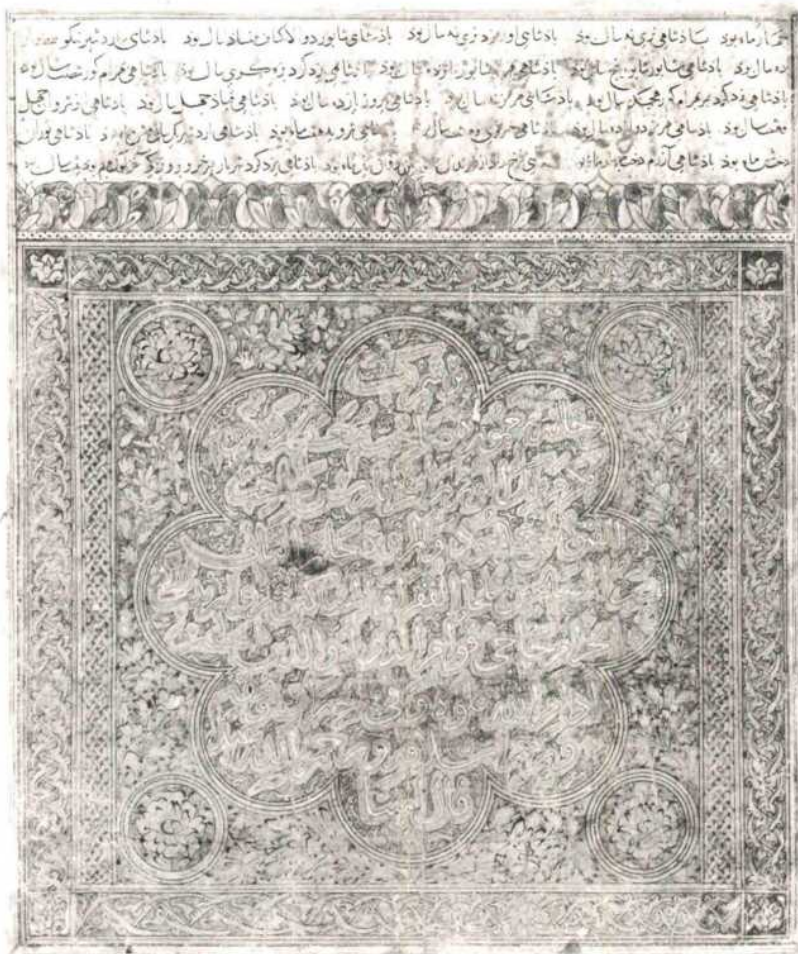
Those involved with later periods of Persian painting will also find much to delight in and ponder over the Vever Collection, including a double-page frontispiece, detached from an unknown manuscript, with a possible "portrait" of Baysonghur, the great Timurid prince and patron, seated in a garden; seven illustrated folios from the so-called

"Big-Head" *Shahnama* made for Sultan 'Ali Mirza of Gilan in 899/1493-94 (figure 3); five illustrated folios from the large-scale *Falnama* (Book of Divination) thought to have been made for the Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp, circa 1550 (figure 4); and a group of detached miniatures and album paintings attributed to various court artists of the sixteenth-seventeenth century such as Aqa Mirak, Mir Sayyid 'Ali, Sadiqi and Aqa Riza (figure 5). The Vever Collection is also rich in works from Mughal India; pre-eminent here are eight illustrated folios from an album of painting and calligraphy compiled late in the reign of Shah Jahan (figure 6) and, like

4. "Angels bow before Adam and Eve in Paradise", illustration from the *Falnama*; Iran. circa AD 1550. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0254.

5. "A Youth and an Old Man", painting mounted on an album page ascribed to Aqa Riza and surrounded with calligraphy inscribed by Mir 'Ali al-Katib and dated 937 A.H./AD 1530-1531; Isfahan. circa AD 1605. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0292.

6. "Akbar with a Sarpech", left-hand side of a double-page composition from the late Shah Jahan Album; Mughal India. circa AD 1650. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0402.



of paper and pigments used in Islamic manuscripts. The intention of both publications, as of the exhibition itself, is to make these eagerly-awaited works of art accessible to both public and scholarly audiences, and to encourage research into individual manuscripts and paintings. The challenge of assessing and reassessing the contents of the Vever Collection has, in fact, already been taken up by the experts at the Sackler Gallery in preparation for the exhibition and accompanying publications, and it is already clear that this rich treasure trove will serve as a catalyst for the formulation of new approaches towards the study of the Islamic arts of the book as a whole.

Certainly the collection has an adequate number of long-lost masterpieces, missing links and exciting surprises to keep legions of scholars happily at work for several generations to come. Among the most significant "rediscoveries" are eight illustrated folios and bi-folios from the so-called Demotte *Shahnama*, the great volume of the Persian national epic probably executed in Tabriz, the capital of Il-Khanid Iran, circa 1330-1340 (figure 1). The most recent study of this dispersed manuscript by Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair had to make do with partial and pre-war vintage photographs of the Vever paintings obtained from the Archives Photographiques in Paris.³ The projected revised edition of the Grabar/Blair monograph now not only can do greater justice to the reproduction of the Demotte *Shahnama* pages once owned by Vever, but also should provide new information and observations derived from the direct examination of these stellar examples of Il-Khanid painting. The Vever Collection also contains a second important cache of Mongol-period material, namely a dozen folios from another dispersed

copy of the *Shahnama* dated 1341. Well-known but little-studied, this manuscript has constituted the linchpin for scholarly discussions of the so-called Inju school ever since Ivan Stchoukine reported in 1936 that one page, in the Vever Collection, "is decorated with an inscription according to which the manuscript was finished in 741 A.H. (1341) for the library of Qawam al-Din Hasan, vizier of Fars [province]."⁴ At long last this information can be verified, since the Vever folios do indeed include a pair of illuminated dedicatory rosettes on facing pages, giving the name of the manuscript's patron as cited by Stchoukine and the date of Ramadan 741/March 1341 (figure 2). Equally exciting has been the discovery within the Vever holdings of additional portions of the manuscript's original "front matter", including its double-page frontispiece, depicting a hunting scene facing an enthronement, and the final section of the "old preface" to the *Shahnama*, along with illuminated folios of the Firdausi's opening text cycle and illustrated folios from six other cycles.

2. "Dedicatory rosette", illumination from the 1341 *Shahnama*; Shiraz. 741 A.H./AD 1341. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0110.

3. "Battle between Khusrau and Afrasiyab", illustration from the "Big-Head" *Shahnama*; Gilan. 899 A.H./AD 1493-1494. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0175.

The Vever Collection in Washington, D.C.

Marianna Shreve Simpson

In 1980 the distinguished British scholar B. W. Robinson made mention of two fifteenth-century manuscripts with paintings in the Sultanate style belonging to the Vever Collection. At that time the whereabouts—and even the existence—of the celebrated collection of Islamic manuscripts and miniatures, amassed in the early part of this century by the French jeweller Henri Vever (1854-1942), was a total mystery; and Robinson certainly was articulating a commonly-shared sentiment when he went on to characterize, in extremely expressive terms, the Vever Collection as “that almost legendary body of material for whose renewed manifestation many of us continue fervently to hope and pray”.¹ Six years later these prayers were answered when the elusive collection was acquired intact by the Smithsonian Institution for its new Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, next to the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

The circumstances of this outstanding acquisition—and the “rediscovery” of the collection’s close to five hundred works of art in a New York storage depot to which they had been consigned, apparently unbeknown to anyone in the field, for safekeeping at the time of World War II—makes a fascinating chapter in the modern history of collecting and connoisseurship, and has been widely reported in the international press. But what doubtless will be of even greater importance for those involved and interested in the study of Islamic manuscripts and painting is the incredible scope and quality of the Vever Collection. This can now be appreciated, essentially for the first time since 1931 when Henri Vever lent a number of his finest works to the monumental display of Persian miniatures at Burlington House in London, thanks to a splendid exhibition on view at the Sackler Gallery through April 1989. Entitled “A Jeweler’s Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the



Vever Collection” and organized by Milo C. Beach, acting director of the Sackler Gallery, and Glenn D. Lowry, curator of Near Eastern art, this show presents some one hundred and sixty highlights from the Gallery’s new holding, including manuscripts, paintings, calligraphies and bookbindings from the eleventh to the eighteenth century. It also contains material related to Henri Vever: examples of the jewellery he designed during his successful career, along with contemporary drawings of his creations, photographs and other memorabilia. The exhibition is accompanied by two informative publications which also treat

both collection and collector.² The first bears the same title as the exhibition and contains one essay on the characteristics of Persian and Indian painting, especially as perceived by European connoisseurs, dealers and scholars of Vever’s era, and another on Henri Vever himself and his activities as an art collector and as a prominent figure in the art nouveau movement. The second volume consists of an annotated and illustrated check-list of the entire collection, with an entry for virtually every object, and a series of appendices with detailed documentation of provenance, seals, and technical matters such as the type

1. “Ardawan captured by Ardashir”, illustration from the Demotte *Shahnama*; Tabriz, circa AD 1330-1340. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. S86.0103.

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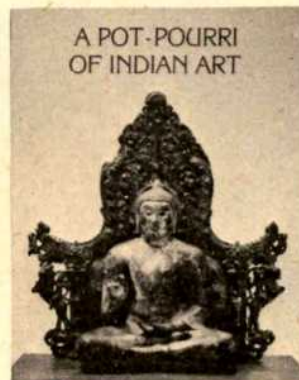
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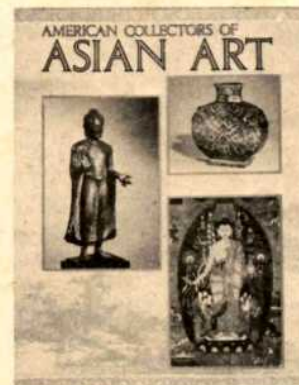
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the measure of bringing this image of Gaudama into the Burmese dominions. The King and Court and indeed all the inhabitants of the City went some miles down the river to meet and escort the Image ⁴¹

As with South-east Asian visitors to Bodhgaya in the past, the relics and reminders of the Buddha Sakyamuni were brought back with honour and devotion.

NOTES

1. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* vol. II, part 6, 254.
2. Paul Mus, "Le Buddha paré. Son origène indienne. Sakyamuni dans le Mahayanisme moyen", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 28 (1928), 153-278, especially 186-187 and 272-276. Hereafter, Mus, "Le Buddha paré".
3. Mireille Bénisti, *Contribution à l'étude de stupa bouddhique indien: les stupa mineurs de Bodh-Gaya et Ratnagiri*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1981), I: 71-74.
4. Alexander B. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported" in *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume* (Colombo, 1965), 195-199.
5. Compare, for example, Prudence R. Myer, "The Great Temple at Bodh-Gaya", *The Art Bulletin* 40 (December, 1958), 294-298. Myer suggests that the four corner obelisks might also be attributed to the Burmese restoration.
6. *Epigraphia Birmanica* I, part II, 163-164.
7. G. H. Luce, "Sources of Early Burma History" in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography* ed. by C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters (Ithaca and London, 1976), 40-42.
8. A. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple Under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (Varanasi, n.d.), 28. Hereafter, Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*.
9. E. W. Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires: A Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiangmai", *Journal of the Siam Society* 39, pt. 1 (June, 1951), 11.
10. *Ibid.*, 15.
11. See ground-plans in Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", figs. 2, 9b, 12.
12. *Ibid.*, 197-198, 202.
13. P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* vol. 1 (reprint Varanasi, 1979), 91.
14. George Coedès, "Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 25 (1925), 111.
15. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", 206-208.
16. *Ibid.*, 186-187.
17. *Ibid.*, 209.
18. See note 14 above.
19. See note 15 above.
20. I found few traces of them at Chiangmai during visits in 1975 and 1981. Dr. Donald Stadtner informs me that he could not locate most of them at Pegu during his recent visit at the end of 1987. They are, however, discussed by Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported", 212-218.
21. *Epigraphia Birmanica* IV, part I, 19.
22. I wish to thank Dr. Hans Penth for this information. See also Sommai Premchit, Kamol Sriwichainan, and Surasingsamruam Chimphaneo, *Chedis in Lannathai* (Chiangmai, 1981), 100-102 (in Thai), who date the temple to 1844.
23. Susan L. Huntington, "Some Bronzes from Fatehpur, Gaya", *Oriental Art* N.S. 25, no. 2 (Summer, 1979), 240.
24. A. B. Griswold, *Dated Buddha Images of Northern Siam* (Ascona, 1957), 35-39.
25. Personal communication with Mr. Griswold. Also see Pisit Charoenwongsa and M. C. Subhadradis Diskul, *Thailand* (Geneva, 1978), 120, 161.
26. George Coedès, "Note sur une stèle indienne d'époque pala découverte à Ayudhya (Siam)", *Artibus Asiae* 22, nos. 1-2 (1959), 9-14. Apparently due to a typographical error, the height of the sculpture is put at 155 cm.
27. Susan L. Huntington, "Pre-Pala and Pala Period Sculptures in the Rockefeller Collection", *Apollo* (November, 1983), 378, note 16.
28. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama* vol. I, 98.
29. See Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* vol. 3 (Locus Valley, N.Y., 1970), pl. 294d.
30. Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang* (A.D. 629) 2 vols. (London, 1884) I: 128. Hereafter, Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki*.
31. Reading based on Luce, *Old Burma—Early Pagan* vol. 3 (Locus Valley, N.Y., 1970), 6-7.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Reading based on *ibid.*, 29.
34. Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, pl. XXIV, C.
35. See *Light of Asia* ed. by P. Pal (Los Angeles, 1984), no. 11b.
36. Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki*, II: 120.
37. G. Roerich trans., *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (Patna, 1959), 69.
38. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dhyani-Buddhas of Barabudur", *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-, en volkenkunde* 121 (1965), 398-402.
39. Mus, "Le Buddha paré", 168, 262-268.
40. A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ageless Borobudur* (Servire/Wassenaar, 1976), 168-171.
41. Quoted in W. S. Desai, "History of the Burmese Mission to India", *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 26, pt. II (August, 1936), 106-107.

I would like to thank the many people who have responded to my questions and offered me advice and materials while writing this article. They include: Sarah Bekker, Dorothy Fickle, Henry Ginsberg, Janice Leoshko, Mary Linda, John Listopad, Forrest McGill, Pratapaditya Pal, Hans Penth, Chandra Reedy, Donald Stadtner and Joanna Williams.

□

concepts associated with the art of Bodhgaya, that is, both yield to explication only with reference to Bodhgayan artistic ideas.

Conclusion

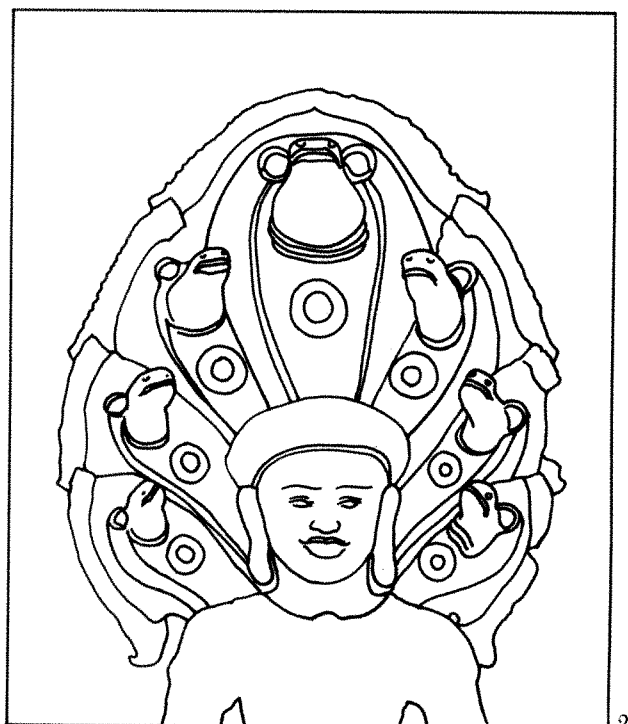
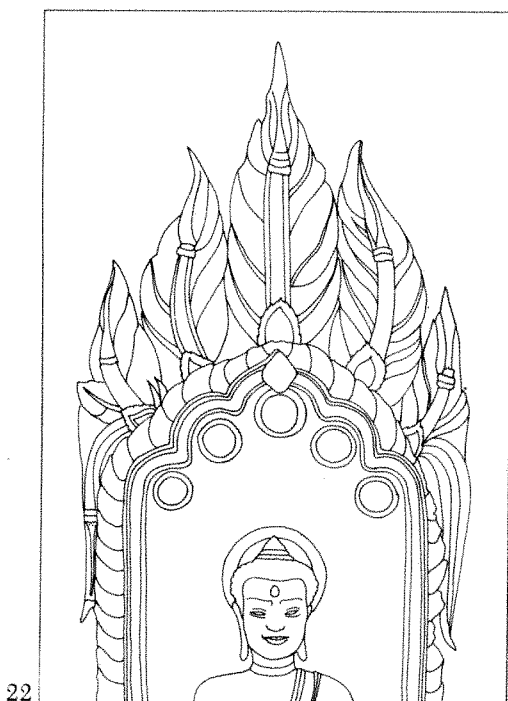
There can be little doubt that Bodhgaya had an enormous impact on the art of Burma and Thailand in South-east Asia. It began most visibly during the Pagan king Aniruddha's reign in the eleventh century, sparked, I have argued, by a focus on the historic Buddha Sakyamuni's life and teachings as being pure, an idea brought to Burma largely by the Sinhalese monks. It revealed itself initially in the votive tablets issued by Aniruddha and shortly thereafter by Kyanzittha's mission sent to Bodhgaya to rebuild and support the Mahabodhi temple. Later, in the thirteenth century, another but unidentified Pagan king built the first South-east Asian copy of the Mahabodhi temple. It is very close to the Bodhgaya temple as it existed at the time, or at least as far as we can reconstruct its thirteenth-century form today.

In the fifteenth century, the king of Chiengmai, Tiloka, and the king of Pegu, Dhammacetiya, built their own copies of the Mahabodhi temple. In both instances, the copies vary significantly from the Bodhgaya temple, although both kings appear to have had careful and detailed plans of the Indian temple.

Sculptures representing the Buddha seated cross-legged (*vajrasana*) and performing the earth-touching gesture were popular all throughout this period (from the eleventh century) in Burma and Thailand. From the thirteenth century onwards this was the dominant iconographical form of the Buddha image in Thailand, called "victorious over Mara" in Thai. The Indian sources of the South-east Asian earth-touching Buddha images were primarily Pala period images. Some South-east Asian Buddhas, those that are depicted in a clear context, such as those on the *andagu* plaques, can be related directly to Bodhgaya. Ultimately, of course, all of the earth-touching Buddhas relate back to the enlightenment at Bodhgaya.

Bodhgaya has remained a spiritual focus for South-east Asian Theravada Buddhists until modern times. In 1830 the king of Burma sent a diplomatic mission to India, then governed by the British who had successfully waged several military campaigns in Burma. The delegation remained in India for three years, during which they visited Bodhgaya, discovering the Burmese inscription of the thirteenth-century Burmese mission (mentioned above), witnessing a miracle, and taking several sprouts from the bodhi tree. Later in Calcutta they requested a Pala period sculpture of the Buddha from Bodhgaya that was owned by the Asiatic Society. The mission returned to Burma having failed to negotiate a favourable political agreement with the British, but the mission was considered a great success by the Burmese because they returned with the tree cuttings and the Buddha image. In the words of the British officer, Captain Burney, who accompanied the mission:

Nothing that the Burmese Envoys had done during their absence from Ava [Burma] gave so much satisfaction to their Court or gained so much credit to themselves as





21

21. Buddha under the bodhi tree, Thailand. 13th century. Bronze. 48.6 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Gift of Christian Humann.
22. LACMA Buddha (above, figure 21) with hypothetical reconstruction of missing bodhi tree branches (drawing).
23. Buddha under the snake (drawing).

and organization of the branches. These circles appear to have no explanation in the context of the earth-touching event under the bodhi tree. They do, however, in the context of the Muchalinda scene, where various circular designs are arranged in descending size on the throats of the naga heads. The artist of the LACMA bronze must have seen the bodhi tree branches as analogous to the snake hoods, implying that the two Bodhgayan events were conflated in his mind. Thus, while we cannot say how or why this happened, we can say that the merging of iconographical imagery was intentional.

Neither the Borobudur unfinished Buddha nor the Khmer earth-touching Buddha on the snake has an Indian artistic prototype on which it is modelled. Nonetheless, both relied on



the branches are thick, end in lotus-like buds, and have flame-shaped leaves. These branches stand straight upward and are arranged neatly in descending height from a central branch, usually being grouped in fives or sevens. The arrangement and shape of the branches clearly suggest those of the snake hoods over the heads of the Muchalinda Buddhas.

That the analogy was in the minds of the Khmer artists is shown, I think, by an interesting detail on a bronze in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The Los Angeles piece shows a Buddha in the earth-touching gesture placed within a tabernacle. The bodhi tree branches are unfortunately missing, but would have been attached as a separate piece to the top back of the tabernacle; there is a lug still on the back for this purpose. The drawing shows a hypothetical reconstruction of the bronze with the lost branches attached. Below each branch on the tabernacle are circular designs that descend in size from the central circle, reflecting the size

Fig. 21

Fig. 22



9

story, Paul Mus suggests that the unfinished area of the image was covered with jewels (a necklace?) and thus is associated with the bejewelled Buddha. He then argues that the unfinished nature indicates that the image represents Maitreya, the future Buddha, as well as Sakyamuni.³⁹ The Bodhgaya image's unfinished character—indicating a still forming, still to come deity—is probably what is meant by the Borobudur Buddha image as well. The Borobudur Buddha has been interpreted along these lines by A. J. Bernet Kempers.⁴⁰

Fig. 19 The second example of conceptual influence from Bodhgaya is seen in connection with Khmer images of the Buddha seated in meditation on the snake Muchalinda. The Buddha seated on the snake is one of the most interesting and important Buddha types developed by the Khmer. Examples first appear in Cambodia in the second half of the tenth century, becoming extremely popular particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they occur throughout Cambodia and the Khmer-influenced areas of Thailand. It was at Bodhgaya that the Buddha sat on (actually “within”, according to the textual sources) the coils of the snake king, as we have seen above in our discussion of the Burmese plaques. The immediate sources of the Khmer representations are the Muchalinda Buddhas in Dvaravati period (seventh-eleventh century) art in Thailand, which in turn are related to the art of Sri Lanka and South India. Nevertheless, an interesting alteration of the usual iconography brings us back to Bodhgaya. This iconographic change, which first occurs in the twelfth century, is to have the Buddha on the snake make the earth-touching, rather than the meditation, gesture. The earth-touching gesture, which the Buddha also performed at Bodhgaya, is clearly “inappropriate” for the Muchalinda Buddha, and occurs only in Khmer or Khmer-influenced art.

Fig. 20 Was a conflation of the two Bodhgayan events, the earth-touching episode (defeat of Mara/enlightenment) with the Muchalinda episode, intentional? There is some visual evidence that it was. The Buddha making the earth-touching gesture occurs only quite late in Khmer art, about the twelfth century. The form the Khmer earth-touching Buddha took, primarily in bronze, was to be represented within a “tabernacle”, a semi-architectural niche, topped by branches of the bodhi tree. These bodhi tree branches take a particular form and arrangement;



inscription includes a creed in Sanskrit under the base and a Pali inscription around the outer rim that reads: “This image of the Buddha has been made by the donor, the king’s favourite, the *samben* named Prince Yassa, in his longing for excellent Omniscience. May the world, together with the gods, take note!”³³

The most complicated Pagan votive tablets are those that show the eight life scenes, sometimes combined with the seven stations, just as we have seen on the *andagu* plaques. The example  Fig. 15 illustrated very clearly shows the eight scenes. It is interesting to note that the tower is rounded on the tablet, like the usual tower of Hindu temples in India and of most of the Pagan Buddhist temples, but unlike the straight-sided form of the extant Mahabodhi temples.

One of the most popular types of votive tablet at Pagan shows the Buddha in the temple, surrounded with small votive stupas; inscribed at the bottom is the Buddhist creed. A very similar tablet was found at Bodhgaya by Cunningham,³⁴ and several similar tablets are known from Thailand.³⁵ The Thai tablets that represent the earth-touching Buddha within the Mahabodhi temple are not as varied as those from Burma. I suspect the Thai examples begin later, from the thirteenth century onwards.

Finally, a second votive tablet type is found at Bodhgaya and in Thailand and Burma. The Buddha on these tablets is not, however, performing the earth-touching gesture but sits within the Mahabodhi temple in the European pose and makes the teaching gesture (*dharmachakra mudra*). Furthermore, below his feet are tiny deer flanking a wheel. What are we to make of the Buddha representing the first sermon at Sarnath being shown within the Mahabodhi temple? One detail seen in all other tablets we have discussed, however, is missing in the first sermon tablets: the bodhi tree branches. Apparently, the Mahabodhi temple tower was seen as appropriate to house the Buddha in life scenes other than the enlightenment. Were there once temples similar to the Mahabodhi built at Buddhist sites that are now lost?  Fig. 17

Conceptual Influence

The relations between Bodhgaya and the Thai and Burmese art discussed above have tended to be direct and concrete. Bodhgaya’s influence on the art of other areas of South-east Asia is more ambiguous. It can, nonetheless, be sometimes discerned, lending a direction or focus to the art that would, without reference to Bodhgaya, be difficult to explain. I will look at two examples of this more conceptual influence, one from Java and one from Cambodia.

Xuanzang presents an interesting story in his long discussion of Bodhgaya written after he visited the site in the seventh century. He says that the Buddha image in the cella was made by a brahman who shut himself inside the temple and asked that the door remain closed for six months. When it was opened early, the artist—who later in a dream was revealed really to be Maitreya—was gone and the image was incomplete. Xuanzang says that “The signs and marks (of a Buddha) were perfectly drawn. . . only above his right breast the material was not completely rounded off”.³⁶ Although no Buddha sculptures have been found at Bodhgaya that appear to be unfinished in Xuanzang’s terms, the legend of the image being unfinished was recounted as late as the thirteenth century by the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvamin after visiting the site.³⁷ The South-east Asian connection to Xuanzang’s story is the controversial unfinished Buddha image  Fig. 18 from Borobudur in Java.

The Borobudur Buddha was reported to have been found in the central closed stupa that crowns the monument. It has elicited a long scholarly debate as to whether it was originally placed in the stupa or was placed there later in the nineteenth century. This debate appears to be now resolved in favour of its original placement in the stupa by evidence presented in 1965 by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.³⁸ Accepting, then, the image’s original placement, two of its features are problematic in explaining its meaning: that it is unfinished and that it is in the earth-touching gesture. Scholars who have argued against its originality used these two characteristics as evidence for their case. The unfinished nature is difficult to explain because it is unique, and the earth-touching gesture because it does not fit with what we know of the esoteric system of the Buddhas, identified by their gestures, on the monument. An unfinished Buddha making the earth-touching gesture is, as far as I know, unique in India to Bodhgaya, and some connection with Borobudur’s image may therefore be possible.

The significance of the two Buddhas may also relate. In a lengthy discussion of the Xuanzang

18. Unfinished Buddha, Indonesia. c. AD 800. Stone. About 1.5 m. Borobudur.

in the Mahabodhi temple flanked by two bodhisattvas (Luce identifies them as Lokanatha and Maitreya) and surrounded by twenty-eight additional earth-touching Buddhas in rows, probably intended to represent the Buddhas of the past. The Sanskrit inscription at the bottom reads: "This is the work of the monarch Sri Aniruddha the divine."³¹ On the bottom of tablets of this type is another inscription in Pali written in the Mon script that reads: "This Blessed One was made by the great king Sri Aniruddha the divine, with his own hands, for the sake of Deliverance".³² The making of the votive tablets by the king himself is reflected in numerous other inscriptions on votive tablets where the dedicator, often a king or queen, specifies that he or she made the tablet. Stamping out the tablets with one's own hand must have increased the merit accrued.

The earth-touching Buddha within the Mahabodhi temple that Aniruddha used on his tablets became the most common subject on votive tablets during the entire Pagan period. In one example, the Buddha is represented inside an extremely elaborate temple complete with outward facing lions on the base corners and detailed designs on the tri-lobed arch above. The



13. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 11th century or later. Terracotta. 16.5 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
14. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 11th-12th century or later. Terracotta. 16.5 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
15. Votive tablet with scenes from the Buddha's life, Burma. c. 12th century or later. Terracotta. 17 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
16. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 12th century or later. Terracotta. 17.5 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.
17. Votive tablet, Burma. c. 12th century or later. Terracotta. 11.25 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.

thin lips. They touch the earth with massive, thick right arms. These characteristics contrast even with Indian images that closely relate to Burmese sculpture, such as the Fatehpur Buddha (see Vajrasana essay, figure 1), but become even more exaggerated in later Burmese images. Of course, it may be that the *andagu* plaques were made both in Burma and in India, with movement of artists and stone a possibility. Nevertheless, the evidence to my mind is in favour of Burma as a source of most of them, although their inspiration is clearly Bodhgaya.

Thailand and Burma: Votive Tablets

The final group of South-east Asian objects that relates closely to Bodhgaya is that of votive tablets. Votive tablets, usually made of clay, were extremely popular in most areas of South-east Asia where Buddhism existed. They present particular difficulties for study. They are frequently made from metal moulds that can be used repeatedly over a very long period of time, even centuries, and can be easily moved from location to location. Thus Indian moulds were taken to South-east Asia, where their use produced "Indian" art on South-east Asian soil. Furthermore, since the tablets themselves are so portable, and since so many owners are possibly involved, their presence at a South-east Asian site may indicate very little. Conclusions drawn from the tablets, such as that a particular type of Buddhism was practised or that connections to another site existed, may be incorrect.

What we can say is that many of the tablets found throughout Burma and Thailand depict the earth-touching Buddha framed within the Mahabodhi temple behind which branches of the bodhi tree extend. The largest variety is from Burma, dating to the Pagan period (eleventh-thirteenth centuries). Aniruddha, the Pagan king mentioned several times above, left votive tablets scattered all over Burma inscribed with his name; they are the only inscriptions he left. All the tablets represent the earth-touching Buddha within the Mahabodhi temple, although the tablets vary as to organization. The example illustrated represents the earth-touching Buddha *Fig. 13*





12

11. Buddha with life scenes and seven stations, Burma. 11th-12th century. Stone. 19.6 cm. The Asia Society, New York, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection.

12. Buddha with life scenes and seven stations, Burma. 11th-12th century. Stone. 14 cm. Gift of a group of members of The Asia Society, New York; The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.

a tiny bowl in his lap, an indication of his receiving food and further proof of my proposed sequence. While I have not been able to check this sequence against the figures on all other plaques, those I have examined appear to have the same sequence of figures.

On the Nelson Gallery plaque, two additional Buddha images are included, one each below the figures representing the life scenes. That on the proper left is the emaciated Buddha, to whom a shrine was dedicated at Bodhgaya according to Xuanzang.⁸⁰ On the opposite side is, apparently for the second time, the Buddha under the snake. In addition, the plaques have figures representing the *chakravartin*'s Seven Jewels depicted on their bases. On the Asia Society example they are, beginning on the proper right, the horse, *chakra*, minister, prince (son), wife, gem and elephant. As mentioned several times before, *chakravartin* imagery was particularly important at Bodhgaya, making its appearance on the plaques understandable.

Returning now to the issue of where the plaques were made, the style of the Buddha images also argues for a Burmese provenance. It would be difficult, I think, to argue that either of the central Buddha images in our two examples is Indian. They have large heads that tilt forward, appearing almost without necks, so that their ear lobes touch their shoulders. Their facial features are compressed into the lower half of their heads, with expansive foreheads, large eyes and long

Fig. 12

Fig. 11

Figs. 11 and 12



chronicle that, as far as I know, has never been found. As mentioned above, I agree that Tiloka had accurate plans of the Bodhgaya Mahabodhi temple, but this does not necessarily mean that he sent a mission to Bodhgaya, as plans could have been available in texts from Pagan, Pegu, or from earlier but unrecorded Thai missions. Griswold's theory has, therefore, been mostly rejected. Nevertheless, the late dating for inscribed images remains a puzzle unless one assumes at least an increased interest in this style of Buddha image during Tiloka's reign, an interest generated most likely by the same focus on Bodhgaya that prompted the building of the Wat Chet Yot.

Figs. 11 and 12 Small stone plaques of the Buddha's life, called *andagu* plaques in Burmese, have produced much the same debate as the bronzes discussed above as to their place of manufacture, whether India or Burma. The plaques are all small, reaching a maximum of some twenty centimetres in height. They have the Buddha performing the earth-touching gesture in the centre around which are arranged, in much smaller size, the other seven major life scenes. The sources of this arrangement are Pala period steles. Most Indian steles are much larger than the *andagu* plaques, but some are equally small. An Indian stone sculpture only fifteen and a half centimetres high was found in Thailand enclosed within a *prang* (a tower-like structure) built in 1424. It is unquestionably of Indian manufacture, represents the life scenes, and has an inscription of the Buddhist "ye dhamma" creed on the back in eleventh-twelfth century hybrid Sanskrit.²⁶ It proves that such Indian models were available to the South-east Asians.

The *andagu* plaques differ from such an unquestionably Indian type as that found in the *prang* in several ways. Their stone is usually identified as being different, being a whitish beige versus the dark stone most often associated with Pala style sculpture, although most accurately with that from Bengal rather than Bihar. Actually, visual identification of stone is notoriously difficult, and the usual identification of the stone of the *andagu* plaques as dolomite (= *andagu*) may be incorrect as the Asia Society example has been found to be pyrophyllite.²⁷

A second characteristic of some of the *andagu* plaques that might be Burmese is the addition of figures representing the seven stations. The seven stations at Bodhgaya, each a place where the Buddha spent a week performing one action following enlightenment, have already been pointed out as important in the South-east Asian re-creations of the site. I have found no Indian steles that include the seven stations with the eight principal life scenes, which may indeed argue for the Burmese origin of the plaques.

Figs. 11 and 12 The two examples illustrated here have the eight life scenes and the seven stations arranged in the same way. In both, however, the seven stations are represented by only six figures, two standing and four seated in meditation. The six figures are arranged with three on each side of the central earth-touching Buddha. As far as I know, only one, that depicted under the hood of a snake (placed beside the central Buddha's left knee), has clearly been identified; Buddha was protected by the hoods of the snake Muchalinda during week six. The failure to represent all seven stations has been explained as resulting from a requirement of six figures for symmetry, three on each side. Actually, I think all seven stations are indicated and that they even follow in the proper chronological sequence.

The Buddha spent the first week after enlightenment seated under the bodhi tree: "[he] continued to remain on the throne, in a cross-legged position, with a mind absorbed in contemplation during seven days".²⁸ I think that this first week is represented by the central earth-touching Buddha image. This image already represents several different events of the enlightenment cycle: the attack by Mara's army calling the earth as witness, and the enlightenment itself. All took place while the Buddha sat without moving under the bodhi tree, and it is reasonable that the figure could also represent the first week following the enlightenment. The other six figures now fall into place. The standing Buddha to the proper left of the central Buddha's head represents the second week when the Buddha stood gazing at the bodhi tree. The third week, which the Buddha spent walking in meditation, is represented by the opposite "standing" Buddha. While representing the Buddha as walking with both arms raised in a double gesture and with the robe worn covering both shoulders, as in figure 11, is rare in other art at Pagan, it does exist.²⁹ The fourth and fifth weeks were spent seated in meditation, and are represented by the two meditating Buddha images depicted next. The sixth week, spent under the hoods of the snake, is, as already noted, at the lower left. The Buddha spent the final week again seated in meditation, at the very end of which he became hungry and received food. The last little Buddha figure, opposite the Buddha under the snake, holds

9. Buddha, Burma. 12th century. Bronze. 43 cm. Rangoon Museum, Burma.

10. Buddha, Thailand. Dated AD 1486. Bronze. 64 cm. National Museum, Bangkok.

W
eighth century and can be identified by sharing such iconographical traits as the finial of radiance on the *ushnisha*, cranial protuberance, the short flap of cloth over the shoulder, and most tellingly, the lotus posture of the legs. We can, however, perhaps bring the Indian sources for some of the South-east Asian earth-touching images more directly to Bodhgaya and to the period of their overwhelming popularity beginning in the eleventh century.

Some bronzes from the region around Bodhgaya are so close stylistically to images from *Fig. 9* Pagan as to be arguably from the same workshop (compare Vajrasana essay, figure 1). Susan Huntington recognized their similarity to Pagan bronzes but argued that they were indeed Indian.²³ I tend to agree with her, based not on the Buddha images themselves, however, but on their elaborate bases, as I know of no sculptures with such bases found in Burma, whereas similar bases occur in India. The similarities reveal an intimate relationship between India and Burma in the twelfth century, one probably involving Indian artists working in Pagan.

Alexander Griswold proposed an even more specifically Bodhgayan source for the most popular style of earth-touching Buddha image in northern Thailand, which he called the Lion type. Griswold argued in 1957 that the Lion type (such as in *Fig. 10*) was introduced by Tiloka during the building of the Wat Chet Yot (the Mahabodhi temple) in Chiangmai, sometime between 1455 and 1470. He suggested that a Pala style Buddha, a copy of that in the Mahabodhi's cella, was brought to Chiangmai from Bodhgaya to be installed at the Wat Chet Yot, and that with "copies" of this Indian model the style of the Lion type Buddha image began.²⁴

The idea that the origin of the Lion type of Buddha could be found in Tiloka's building of the Wat Chet Yot was initially suggested to Griswold after he undertook a survey of Buddha sculptures of this type dated by inscription and found that none could be dated earlier than 1470, thus belonging to Tiloka's reign (c. 1441-1487). While scholars had long recognized that the Lion type Buddha images were influenced by Pala sculptures, the thinking had been that they dated much earlier, going back to the eleventh-twelfth centuries. Recent excavations have in fact revealed Pala influence on northern Thai Buddha images before Tiloka's reign, and Griswold has accepted this evidence.²⁵ Furthermore, his assertion that Tiloka sent a mission (as Dhammacetiya did) to Bodhgaya is based on an informant's report of an unpublished



ruined condition, yet Dhammacetiya's group was apparently successful in obtaining the information it wanted. In fact, nineteenth-century photographs and paintings show that the temple until that time was still standing. At any rate, the argument that the changes seen in the Chiangmai and Pegu temples were due to the inability in the fifteenth century of acquiring accurate plans of the Bodhgaya temple is, I feel, unpersuasive. Remember also that both Tiloka and Dhammacetiya had, if they had questions, access to the temple at Pagan which was in good condition and an accurate copy.

The chronicles and inscriptions do not supply us with much information as to what motivated Tiloka and Dhammacetiya to build their copies of the Mahabodhi temple. We are told that Tiloka was inspired by the teaching of monks who had been to Sri Lanka (Sihalabhikkus) regarding the merit accrued by someone who plants a bodhi tree.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that nowhere is the actual building of the Mahabodhi temple (Wat Chet Yot) clearly mentioned, although the shrines of the seven weeks are. Dhammacetiya's motivations are recorded as a desire to create happiness for monks living in Burma and to imitate "the kings of old who were possessed of piety," such as Asoka.¹⁹ Like Tiloka, Dhammacetiya wished to create the entire sacred area of Bodhgaya, including the seven stations, and to get accurate dimensions was certainly the immediate motivation for sending his artisans to Bodhgaya.

Fig. 7 far right Traces of the seven sites remain at both Chiangmai and Pegu.²⁰ For example, the ambulatory (*chankrama*) on which the Buddha walked during one week following enlightenment is duplicated at Pegu. It consists of the path at the ends of which are shrines with "walking" Buddha images. As it stands today, the ambulatory is modern and Donald Stadtnier cautions against any assumption that its placement or organization necessarily duplicates the fifteenth-century monument. Yet, it appears to reflect the original monument, as one of Dhammacetiya's inscriptions at Pegu, set up probably at the ambulatory, says:

In the place where he walked the kings of old who had faith, beginning with Asokadhammaraja, caused to be built an ambulatory together with two caityas at the ends of the ambulatory; (they) stand even until now. In this our country of Ramannadesa [Burma], in imitation of that place, in accordance with the orientation of the sides and the dimensions (of that place?), His Majesty the Lord of the White Elephant [Dhammacetiya] ordered a son . . . to erect two caityas together with this precious ambulatory.²¹

Cunningham found no traces of the *chaityas* or shrines at the ends of the walk at Bodhgaya, but it is likely, based on the Pegu evidence, that they once existed but have disappeared, perhaps because they were made of wood.

Fig. 8 We can conclude briefly our discussion of the temples by mentioning the Chiengrai temple. It is apparently modelled on the Chiangmai temple and has the same name, Wat Chet Yot, in Thai. We know that the temple was built before 1500 as an inscription dated 1500 from the temple mentions its existence. To what extent the temple as it stands today reflects this early structure is, however, a question. Much of the city of Chiengrai was rebuilt in 1844 following its destruction and abandonment due to fighting with the Burmese who had occupied the area from around the middle of the sixteenth century.²² How much of the temple is part of a probable nineteenth-century restoration must thus be determined before it can be properly assessed.

Thailand and Burma: Sculptures

At Bodhgaya the Buddha sat under the bodhi tree with his right hand extended to touch the earth (*bhumisparsa mudra*). The earth-touching Buddha as an iconographic type occurs in the art of pre-Pagan Burma, but it is not the dominant type. During this same period in Thailand, that is before the eleventh-twelfth centuries, the form is rare. Beginning, however, during Aniruddha's reign in the eleventh century at Pagan, images displaying the earth-touching gesture become the dominant type in Burma. With the founding of the Thai kingdoms in the thirteenth century, it became the dominant type in Thailand as well. The popularity of the earth-touching Buddha image in Thailand and Burma thus coincides with the crucial period beginning in the eleventh century outlined above during which Bodhgaya became a focus for South-east Asian Theravada Buddhists.

The sources for the earth-touching Buddhas in Thailand and Burma are various areas in India. Images that relate to eastern Indian works begin to appear in Thailand and Burma in the

suggested to me yet another possible association: that they are a reference to the weapons which turned into flowers when thrown by Mara's army at the Buddha while he meditated under the bodhi tree.

The standing adorants are placed in the narrow vertical spaces of the re-entrant angles on small lotuses. They wear the same elaborate clothing and jewellery and, like the seated figures, hold their hands together in adoration (*anjali mudra*). In style they, like the seated figures, are related to earlier Sukhothai period (twelfth-thirteenth centuries) images.

These heavenly adorants can possibly be identified as the gods who were observers during the confrontation between Sakyamuni and Mara at Bodhgaya. The Burmese version of the Buddha's life has the gods paying homage to the Buddha and presenting him with flowers on his victory.¹³ It is difficult to know, however, why this radically different decorative scheme was used. The building of the temple is attributed to King Tilokaraja in two reliable chronicles. The Pali *Jinakalamali*, written at Chiangmai in 1516-1517, says Tiloka began work on the monastery in 1455 by planting a bodhi tree, a sapling from a tree already growing in the Chiangmai area but one cultivated from a seed of the Anuradhapura bodhi tree in Sri Lanka.¹⁴ One might assume, considering the very different surface decoration and other differences noted above, that Tiloka did not have accurate plans of the Bodhgaya temple; some scholars feel he received his plans from Pagan. But Griswold has argued, I think completely persuasively, based on a number of details of the Chiangmai temple, that Tiloka had accurate plans and information about the Bodhgaya temple.¹⁵ For example, the towers of the Chiangmai temple are decorated on the corners with lobed designs which are clearly taken from the traditional *amalaka* design that occurs on the Bodhgaya temple's obelisks; this design does not, however, appear on the Mahabodhi temple at Pagan, suggesting that Tiloka was not copying the Pagan temple and had plans that accurately reflected the Indian Mahabodhi temple. His complete alteration of the podium's stucco decoration must, therefore, have been purposeful.

While the chronicles in Thailand are silent about where Tiloka obtained his temple plans, those in Burma that mention King Dhammacetiya's copy — built in Pegu at almost the same time as Tiloka's — specifically state that he sent a large group of artisans to Bodhgaya to make plans and models.¹⁶ It is unfortunate that Dhammacetiya's temple is so completely destroyed, but based on what remains of the ground-plan, it appears he, like Tiloka, introduced a number of radical changes.¹⁷ In what condition was the Bodhgaya temple when Dhammacetiya's artisans arrived sometime around 1460-1470? It might be assumed that it would have been in a considerably



Figs. 5 and 6 The stucco decoration of the Chiangmai temple has a completely different arrangement. The podium is divided into two equal horizontal sections decorated with large male adorants (not Buddhas) sculpted in stucco directly on the wall (not in niches) and separated by pilasters. There would originally have been some seventy figures, either seated or standing. The seated images have one leg placed on top of the other (*paryakasana*), but they are not sitting on any support. They float, with the ends of their elaborate and beautifully decorated clothing flying around their legs. They must be meant to be seen as hovering in the air. Filling the space around the figures are delicate floral decorations. Perhaps these free-floating flowers are intended to be raining down from heaven, or they may be a reference to relics which are sometimes likened to flowers and are said to whirl down from the sky. Janice Leoshko has



restorations were extensive but that they need not necessarily be considered Burmese in character.

There are four important South-east Asian re-creations of the Mahabodhi temple. The earliest was built at Pagan sometime in the first half of the thirteenth century, thus a century or so after Kyanzittha's Bodhgaya mission. Three were built in the fifteenth century, one in Burma and two in Thailand. The Schwegugyi in Pegu (Burma), dating to c. 1460-1470, is unfortunately mostly in ruins. The Wat Chet Yot in Chiangmai (Thailand) built at about the same date (c. 1455-1470) is, on the other hand, in surprisingly fine condition, particularly its stucco decoration. The last of the South-east Asian copies was also built perhaps at the same time, but at least before 1500, in Chiengrai, a city some 150 kilometres from Chiangmai in northern Thailand.

The Mahabodhi temple in Pagan is, of the three extant South-east Asian copies, the closest in most ways to that at Bodhgaya. (We may perhaps leave out of our consideration for now the Chiengrai temple as being the farthest from the model; I will return to it later). Both the Pagan and Bodhgaya temples are made of brick covered with stucco, whereas the Chiangmai temple is made of laterite with a facing of brick and stucco. The general proportions of the Pagan temple are close to those of the Bodhgaya temple, particularly the relative proportion of the towers to the podium; the towers of the Chiangmai temple are very much reduced in size, especially the central obelisk, giving more emphasis to the podium. The ground-plans of the Burmese and Indian temples are quite similar, while the Thai temple makes a major change by elongating the ground-floor cella into a rectangular hall and moving the major shrine to the cell of the central obelisk on the terrace. It is difficult to guess why this was done. Both the Pagan and Bodhgaya temples have cells in their central obelisks entered off the terrace. (There was actually a third cell above the second at Bodhgaya). I know of no evidence for how these upper cells were used at Bodhgaya and Pagan, but the major images were on the ground floor; the one at Pagan nearly fills the end of the chamber today. Access to the terrace and main shrine at the Wat Chet Yot is not easy, up two narrow ("their width is barely sufficient to admit a big man"⁹) stairs. A curious feature of the Wat Chet Yot shrine is that women are not allowed to enter it, or in fact to go up to the terrace. I have no idea how long this custom has been in practice. Hutchinson mentions it in 1951¹⁰ and I encountered it during my visits in the 1970s and 1980s. I would suspect it has to do with not wanting women's underclothes to be above the heads of any monks or Buddha images in the hall below, a strong prohibition in popular Thai belief.

One might, in looking at the ground-plans of the three temples, note that the east (main) entrance of the Pagan temple is very different from the entrances of the Bodhgaya and Chiangmai temples.¹¹ The Pagan entrance is made up of large abutments that are wider than the podium itself and are topped by four stupas. At one point these abutments must have supported a roof and façade of wood that is now lost, which would have given the temple a very different look than it has today. While this entrance is different from that of the Bodhgaya temple, Griswold argues that at one time the Bodhgaya temple's entrance was close in form to that of the Pagan temple.¹² The Indian temple's present entrance was reconstructed almost completely by Cunningham and Beglar in the late nineteenth century. It may be, indeed, that the Pagan temple, built about a century after Kyanzittha's mission was sent to repair the temple at Bodhgaya (that is, c. 1100), closely reflects what the Bodhgaya temple looked like after these repairs. Thus, we may be justified in using the temple at Pagan as the measure to determine how similar the present temple at Bodhgaya is to its twelfth-century form. And if so, we can conclude that the present form of the Bodhgaya temple is, with a few exceptions such as the east entrance, close to its twelfth-thirteenth century form.

Returning to the comparisons among the Bodhgaya, Pagan, and Chiangmai temples, we can point out another major difference in the Chiangmai temple: its exterior stucco decoration. Both the Bodhgaya and Pagan temples have basically the same organization and type of stucco decoration. (Here we can compare the present Pagan decoration with not only the present Bodhgaya decoration but also with the small sections of apparently thirteenth-century decoration revealed by Cunningham's excavations). On the podium there are three rows of niches filled with seated Buddha images, the larger ones in the bottom row, and separated from the upper two rows, whose niches are topped by *chaitya*-like arches, by decoration including swags and supporting figures. The obelisks are similarly divided into eight storeys, with niches and images in the lower storey, and so forth.

Figs. 1-3

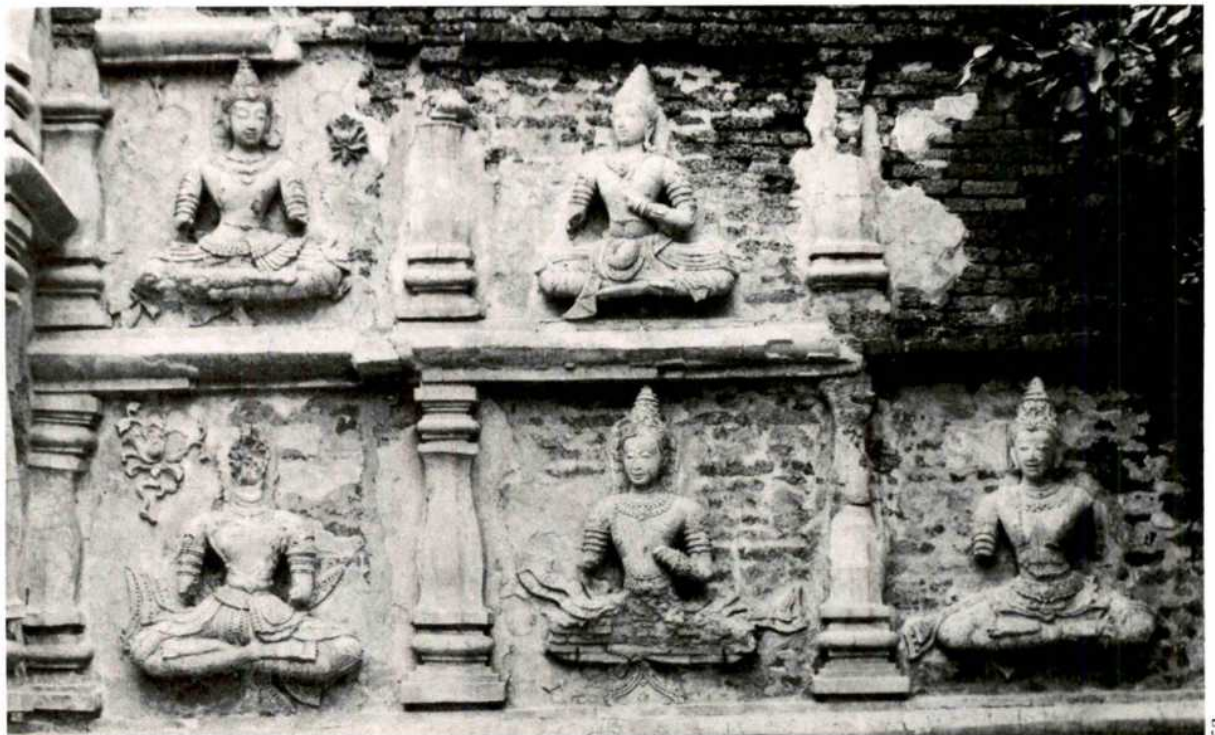
Figs. 4-6

Fig. 2

Fig. 1

the rather indiscriminate nineteenth-century Burmese restorations. Inscriptional evidence, however, tends to support the supposition. Kyanzittha's mission is mentioned in a Mon inscription from Prome, which says that because the temple of Sri Vajrasana (the Mahabodhi temple) had been "destroyed by other kings," Kyanzittha "got (together) jewels of divers kinds (and) set (them on) a ship with intent to build up the holy (temple) . . ."⁶ The inscription continues that the funds are to be used for supporting the upkeep and functioning of the temple as well, for digging a reservoir, cultivating rice-fields, supplying musical instruments, singing, dancing, and so on. There is no mention of sending Burmese to carry out any of these jobs, only of the funds to pay for them.

The inscription that mentions the second Burmese mission was found at Bodhgaya and states that the repairs were completed in 1295. It gives the names of two Burmese monks as comprising the mission, and says that they ran out of funds and had to appeal to a local Indian ruler for additional funding.⁷ Again, it appears likely that Burmese artisans were not being used. Cunningham reported finding Hindu masons' names on some of the bricks of the pinnacle of the central obelisk (which he considered reconstructed by the Burmese), and concluded that most of the workmen had been Hindus. But he also found one brick with a Burmese name.⁸ While no absolute conclusions are, I think, possible, we can say that the early Burmese-sponsored



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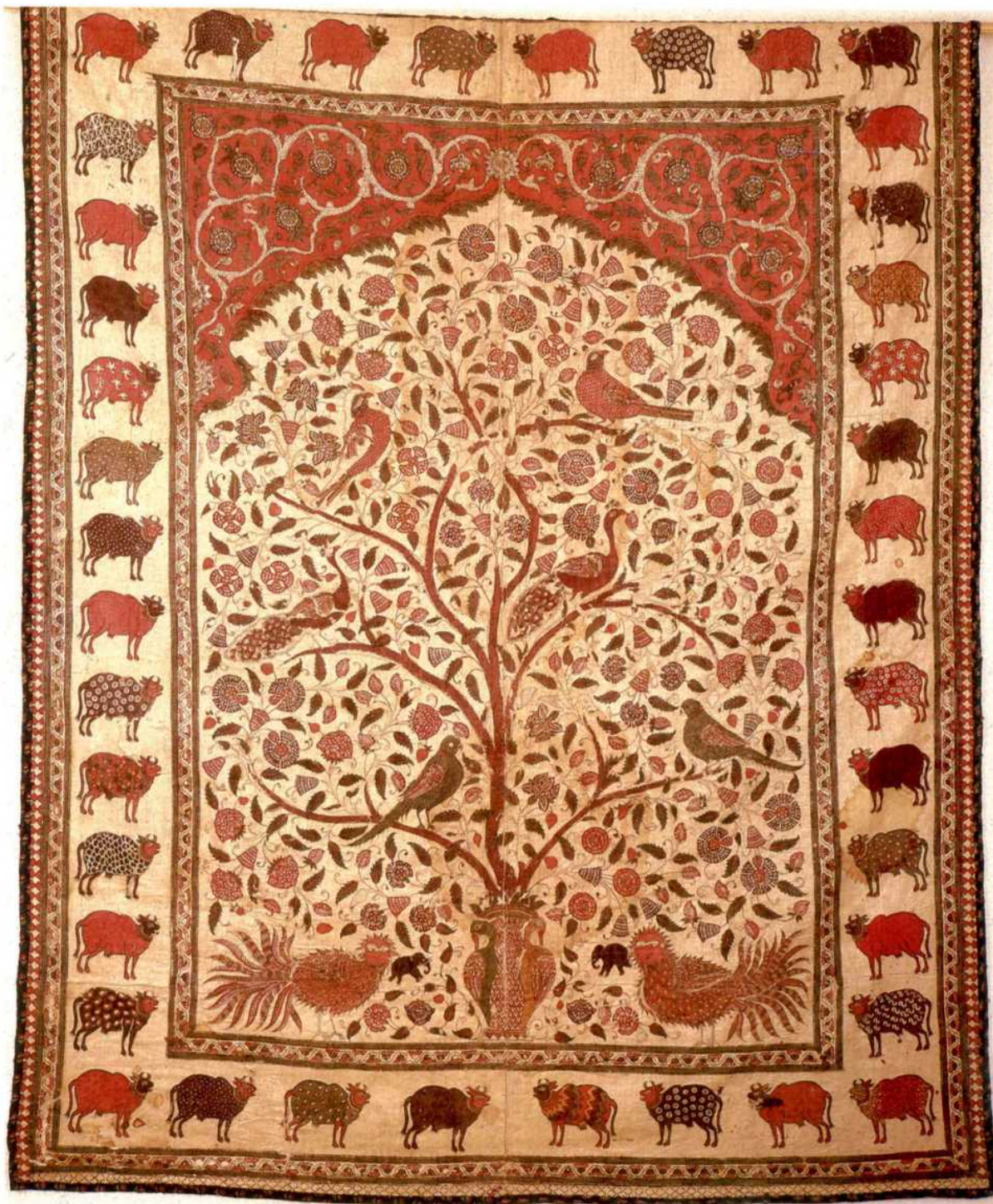


LEGENDARY THEMES OF WEAVERS AND DYERS —
TEXTILES OF INDIA AND PERSIA



Scarf. 19th century. Indonesia, Sumatra.
Silk-ikat and Songket. Entire piece:
height 234 cm. x width 83 cm. A.E.D.T.A.
Collection, Paris, no. 1242.



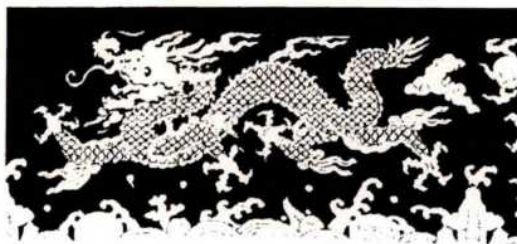


A hanging. 18th century. West India.
Painted and dyed cotton. Entire piece:
height 192 cm. x width 155 cm. A.E.D.T.A.
Collection, Paris, no. 2484.





*Kesa. AD 1877. Japan. Silk. Entire piece:
height 118.5 cm. x width 214.5 cm.
A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1418.*





*Detail of a fragment of a Kashmir shawl.
Late 17th century. India, Kashmir. Goat
fleece. Entire piece: height 45.3 cm. x
width 21.7 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection,
Paris, no. 1276.*





*Summer carpet. Late 17th century. India,
Bikaner. Cotton embroidered with silk
threads. Entire piece: height 211 cm. x
width 111.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection,
Paris, no. 2491.*





Legendary Themes of Weavers and Dyers—
Textiles of India and Persia

Volume XL No. 3

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Cover: Detail of a portion of a cotton hanging depicting the blooming lotus. First half of the 18th century. India, Palakollu. Entire piece: 120 cm. x 46.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2512. Photo: Archives of the A.E.D.T.A.



Qanat. 18th century. North of India.
Painted, printed and dyed cotton. Entire
piece: height 177 cm. x width 106 cm.
A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1154.

Preface

The Association for the Study and Documentation of Asian Textiles (A.E.D.T.A.), as its name implies, is a centre which was created to foster the study of and research in Asian textiles. Established in Paris in 1979, it has, over the years, added to its initial collection, widened its field of research, and, in collaboration with various museums and textile groups, has extended its scope of activities to many other countries.

The objective of the A.E.D.T.A. is to bring about an interest in handmade textiles of the past, not only because of their artistic value, but also to reveal as much as possible about the actual materials used and the cultures which produced them. The essence of the appreciation of textiles lies in understanding the nature of the materials and techniques employed and the uses to which the textiles were put. Whether we consider ceremonial fabrics intended for the court and the aristocracy, or humble fibres embellished for everyday popular use, that which strikes us first is the personal relationship of the craftsperson to the labour he has invested; this is manifest in the variety and vivacity of colours, the bold richness of patterns, the technical skills daringly made use of in order to achieve even apparently simple designs. The final visual impact is a reminder of generations of traditions and inventive skills which underly the ritual of textile production in Asia.

The A.E.D.T.A. collection consists of close to three thousand items, some dating from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Special strengths of the collection are a number of specimens belonging to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; several rare specimens can be traced back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It may not be immediately apparent why such an intense pursuit has been undertaken or why a collection of fabrics, amassed over more than four decades, governed by personal taste and fervour, has primarily concerned itself with the textile production of only a few Asian countries. It should be explained that such a selection necessitates concentrating on major geographical areas (although nearly every region is in some degree represented in the centre's collection). The focal point of the collection is India, a major influence on the rest of Asia, and, in turn, itself influenced by its neighbours.

The specific approaches which the contributors have adopted in their articles in most cases reflect this continuous interrelationship. The various themes treated in this volume — archaeology, religious iconography, weaving and dyeing techniques,

social and economic influences as well as comparisons with other art-forms—only serve to highlight the immense richness and enjoyment inherent in the study of textiles. In attempting to initiate a serious phase of scholarship, the A.E.D.T.A. is pursuing its mission to promote and increase the appreciation of Asian textiles through research, conferences and round-table discussions, loans to exhibitions, invitations to scholars and by means of a publication programme. I express my immense gratitude to Marg Publications for having given the contributors—many of whom are recognized specialists—this opportunity to present the results of their painstaking research.

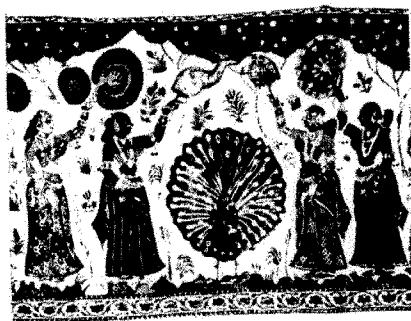
I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to the contributors who undertook the task of exploring so competently and meaningfully the cultural aspects and the aesthetic sensibilities which they found to be present in the textiles selected from the A.E.D.T.A. collection.

I feel especially indebted to our sub-editor Eileen Powis for patiently reading, editing and translating several articles and for giving uniformity to the ensemble of the contents.

Valérie Béristain, Marie-Hélène Guelton and Hélène Rérolle, staff members of the A.E.D.T.A., have helped considerably in the preparation of the manuscript and therefore deserve special mention and thanks.

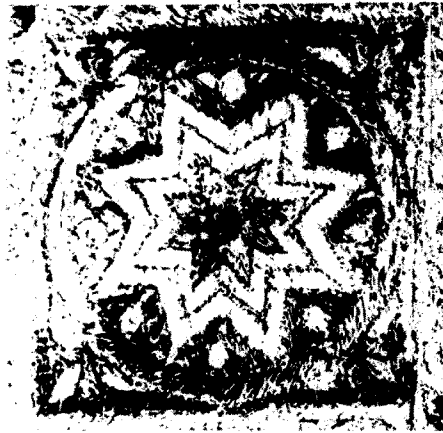
I would like to thank several photographer friends for having helped the A.E.D.T.A. from its early stages to compile its own archives of photographs, several of which have been reproduced in this volume. All photographs unless otherwise credited are the property of the A.E.D.T.A.

Krishna Riboud
President
A.E.D.T.A.



EARLY INDIAN TEXTILES, AND DYEING TECHNIQUES—
16th to 19th century

AN EARLY JAIN EMBROIDERY



Valérie Bérinstain

Among the earliest Indian textiles housed in the A.E.D.T.A. is a Jain embroidered panel of particular interest. This long narrow embroidered *puthia* was hung behind a platform where Jain religious leaders held their discussions. It dates from the sixteenth century and is definitely attributable to Gujarat, where the Jain religion prevailed at that time.

The textile is made of coarse cotton couched with *kusha* grass, considered sacred, and silk thread. The narrow band is divided into two parts, one on either side of a pointed star motif. Each part consists of four frames, every one of which contains a four-armed female figure seated in the manner of a tailor (*bhadrāsana*) under an arched portico (*torana*) made of *kusha* grass. A floral scroll surrounds the panel and sets off each of the eight frames.

The female figures are recognizable as the *Vidyadevis*. The cult of the *Vidyadevi*, personifications of a mantra, can be dated to the fifth century AD. According to accounts in the Jain text *Sanghadasagani*, two personages, Nami and Vinami, worshippers of Rsavanatha, undertook the building of two towns, north and south of the city of Vaitadhyā. To accomplish this, Nami and Vinami were aided by sixteen teams. Each team was led by a *Vidyadevi*, the principal leaders being Gauri and Prajnapati.

The sacred Jain texts accord each of the sixteen *Vidyadevis* a special iconography. Unfortunately, this iconography is not always followed in the arts, making it difficult to identify with precision these personages. Nevertheless, their accorded attributes and vehicles (*vahana*) provide adequate clues to the identities of the eight *Vidyadevis* depicted in this hanging. From the lowest frame upwards, we can venture to identify them according to the following official iconography:

Right side:

—Rohini. She protects the worshippers and her *vahana* is the cow. She has a white complexion and holds a bow and arrow.

—Prajnapati. She wards off misery and destroys demons. She has a white complexion and holds two spears.

—Vajrasinkala. Her *vahana* is the lotus. She has a golden complexion and holds a chain.

—Vajrankusi. Her *vahana* is the elephant and she holds two lances (*ankusi*).



1, 2 A Jain embroidery with a pointed star motif, and eight Vidyadevis on either side (details). 16th century. India, Gujarat. Cotton, silk and kusha grass. Entire piece: length 126 cm., width 15 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2381.

Left side:

— Achupta. She is pure and has a golden complexion. The horse is her *vahana* and she holds a sword, a shield and a bow and arrow.

— Manasi. The mother of all living beings. She has a blue complexion and holds two lotuses.

— Mahamanasi. The *gajasimha* (a lion with the head of an elephant) is her *vahana*. She has a golden complexion and holds a sword and a shield.

— Kali. She is always portrayed as all black.

In this piece the *Vidyadevis* are dressed in long skirts and cholis. The faces are rendered in profile with one of the eyes projecting. Crowns, jewels and aureoles are embroidered with *kusha* grass. The composition of the hanging is very close to the Western Indian school of painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The stylized manner of the embroidery and the presence of outlines drawn with charcoal suggest that a manuscript painter may have executed the design. The A.E.D.T.A. white cotton textile is worked with satin and stem stitches. The vegetal colours are: light blue, indigo, red, orange, white and green; some black threads outline the figures. Unfortunately, with the passage of time the few letters embroidered on it have become more or less undecipherable.

There is a similar embroidery at the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad (no. 983) but there are a few differences between the two pieces. Its crowns, complexions and attributes are not identical with the A.E.D.T.A. hanging, again suggesting liberty taken with the iconography in the Jain texts.

INGENIOUS TECHNIQUES IN EARLY INDIAN DYED COTTON



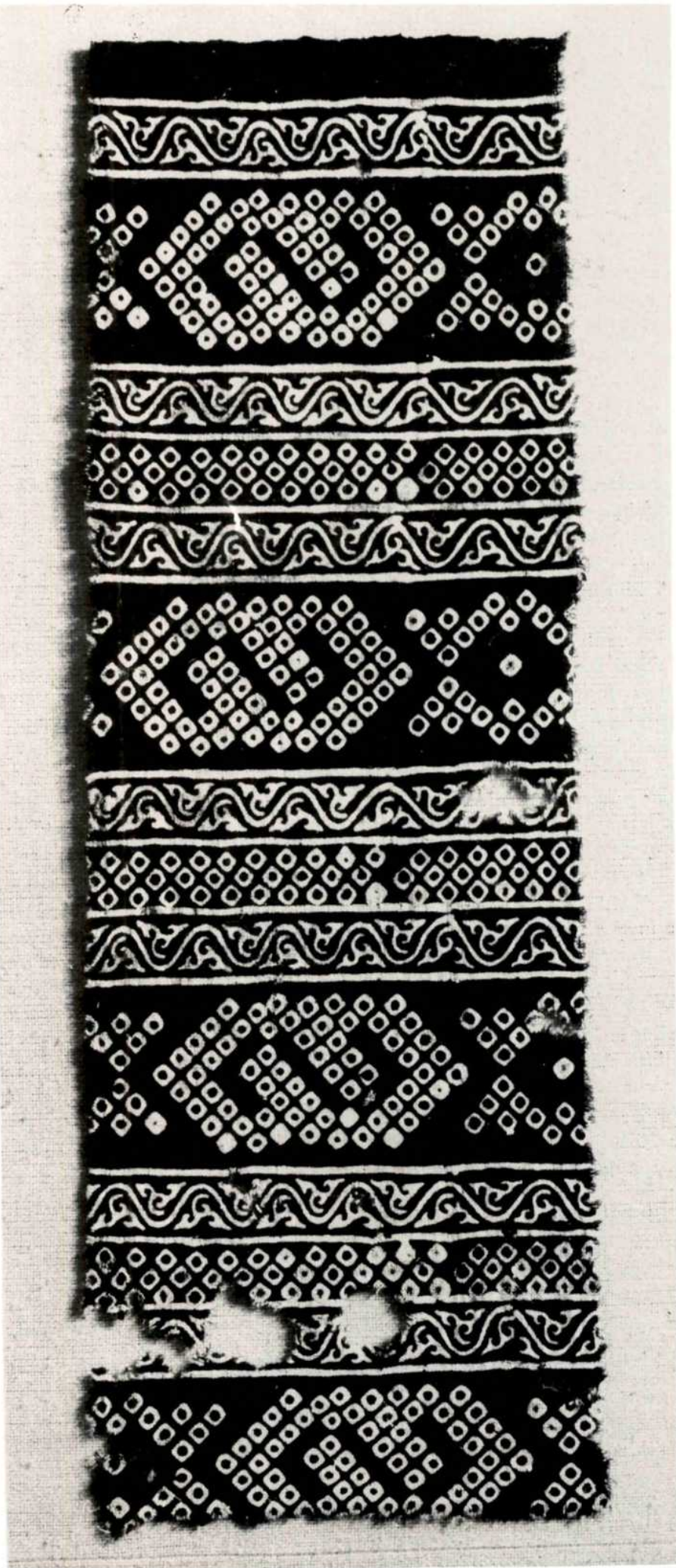
Mattiebelle Gittinger

Indian textiles were the coin of Asian trade by the sixteenth century and of world trade by the seventeenth. One historian has recently asserted that, “Without the constant demand for Indian cottons in particular, it would not have been possible for first Indian and then European traders to gain a foothold in Southeast Asia.”¹ Although to a lesser degree, demand also made Indian textiles critical elements in the earlier trade with the Levant and later with West Africa—where they were used to buy slaves, and with the West Indies—where they were used to clothe slaves.

While silks were part of this commerce, cotton textiles were of prime importance. They were the result of a production capability that had evolved and developed over centuries; one that involved the orchestration of many complex factors ranging from technical expertise to market adaptability. In the Old World, South Asia was endowed with a natural monopoly of the cultivation of cotton by the early evolution within the region of the perennial plant, *Gossypium arboreum*.² The restrictive growing conditions required by this early species of cotton granted the subcontinent over two millennia to gain the empirical knowledge of ginning, spinning, dyeing and weaving of fibres. When the advent of new annual species allowed the significant spread of cotton cultivation by the middle of the first millennium AD, the South Asians were already masters of the skills necessary for fabric production.

The colouring of this difficult cellulosic fibre was one of the most important accomplishments leading to trade supremacy in cotton cloth. Madder (*manjishtha*), indigo (*nili*) and orpiment (*rochana*) appear in the Sanskrit literature of the fifth century BC.³ These dyes, and others, were used to colour cloth by means of a range of patterning procedures, but those involving the use of mordants and resists on previously-woven cloth ultimately earned Indian cottons their fame. Although long a secret of South Asian dyers, the processes and techniques were eventually understood and were adequately described in literature. A summary of an eighteenth-century report only hints at the skills and knowledge that had been perfected.⁴ The cloth was soaked and partially bleached to remove filling substances and impurities. It was then worked with a solution prepared from myrobalan. This process was repeated but with the addition of a fatty substance—vegetable oil in the west and buffalo’s milk on the southern coast. Myrobalan contains tannin which later enhanced both the black and red, while the fat

1. A fragment of a cotton textile probably created in western India for the Al Fustat (Egypt) market. While not from an archaeological excavation, such a textile may date from the 15th century. The resist pattern was applied with a block, but imitates in style the more laborious bandhana process. Indigo vat-dyed. Entire piece: 14.5 cm. x 42 cm. The Textile Museum, Washington, DC 6.3000. The so-called Fustat textiles display the earliest evidence of the adaptation of designs of the more costly textiles to enable "mass production" in a comparatively less expensive mode.



worked into the fibres prevented the spread of the mordants. Mordants, usually metallic salts, combine with the colouring agent in certain dyes and bind the agent to the fibres. In India, iron acetate was used to fix black and alum served as the mordant to fix colours in the pink to red range when used in combination with an alizarin-bearing dye.

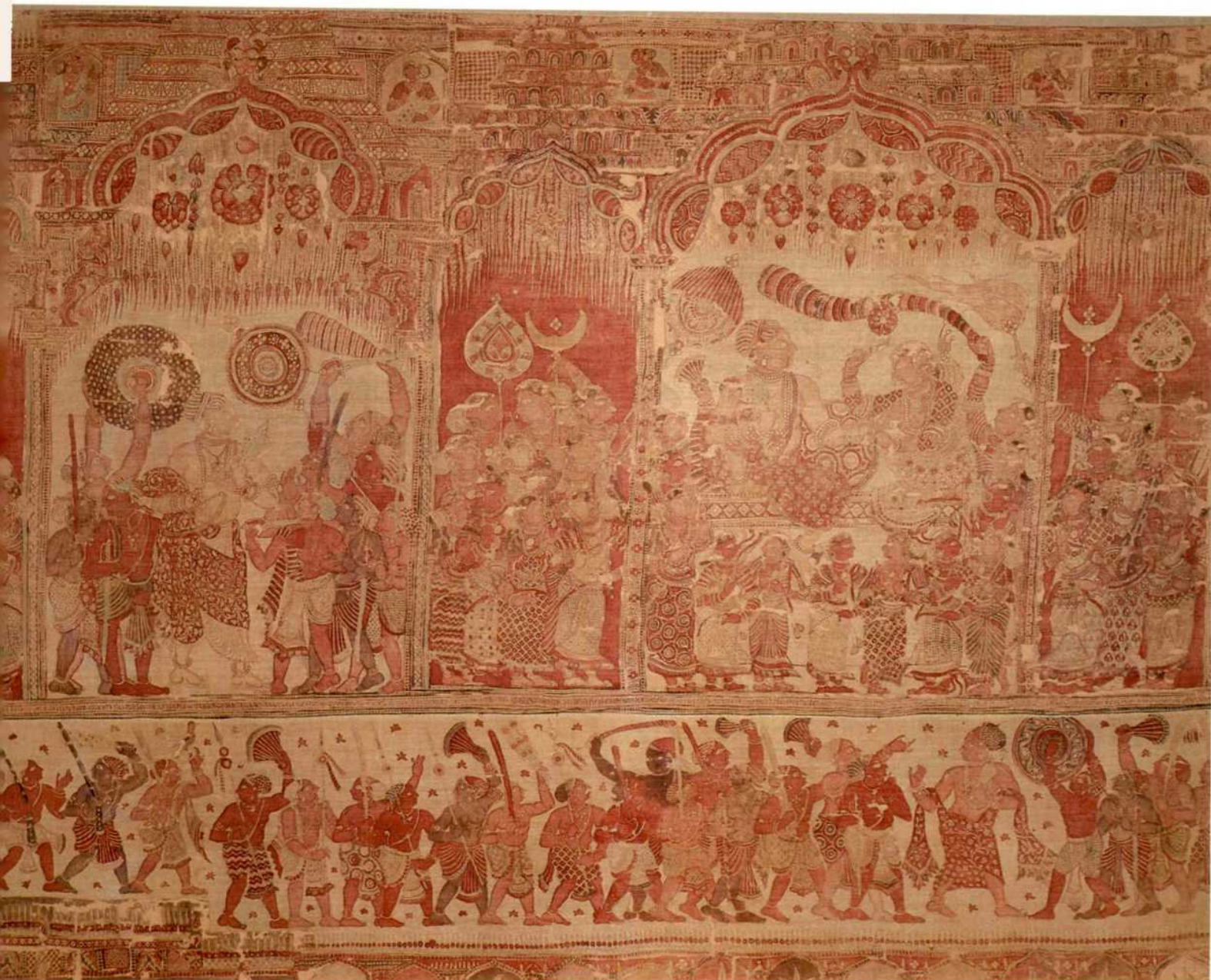
The cloth prepared with myrobalan was beaten and smoothed to prepare the surface for the design. This was drawn free-hand or made by pouncing charcoal dust through a stencil. These outlines were subsequently drawn over with iron acetate or alum with the aid of a *kalam* (pen) or brush. When the cloth was heated in an alizarin-bearing solution the alum areas became red while the black was fixed in the iron acetate areas. Where the two mordants were combined a violet colour emerged. For red dyes the plants most often used were madder (*Rubia tinctorum*), chay (*Oldenlandia umbellata*) and al (*Morinda citrifolia*). These dyes, yielding red and black, together with indigo, were the mainstay of the art, although additional processes and substances produced a spectrum of colours and hues that have delighted the world.

The cloth was washed and bleached with dung to remove the tannin. When clean, all the areas not meant to be blue or green were covered with wax and the cloth was immersed in a vat of indigo. Two, three or more cycles in this vat were needed for satisfactory blue colours. The wax was then boiled off and the alum processes repeated to effect additional details in the red to violet range. Bleaching and washing of the cloth once again removed the residuals. Finally, yellow dye made from turmeric was applied to particular blue areas where green was desired. The textile was then washed once more to complete the process.

When blocks carved with designs were used to pattern cloth, they could either replace the pen and brush entirely, or be used in tandem with these tools. Blocks could be used to apply the iron acetate or the alum, creating the outlines, the background colour and also the details within the forms. Blocks were also used to affix resist substances such as wax and, in parts of western India, a mud solution to the surface of the cloth. The resist could be used to prevent a mordant from affecting a given area, thus reserving a design, or to reserve an area from the penetration of the indigo. The orchestration of these techniques and dyes was the genius of the Indian craftsman.⁵

Being able to pattern cloth off the loom in durable fast colours created unique opportunities for the textile artisan. It allowed him to “mass produce” the designs associated with the more costly textiles in a comparatively cheap mode and to appropriate the themes and motifs of other artistic media for use in his own craft. Over a period of time, what was selected for adaptation varied widely and led to regional specializations, but it was the command over his own medium that gave the dyer this flexibility.

Fig. 1 The earliest evidence of this adaptation exists in the so-called Fustat textiles. These are fragments of Indian cottons which are believed to have come from the site of the ancient Egyptian capital of Al Fustat, now on the southern edge of modern Cairo. Although of uncertain date, but probably within the span of the eleventh to seventeenth centuries, these textiles show a range of designs including many from more costly cloths such as velvets, brocades and *bandhana*-patterned silks. In these coarsely-wrought Fustat textiles, obviously intended for the lower economic end of the market, a majority was patterned by using blocks to apply mordants or a resist substance. India's western regions seem to have provided these textiles. On India's southern or Coromandel Coast, here meant to designate the area from the Masulipatam region to Cape Comorin, other factors brought about a different development. Here, until the eighteenth century when the regional use of printing blocks began, brushes and the *kalam* were used to apply



2. A detail of a cotton hanging with scenes of celebration created in South India by drawn resists and mordants for red and black in association with red dye. Faint areas of blue remain where indigo was applied to the surface of the cloth. Probably last third of the 17th century. Entire piece: 155 cm. x 202 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2221. This is a very important piece and a splendid example of how successfully elements from other media, such as murals and illustrated manuscripts, had become amalgamated by the end of the 17th century.

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3. A portion of a cotton hanging depicting female devotees adoring Lord Krishna, represented here by the peacock in the centre. First half of the 18th century. India, Palakollu. Created by drawn resists and mordants for red and black and, in the borders, a printed mordant for red. After dyeing red and yellow, resists were applied and the textile dyed with indigo. Entire piece: 128 cm. x 53 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2423. Its design as well as that of the portion illustrated in figure 5 most probably derive from painted temple ceilings.

4. Detail of figure 3.



5. This depiction of male devotees adoring Lord Krishna, represented here by the blooming lotus, and figure 3 were undoubtedly once part of the same textile which seemingly had a Vaishnavite theme. Entire piece: 120 cm. x 46.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2512.

mordants and resists, giving the textile craftsman freedom to interpret directly not just design elements from other textiles but the themes and artistic conventions of the mural artist and the manuscript illustrator. It has been suggested that the need for religious hangings could have been originally responsible for the development of the skills involved in making large hangings and that subsequently these talents came to serve more secular commercial needs. There is evidence, however, that large figurative representations on cloth were known to be used at court in the early fourteenth century in Delhi, but it is not clear if these were dyed or painted with pigment.⁶ A report from a sixteenth-century visitor to the Vijayanagar court describes walls hung with cloths “adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery.”⁷ This is, again, an ambiguous statement and it is not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that we have tangible evidence of large dyed textile hangings.

Fig. 2 The hanging represented in figure 2 is a splendid example of how successfully these elements had become amalgamated by the end of the seventeenth century. In this, one of the most important Indian textile documents to have become available in the last sixty-five years, we are granted a glimpse of secular life in a South Indian court. The precise subject-matter remains elusive, but in general the scenes centre on a moment of opulence and celebration. Details suggest that Tanjore or Madurai may have been the locale of these festivities, which involve at least some of the followers of Vishnu in a joyous noble procession wending its way toward a palatial setting.⁸

In its framing device of cuspid arches hung with flowers, its zoned horizontal format and its implied narrative content, the hanging reveals a close interrelation of the mural and textile artist. When, additionally, the style of the figures and details of dress and ornament are compared with those in murals found at the Thiagarajaswamy temple in Thiruvavur and in the *Ramayana* paintings from a Deccani manuscript,⁹ we can see that the textile artist borrowed from these other media, or that artists were simultaneously involved in all of these art forms.

This type of free adaptation from murals and manuscripts was potentially within the grasp of textile artists elsewhere because the pen and brush used to apply mordants and resists that allowed this facility were also known in India's western areas. However, artisans in this region never seem to have achieved the high degree of craftsmanship or expertise in the use of these tools as artisans on the Coromandel Coast. The very great demand for patterned trade goods may have forced out the *kalam* in favour of the more productive block patterning method of work.

Figs. 3, 4, 5 The charm and elegance achieved on the Coromandel Coast may be seen in the eighteenth century pieces in figures 3 and 5. These two textiles undoubtedly were once elements of a single textile which seemingly had a Vaishnavite theme. In style and subject-matter they are related to textiles in the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad, the School of Arts, Madras, the Museum of Ethnography, Basel and in the Kanebo Collection, Osaka.¹⁰ In 1917 Hadaway assigned to the Madras textile a provenance of Palakollu and this most probably is the origin of the textiles in figures 3 and 5 and the related pieces as well. The organization of all but one of the larger textiles, showing a central medallion motif and figures oriented toward the sides of the large square, suggests that the textiles were designed to be temple canopies. Indeed, their designs most probably derive from painted temple ceilings.

Fig. 6 Also clearly in debt to the temple artist is the textile patterning of figure 6, portraying episodes from the *Ramayana*. The four superimposed registers and explanatory Telugu script reflect temple details and organizational styles. Surely the cloth was used as a temple hanging.

The four textiles shown in figures 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9 also bear witness to a technological

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6. A cotton fragment from a larger didactic hanging showing scenes from the Ramayana. 18th century. India, Palakollu. Drawn and painted mordants for red and black, dyed red and yellow. Indigo surface-applied, in a range of satisfying deep colours. Entire piece: 73 cm. x 70 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1501. The four superimposed registers and explanatory Telugu script reflect temple details and organizational styles.





7. The tailoring of this cotton padded coat suggests as much Persian as Indian fashion and the patterning is equally international. 19th century. Created with block printed and painted mordants, dyes and indigo both vat-dyed and surface-applied. Entire piece: 147.5 cm. x 120 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1277.



8. Detail of figure 7 showing a humorous blending of traditional Indian motifs and design elements derived from printed eighteenth-century European cottons patterned with "Eastern exotica."

Detail of a cotton fragment, once a part of a patka or head-dress, was patterned with blocks used to apply blue as well as other colours. Beginning of the 19th century. India, Sangner. Entire piece: 119 cm. x 90 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1452.



variation that may very well have resulted through the interaction of artists from different media. This involves the way indigo was used.

Indigo as it exists within the original plant will not dissolve in water. It must be changed into a form that can enter a solution and traditionally this was done by fermenting the cut indigo branches as well as their leaves. This produced a form of indigo, so-called white indigo, that could be dissolved in an alkaline solution. The Indians added lime to the dye in the vat to create this alkalinity. Cloth put in the vat absorbed the dissolved white indigo which immediately reverted to indigo blue when it was exposed to air. The oxidation of white indigo cannot be delayed long enough to allow the use of brushes or the *kalam* to apply it to the cloth surface. To effect blue indigo on a cloth the textile traditionally had to be immersed completely in the dye. This necessitated covering all areas in which blue was not desired with a substance such as wax that would resist the penetration of the dye. Covering minute details as well as large areas with the wax involved an intricate and costly step, but one that was necessary if blue were to be part of the spectrum.

There is evidence in some early seventeenth-century rumals that Indian dyers tried to find a means to avoid this vat dyeing stage. A medium shade of blue that was applied directly to the cloth surface appears in small areas of some of these textiles.¹¹ Because this occurs in textiles with designs of Persian influence, it may indicate that this type of experimentation was taking place in the Masulipatam region where these designs are thought to have been created. This, or a similar technology, must have spread quickly because the blue in the textile in figure 2, which probably dates from the last third of the seventeenth century, was also applied to localized areas only and the hanging was most probably made at a site other than that of the rumals. In these early phases this blue lacks saturation, but by the mid-eighteenth century dyers in centres such as Madras could effect darker shades and were combining vat dyeing and surface application of indigo on a given cloth.¹² The textile in figure 6 dating from the latter half of the eighteenth century completes the process, for here all the indigo was applied to the surface of the cloth in a range of satisfying, deep colours.

The ability to apply indigo to the cloth directly, as in these religious and secular hangings, became a factor in cottons patterned for clothing as well. The textiles in figures 7 and 9 are examples of types of patterning done at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Indigo has been applied with the aid of a brush or similar implement in figure 7 and by blocks to create the floral heads in figure 9.

Other than the evidence contained in the textiles themselves, there is, at present, little information on the technology of the direct application of indigo, or its development in India. The colours and their relative degree of saturation—from a very light, almost aqua colour, to a dark blue—suggest two levels of development. The first level of development is evidenced in a few textiles dating from the seventeenth century, as exemplified in figure 2. This may have resulted from the use of what is known as “pencil blue,” which in 1887 was described as follows:

Under the name of *Pencil Blue* an indigo preparation has been a long time in use, consisting of ground indigo, caustic soda or potash, and orpiment, when indigotin is speedily reduced to the indigo white, and can be printed on the cloth, but the result is not always satisfactory owing to the avidity of the indigo white for oxygen, and conversion into the blue; but the method has been long in use among the eastern nations, for applying reduced indigo on the fibre by means of the pencil.¹³

This pencil blue was first used in Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century in early attempts to print indigo on cloth. It was superseded by other techniques by the end of the century because the arsenic in the orpiment was harmful to the workers.

The elements inherent in the development of pencil blue were all present on the Indian subcontinent and it may be that economic conditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought them into a realizable focus. Indian manuscript illuminators, at least as early as the twelfth century, used indigo to produce blue as well as orpiment, a sulphide of arsenic, and combined the two to obtain green. They also mixed orpiment with a gum Arabic solution, which was an element of pencil blue.¹⁴ When this class of artisan was dispersed after the end of the Vijayanagar empire and the ensuing lack of available royal sponsorship, many must have had to diversify into the textile area, taking their occupational skills with them. Certainly the style of figure 2 and the *Ramayana* manuscript of a slightly later date¹⁵ suggests that by the end of the seventeenth century artists in these media were working closely together or the same artists were working in both media. While painting involves placing pigments on a surface, and is thus not the dyer's art, the reductive capabilities of the orpiment on the indigo would have served the dyer's needs. It is entirely possible that one of the developments to have emerged

from this necessary association of the pigment painter and the dyer is what is now termed “pencil blue.”

It would seem that the blue in the cottons of figures 6, 7 and 9, as the colours are so very much more saturated, represents a different technology. It may be that some of the changes that occurred in indigo dyeing in Europe found their way to India, but Indian dyers obviously continued to explore their own means of printing with indigo. An anonymous report in the *Journal Oeconomique* of 1752 suggests some of this experimentation. It speaks of an Indian block-printing technique for cotton which utilized a thick ink-like paste made from rice starch, indigo and spike oil. It adds, “There are experienced and skilled workers with a steady enough hand to draw the lines of the pattern on the cloth with a brush without having to use the mould.”¹⁶ The process of printing was successfully replicated by experimenters at the Musée de l’Impression sur Etoffes, Mulhouse, using crushed indigo and spike oil on a copperplate.¹⁷

These are deductions based solely on visual analysis of the textiles and other factors, yet to be determined, may well alter these conclusions. Chemical analysis is necessary to write the next chapter of this aspect of Indian textile history, but the suggestion opens questions concerning not just Indian technology, but the origins of the printing of indigo on textiles as well.

NOTES

1. A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 80.
2. A. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) discusses the early occurrence of *Gossypium* in the Old World.
3. V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Panini* (Banaras: Prithvi Kumar, 1963), pp. 209, 231.
4. P. R. Schwartz, “French Documents on Indian Cotton Painting” in J. Irwin and P. R. Schwartz, *Studies in Indo-European Textile History* (Ahmedabad: Calico Museum of Textiles, 1966), pp. 76 ff.
5. L. Varadarajan, *South Indian Traditions of Kalamkari* (Ahmedabad: National Institute of Design, 1982), gives an excellent description of present-day practices of dyers in comparison with traditional techniques.
6. S. Digby, “The literary evidence for painting in the Delhi Sultanate,” *American Academy of Benaras, Bulletin* (Benaras, 1967), I:55.
7. Domingo Paes in R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1900), p. 264.
8. A more detailed description of this textile appears in M. Gittinger, *Master Dyers to the World* (Washington, D. C.: The Textile Museum, 1982), pp. 121 ff. and in L. Varadarajan, “The A.E.D.T.A. Collection of Indian Painted and Printed Textiles,” *Study of a Painted Textile from the A.E.D.T.A. Collection* (Paris: A.E.D.T.A. private publication, 1986), pp. 20 ff.
9. L. Varadarajan (ibid., 1986) has suggested the mural relationship. The Deccani manuscript is illustrated in J. Mittal, *Andhra Paintings of the Ramayana* (Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh Lalit Kala Akademi, 1969).
10. In the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad these are textiles 356 and 1001 illustrated in J. Irwin and M. Hall, *Indian Painted and Printed Fabrics* (Ahmedabad: Calico Museum, 1971), pls. X, 44, 45. The Museum of Ethnography, Basel, textile Ila 7805 was first published in M. L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, *Golden Sprays and Scarlet Flowers, Traditional Indian Textiles from the Museum of Ethnography, Basel, Switzerland* (Kyoto, 1986), fig. 118. No number is available for the Madras example; it is illustrated in W. S. Hadaway, *Cotton Painting and Printing in the Madras Presidency* (Madras, 1917), fig. 53. The Kanebo Collection textile is pictured in A. Sansone, *Sarasa No Sekai-ten* (Kobe: Municipal Museum of Kobe, 1984).
11. I would like to thank my colleague Ms. Nobuko Kajitani of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for initially drawing my attention to this detail in that museum’s textile 28.159.2, in 1982.
12. This is an aspect of M. Gittinger’s current research, which will be published in the future.
13. A. Sansone, *The Printing of Cotton Fabrics* (Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son, 1887), p. 296.
14. M. Chandra, *Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India* (Ahmedabad: Sarabhai Manilal Nawab, 1949), pp. 83-84.
15. J. Mittal, op. cit.
16. P. R. Schwartz, op. cit., p. 119.
17. Ibid., p. 121. Spike oil derives from *Lavandula latifolia*, a plant that resembles true lavender but has a harsher, more camphor-like odour. It may originate in the western Mediterranean countries, but is listed by I. H. Burkill, *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1935), 11: 1323, as growing from the Canary Islands to north-western India.

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EARLY INDIAN TEXTILES DISCOVERED IN EGYPT



Valérie Bérinstain

According to ancient Indian and Western accounts, India has always played a leading part in the field of textiles. The great variety of its sumptuous textiles, as renowned for the quality of the material as for the diversity of the motifs, has contributed to the reputation of the Indian subcontinent. As far as is known though, at the present time, there are no extant textiles found in India that can be certifiably dated prior to the sixteenth century. This is owing to climatic conditions as well as the fact that articles of clothing were generally disposed of after the death of their owners.

In 1936, R. Pfister¹ brought to light earlier Indian cotton textiles however, which had been discovered in Egypt. Pfister dated the majority of these printed or resist-dyed fragments from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. These pieces are commonly known as the Fustat textiles. This name stems from the fact that the late nineteenth-century Cairo dealers, who sold them to collectors, claimed that they were found among the ruins of the old capital, Al Fustat, situated in modern-day Cairo's suburbs.

Today, all that remains of Al Fustat is waste-land. However, during the eighth and ninth centuries, Al Fustat was a celebrated Egyptian capital that played an important role in trade between the East and West. During the tenth century it gradually lost its supremacy and, in AD 1169, was partially destroyed by the crusading armies of Amaury the First, King of Israel. During the following centuries Al Fustat tried to regain its previous economic position, but was quickly supplanted by the new capital of Cairo.

Pfister's attribution of the Fustat textiles to India is based chiefly on the printing techniques used as well as the style of ornamentation of the cotton fabrics. He deduced that the majority of these textiles was made in the province of Gujarat between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the rest being produced later.

Subsequent studies by M. Gittinger, J. Irwin and M. Hall² corroborated the fact that most, if not all, of the Fustat textiles actually came from Gujarat. The region was famous for its printed cotton textiles and produced the majority of those known during the period in question. The Fustat fabrics, however, still pose problems about their precise dates as well as their site of discovery. Even if studies confirm a Gujarat provenance, it is difficult to pin-point the precise area from which the pieces were excavated. In fact so far, no printed fabrics have been discovered in Al Fustat itself,³ and the only textiles found there are of Middle East provenance and date, for the most

"Fustat" textile fragment. 15th century (?). India, probably Gujarat, found in Egypt. Cotton; block-printed resist, painted mordants, dyed two shades: red and brown. Entire piece: length 18 cm., width 18 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1540. This piece is particularly interesting, first from the technical point of view and second for its iconography based on eight sacred geese or hamsas around a floral motif (lotus).



Jain manuscript painting which demonstrates the presence of the hamsa in a medium other than textiles. Late 15th century. India, Gujarat. Paper and pigments. Private Collection. (To be compared with figure 1).



3. Large piece of fabric. 18th century (?). India, found in Indonesia (Sulawesi) among Toraja tribes. Coarse cotton; block-printed resist, painted mordants, dyed two shades: reddish and maroon. Entire piece: length 234 cm., width 95.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2902. It has exactly the same design and motifs as figure 1, and its relatively good condition allows the measurement of the dimensions of each print block. (To be compared with figure 1).



4. "Fustat" textile fragment. 16th century (?). India, probably Gujarat, found in Egypt. Cotton; block-printed resist, painted mordant, dyed red. Entire piece: length 10.5 cm., width 19 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1357. This is ornamented with stylized stems and leaves on a red ground, using the same techniques as figure 1.



part, from the eleventh century.⁴ Until new discoveries confirm the exact location of these printed cotton fabrics, it is preferable to refer to them as the "Fustat" textiles.

The majority of these fragments is made of coarse cotton and, excluding a few on which human and zoomorphic figures appear,⁵ most of the ornamentation consists of geometric patterns of Islamic origin. Some of these non-figurative motifs have often been compared with stone screens (*jalis*) found in Gujarat,⁶ a kingdom in which Muslim suzerainty had been established since the late eighth century.

Two types of printing techniques have been employed. Some of the textiles are decorated with a resist-dye applied with a block or by hand. Others are printed with mordants employing a block or brush.⁷ A.E.D.T.A. piece no. 1540 is particularly interesting, first from the technical point of view and second for its iconography based on eight sacred geese or *hamsas* grouped around a floral motif (lotus). Fig. 1

The craftsman has used both of the techniques described above to produce this piece. The mordants, essential to the dyeing, were applied to the cloth. However, before applying the alum and iron mordants, the outlines of the motifs were stamped by block-printing, using resist paste to prevent the mordants from adhering to the outlines. Afterwards, the two mordants were applied to the cloth which was then immersed in an alizarin bath.

The *hamsa* is not a new ornamental subject. It was common during the Gupta period, and appears in Ajanta Cave No. 1 which dates from the sixth century. Moreover, it often appears in Jain illustrated manuscripts made in Gujarat and chiefly dating from the fifteenth century.⁸ In the centuries that followed, this design seems to have disappeared from the traditional Indian iconography. Fig. 2

This fragment does not allow us to determine the exact size of the block used and the number of motifs it contained. At first sight, the composition appears to be made chiefly of two geese and half of a floral motif. Other fragments with a similar composition are also known.⁹ However, a large fragment of a textile of Indian origin discovered among the Toraja tribes in Sulawesi (Indonesia)¹⁰ has exactly the same design and motifs, even though it was probably manufactured in the eighteenth century. Because the Sulawesi piece (A.E.D.T.A. no. 2902) is in relatively good condition, the dimensions of each print block can be measured: height, 14 cm. x width, 10 cm. The pattern is composed of two pairs of geese, a half rosace, one palmette and one non-identifiable motif. If the "Fustat" fragment is compared with the Sulawesi specimen, the qualities of the two pieces are very different. The Sulawesi piece is made of coarse cotton¹¹ and the execution of the dyes is not precise. Before the cloth was immersed in the alizarin bath, the two mordants, iron and alum, were roughly applied. Because the outlines are not precise, the result is a poorly printed textile. In fact, the feet of the geese are occasionally missing altogether and the legs resemble stumps. Fig. 3

A.E.D.T.A. fragment no. 1357¹² is ornamented with stylized stems and leaves on a red ground using the same techniques as no. 1540. This floral device, along with the geometric motifs, is the most frequently-used pattern. A.E.D.T.A. fragments nos. 1352, 1354 and 1356 are also decorated with non-figurative motifs.¹³ The patterns are mainly blue on a white ground. The resist medium was wax or mud, which was applied before immersing the textile in a vat of indigo. Fig. 4

Of the earlier pieces, only A.E.D.T.A. nos. 1353 and 1356 are ornamented with blue and red patterns. A.E.D.T.A. no. 1356 has a blue and white field and a red border. For this item, the craftsman first dipped the fabric in indigo, covering the pattern and the borders with a resist medium. Then, after removing the wax by plunging the cloth in boiling water, alum was applied with a block to the borders before immersing the textile in an alizarin bath. Thus the red colour penetrated only those Figs. 5, 6, 8

5. "Fustat" textile fragment decorated with non-figurative motifs. 16th century (?). India, probably Gujarat, found in Egypt. Cotton; block-printed resist, dyed in blue. Entire piece: length 12.5 cm., width 23 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1354.



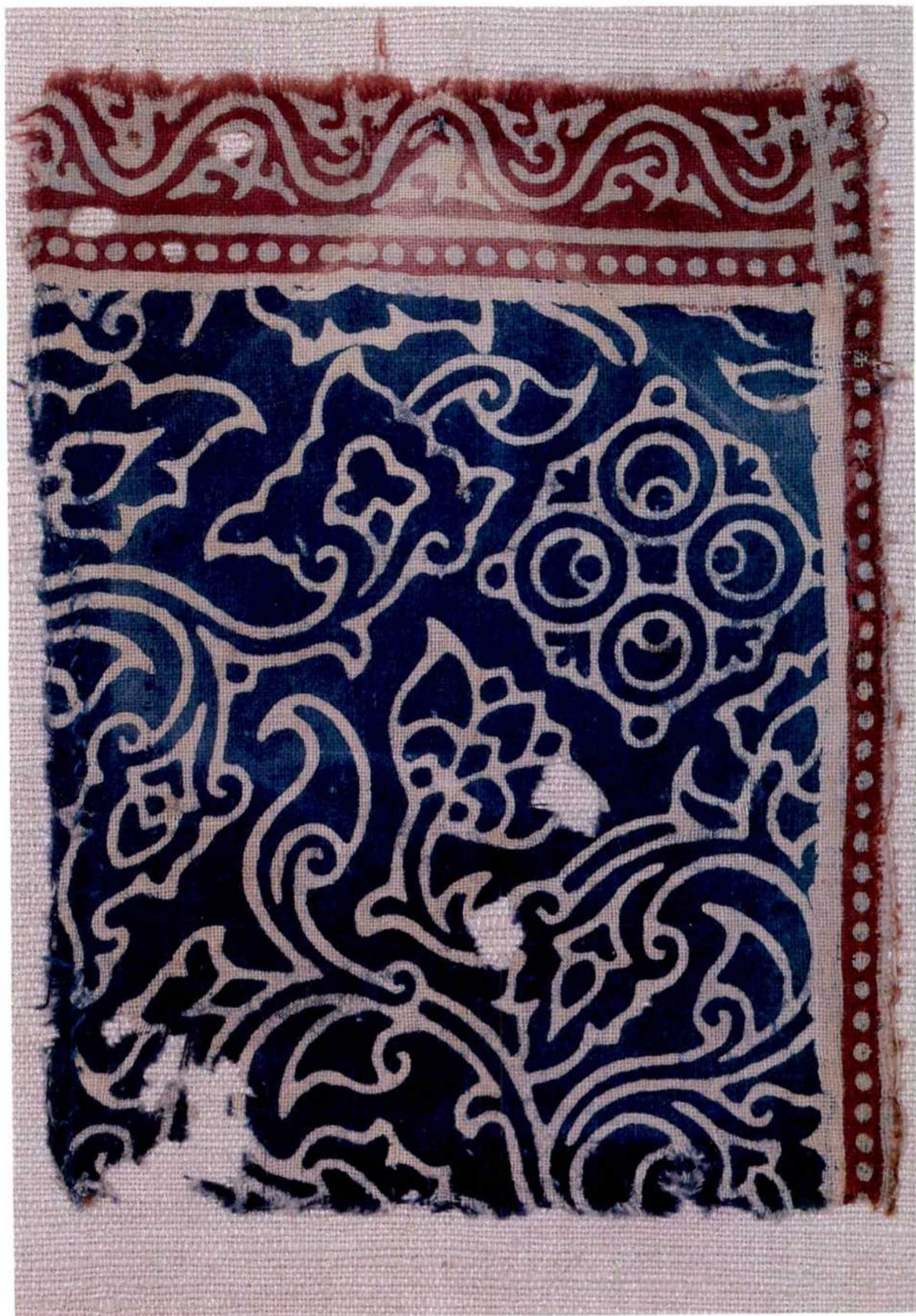
6. "Fustat" textile fragment decorated with non-figurative motifs. 15th-16th century (?). India, probably Gujarat, found in Egypt. Cotton; block-printed resist, dyed in blue. Entire piece: length 14.5 cm., width 14.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1352.



7. "Fustat" textile fragment decorated with non-figurative motifs. 16th century (?). India, probably Gujarat, found in Egypt. Cotton; stamped mordant and resist dyed, blue and red. Entire piece: length 13.5 cm., width 11 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1353.



8. "Fustat" textile fragment decorated with non-figurative motifs. 16th century (?). India, probably Gujarat, found in Egypt. Cotton; stamped mordant and resist dyed, blue and red. Entire piece: length 10 cm., width 13.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1356.



9. "Fustat" textile fragment. End of the 18th century. India, probably Gujarat, found in Egypt. Cotton; stamped and drawn resist and painted mordants, dyed different shades of red and blue. Entire piece: length 20 cm., width 20.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1355. The ornamentation consists of elaborate medallions with floral stems on a blackish-blue ground; the blue dye appears to have been applied with a brush.



it is likely that printed textiles, such as the "Fustat" ones, were bartered by Egyptian traders for precious metals, including gold from Sudan.²⁵ On this particular topic, K. N. Chaudhuri²⁶ remarks that between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries Jews from different countries, specially from Tunisia, Andalusia and Sicily, traded along the coasts of western India, Aden and Al Fustat. It may thus be possible that Al Fustat, in spite of its economic decline, remained an important trading post.

Although the studies²⁷ cited have answered many questions, the "Fustat" textiles remain an intriguing subject both in the context of art and socio-economic history. Until other facts are brought to light, these textiles must still be considered as among the oldest known from the Indian subcontinent.

NOTES

1. R. Pfister, *Les toiles imprimées de Fostat et de l'Hindoustan* (Paris, 1936).
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4. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
5. M. Gittinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 46, 47, 52.
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7. J. Irwin and M. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
8. S. Kramrisch, *Painted Delight* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 3.
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20. M. Lombard, *op. cit.*, p. 174. The writer remarks that intense activity existed in the Egyptian textile workshops during the Middle Ages. They exported their production. A.B. Bahgat, *Les manufactures d'étoffes en Egypte au Moyen Age* (Le Caire, 1904).
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FABRICS FROM MUGHAL INDIA
AND SOME PERSIAN COUNTERPARTS—
16th to 19th century

THE HINDU AND MUSLIM ELEMENTS OF MUGHAL ART WITH REFERENCE TO TEXTILES



Mark Zebrowski

The Islamic invasion of India in the twelfth century resulted in a forceful encounter between dissimilar cultures and artistic traditions. Islam had evolved a sharply defined body of religious practice and social custom, clearly spelled out in the *Qur'an* and the *Hadith* (the collection of the traditional sayings and deeds of the Prophet), conditioned by a belief in the all-powerful, indivisible nature of God. Hinduism, on the other hand, had an inexhaustible capacity for metaphysical speculation, accepting as potentially valid a wide diversity of religious experience and social behaviour.

Pre-Islamic Indian art presents a corresponding plethora of imagery, sensuously marrying human figures to those of animals and plants, all rendered in poses of graceful but dramatic movement. Hindu temples were covered with massive nudes or sinuously twisting tropical plants, the stone dramatically undercut in baroque high relief. Mural painting, as at Ajanta, presents similar nudes, whose fleshiness is intensified by shading and highlights. Even the shape of the few surviving decorative objects from the pre-Muslim period often resembles bursting ripe fruit or luxurious flowers. The visual effect is a joyous celebration of life in all its plenitude.

Islamic art differs in its heightened sense of discretion. Beauty is presented not with the Hindu exuberance but with a bitter-sweet reticence. The representation of living things, particularly man, is regarded with disfavour. The *Qur'an* says nothing on the subject, but, according to the *Hadith*, the Prophet stated that no angel would enter a house where images are kept.¹ Moreover, the artists responsible for images would be asked, on the day of judgement, to give life to their creations and, if they failed to do so, would be severely punished, for the fashioning of living creatures is Allah's prerogative.²

Although it is unclear whether the Prophet was referring to religious idols or to figurative imagery of any kind, a prejudice against both arose in orthodox Muslim circles. This had at least four important consequences for the arts of the Middle East and of India during the Sultanate and Mughal periods. Firstly, sacred structures—mainly mosques and madrasas—were generally austere with considerably less architectural ornament than palaces or other secular buildings. Secondly, ornament in all the arts was aniconic, that is, it shunned animal or human figures and relied instead on geometric, vegetal or calligraphic themes (in Islamic India the second was

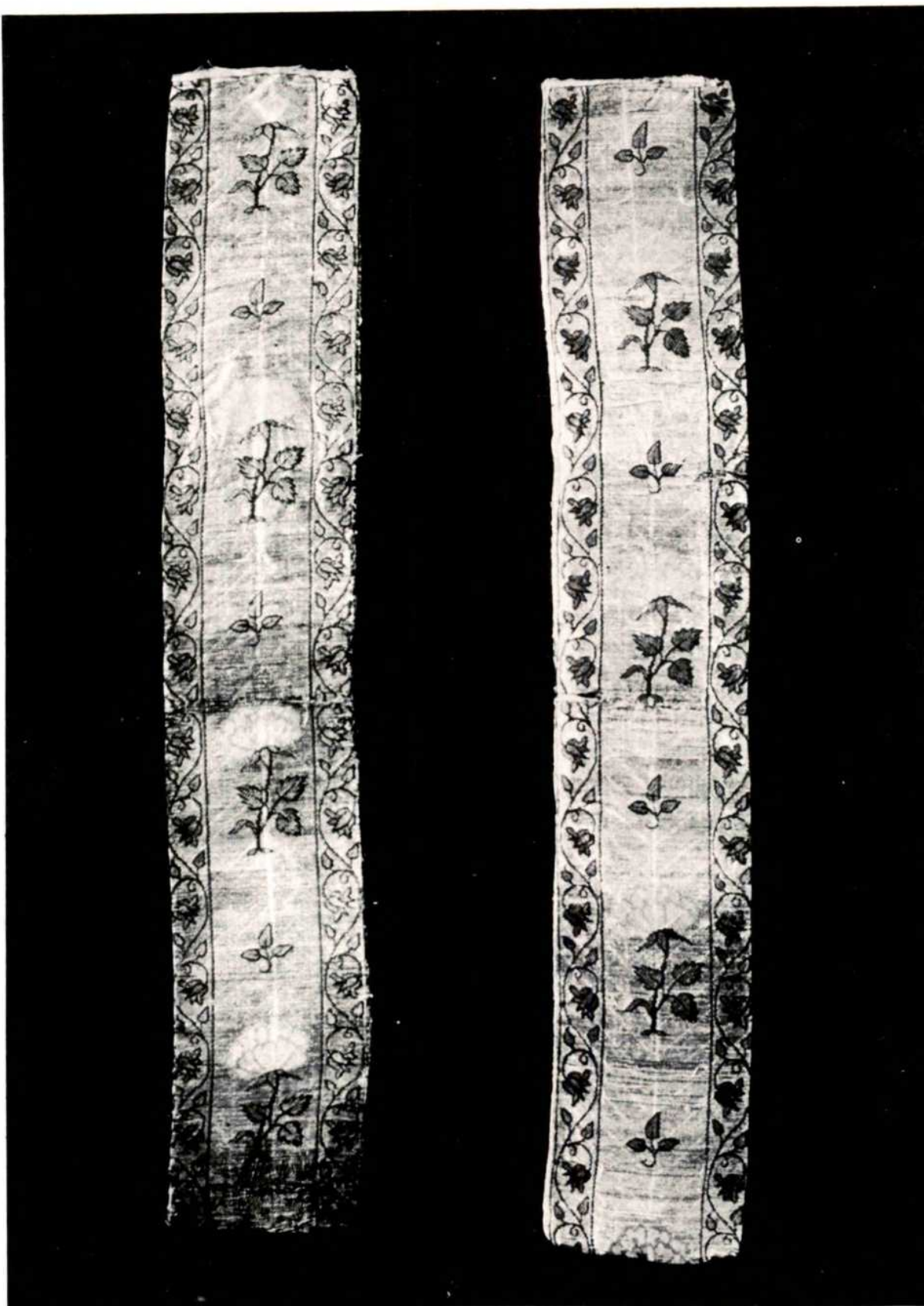


1. Talismanic shirt with all, or nearly all, of the Qur'an written in naskhi script. 15th or early 16th century. India, Sayyid or Lodi Sultanate. Mainly red, blue and gold painted on cotton. Entire piece: 61 cm. x 96 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2765. The colours and the arrangement of the ornament, though orthodox, recall the illumination of Jain illustrated manuscripts.

most favoured). Thirdly, figurative painting, whether in Turkey, Iran or India, was generally commissioned for books or for albums, and was therefore discreetly hidden from the vulgar gaze (which it would have offended at its own peril) behind the covers of a volume. So figurative painting was not only a *private* art, to be enjoyed as we would open and enjoy a book, but also a *princely* art, for only a prince was powerful enough to flout popular prejudices against it. Fourthly, all figures and motifs were highly stylized, sometimes to the point of abstraction, so that they would not be mistaken for *real* plants, animals or people, in keeping with the Prophet's words. Gradually, as will be seen, the Hindu taste for rounded, fleshy shapes influenced imported Islamic forms, but the four abovementioned characteristics of *austerity*, *aniconism*, *discretion* and *stylization* always conditioned the Hindu-Muslim synthesis.

The earliest Islamic textile from India in the A.E.D.T.A. collection is a talismanic shirt. In it, as in all objects from the early phase of Indo-Islamic art, the decoration is most self-consciously Islamic, scrupulously avoiding anything from the indigenous tradition (only later when Islam was more firmly ensconced in the subcontinent did indigenous ways of seeing and designing reassert themselves). Only one other Indian talismanic shirt is known, in a private collection, so similar that it must be from the same workshop and period, that is, Sultanate, fifteenth or early sixteenth century.³ Both pieces are of naturally stiffened cotton with all, or nearly all, of the *Qur'an* written in the *naskhi* script, arranged according to chapters in square panels, and with the ninety-nine names of God and holy sayings in gold Bihari script. The colours are mainly red, blue and gold, and roundels and elegant cartouches abound. These colours and the arrangement of the ornament, though orthodox, recall the illumination of Jain illustrated manuscripts, as well as that of a now widely dispersed fifteenth-century Sultanate *Qur'an*.⁴ The closest parallels, however, are architectural: the cut plaster calligraphic and geometric ornament, painted identical shades of red, blue and gold, of the tombs at Delhi of the Sultans of the Sayyid (AD 1414-1451) and Lodi (AD 1451-

Fig. 1



2. Two farman envelopes.
c. AD 1630-1640.
India, probably Mughal.
Silk and gold brocade,
with salmon-pink
blossoms and green
foliage. Entire piece:
33 cm. x 5 cm.
A.E.D.T.A. Collection,
Paris, nos. 2607, 2607
bis. These are splendid
examples of the craze
for flowers during that
period.

1526) dynasties, particularly the interior of the dome of the tomb of Sultan Muhammad Sayyid (AD 1444).⁵

There is a group of talismanic shirts in the Topkapi Saray Palace, Istanbul, made for princes and sultans of the Ottoman dynasty, dating from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both the Turkish and Indian examples were worn in battle for magical protection either under or over body armour.⁶ The A.E.D.T.A. piece was probably made for a prince of the Sayyid or Lodi house.

Taste in India changed radically with the establishment of the Mughal dynasty (AD 1526), turning away from the abstract and calligraphic designs of the Sultanates towards an all-engrossing fascination with flowers. Buds and blossoms were used

3. Reverse side of
figure 2.





4. Garment piece decorated with poppies. Second half of the 17th century. Mughal. Silk brocade. Entire piece: 76 cm. x 52 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2383. Both as a flower and as a decorative motif, the Mughals doted on the poppy.



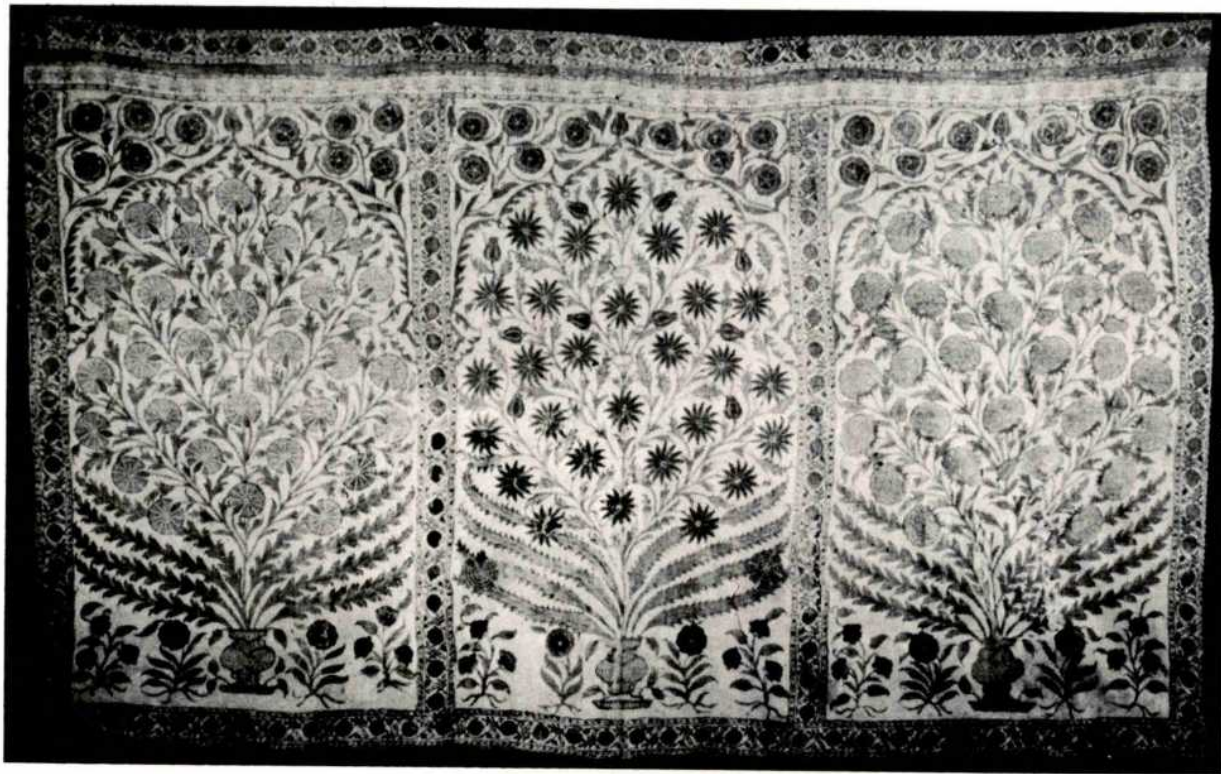
5. Details of figure 4.

6. Cushion cover decorated with irises. Second half of the 17th century. Mughal. Cotton muslin, embroidered with silk, in pink and blue-green. Entire piece: 124 cm. x 135 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2606. The irises in this cover typify the innate indigenous taste for rounded, full shapes.

7. Detail of figure 6.



8. Part of a tent. Late 17th or early 18th century. India, northern Deccan, Khandesh, Burhanpur. Cotton stencilled, block printed, painted and dyed. White ground, with red, blue and pink shades. Entire piece: 107 cm. x 169 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2604.



frequently during the reign of Akbar the Great (AD 1556-1605) but it seems to have been his son Jahangir (AD 1605-1626) who first demanded floral motifs in all the arts he commissioned, a taste continued by his descendants. He was fascinated both with the wonderful spring flowers of his beloved Kashmir as well as with the European herbals which were being introduced into India during that period.⁷ It appears that both Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey were obsessed with floral decoration at the time, but taste in neither country went so far in this direction (that is, to the near exclusion of abstract and calligraphic ornament) as in Mughal India.

Figs. 2, 3 Two silk and gold *farman* cases, datable to AD 1630-1640, are splendid examples of this flower craze. On one side salmon-pink roses float on a glittering gold ground, while on the other there is a graceful meander of tulips. Royal proclamations and official letters were rolled up and inserted into these cloth containers, a delightful way of receiving important correspondence, though these garden-flower envelopes could also cruelly belie tragic news within.⁸

Figs. 4, 5 While the contemporary Ottoman Sultans of Turkey loved the tulip, both as a flower and as a decorative motif, the Mughals doted on the poppy. A large piece of silk brocade presents elegant, long-stemmed examples, designed by a master painter who, when not executing Mughal paintings,⁹ would have supplied patterns for the imperial textile workshops. The realism of the flowers, the gracious, understated swing of their stems and the tentacle-like rendering of their leaves all point to a seventeenth-century date, for eighteenth-century versions are rigid. This brocade was probably meant to be used for a prince's *jama* (coat). Flowers in a very similar style adorn the coats of the emperor Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707) and his chief nobles in a flower-strewn accession portrait in an American private collection.¹⁰

Figs. 6, 7 The iris was second in popularity to the poppy. A white muslin cushion cover is embroidered with full-blown, fleshy irises on spiky, blue-green stems. All pointing



Handkerchief. Late 17th or early 18th century. North India or Deccan. Fine green muslin printed with gum and gold leaf. Entire piece: 36 cm. x 32 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2514. The central field has a swirling wave pattern, also seen on bidriware.

10. Huqqa base. Early 18th century. India, Deccan, Bidar. Bidri inlaid with silver. Entire piece: 16.5 cm. x 14.9 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, no. 1402-1903. (To be compared with figure 9). Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Crown Copyright.



11. *Border piece. Mid-17th century. India, Delhi or Agra, Mughal. Velvet, rich salmon and dark green on creamy yellow ground. Entire piece: length 54 cm., height 24 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2879B.*



upwards, the flowers seem to ascend silently and gracefully to the heavens, despite their massive girth, like huge but fragile bubbles. They typify the innate indigenous taste for rounded, full shapes, so that even the abstract and vegetal motifs that came to India with Islam were given a weight and volume that recall the robust nudes of ancient sculpture. This cushion cover, the pristine whiteness of which resembles the inlaid marble surfaces of Mughal palaces, probably dates to the second half of the seventeenth century.

The Mughal emperors and princes as well as their military commanders—Hindu and Muslim alike—spent a large part of their lives engaged in the incessant wars that were needed for the continual expansion of the empire, particularly in the hundred-years war to secure and pacify the Deccan (c. AD 1600-AD 1700). Important nobles lived in luxurious encampments, the refined descendants of Middle Eastern and Central Asian tents, attended by hundreds and sometimes thousands of retainers. Such tents were magnificent cotton structures decorated with painted pilasters, cusped arches, battlements and lofty flowering trees—an amalgam of Mughal military and palace architecture and paradise-like gardens, all translated into the soft and sensuous medium of cloth.

Fig. 8 The A.E.D.T.A. collection possesses panels from several different tents; an enchanting specimen consisting of three panels has ethereal shades of red, blue and pink. The ground is fine white cotton, the decoration partly block printed, partly stencilled and partly painted by hand; some colours are mordant dyed while others are resist dyed, using a wax resist. Each panel contains a different flowering tree emerging from a Chinese vase under a cusped arch. The atmosphere is that of a transportable garden wonderland, the Muslim idea of paradise, the perfect repose after a hot day of battle.

At least three similar tents are known: in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad,¹¹ in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,¹² and in the Powis Castle Collection, Wales.¹³ All four tents may have been made in Burhanpur, northern Deccan, in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

Another kind of colour printing is present in a delightful handkerchief, one of three — all distinctly different — in the A.E.D.T.A. collection. It is made of fine green cotton muslin; the pattern is printed with gum on which gold leaf was applied while still wet.¹⁴ The central field has a swirling wave pattern, also seen in seventeenth-century Deccan manuscript illumination and on bidriware, a design that is firmly controlled yet full of movement; the borders contain fields of carnations. This sparkling sea-green tissue, as light as air itself, brings to mind sunlight glistening on emerald waters. Such handkerchiefs may have been used to be held in the hand on ceremonial occasions or to cover gifts presented on a tray.¹⁵

Surviving Mughal velvets are rare, little research having been done on them and few having been published. The A.E.D.T.A. is particularly rich in this type of fabric. Two velvet panels probably once formed borders to larger velvet pieces, now lost.¹⁶ Rose plants alternate with irises in a long row, the flowers a rich salmon colour, the foliage dark blue-green, the ground creamy-yellow. Between each plant is a large salmon-coloured cloud of Chinese or Tibetan inspiration. The whole pattern resembles the carved or inlaid marble dados of Mughal buildings of the Shah Jahan period (AD 1626-1658), especially the inner rooms of the Red Forts of Delhi and Agra. Such velvets were used on the floors of the royal apartments, as hangings behind the throne in durbar rooms and as blinds to fill in the spaces formed by windows and arcades, fastened to hooks attached to pillars and cusped arches that are still *in situ*.

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□

CLOTH OF LUXURY: VELVET IN MUGHAL INDIA



Ellen S. Smart and Dale C. Gluckman

Today, Mughal buildings are ghostly skeletons of their former glory. Bare stone gives no hint of the fabulous textiles that once clothed court and courtier alike. Furnishings and garments changed with the seasons as well as with the fashions of the time, but they always proclaimed the extraordinary wealth and taste of the Mughal court.

Although only a tiny fraction of that vast quantity of luxury textiles survives, paintings of court life show the presence of identifiable domestic and foreign textiles mentioned in contemporary texts. Easily recognized and frequently seen at court, velvet is the textile which is most often identified in those documents. Delighting the hand as well as the eye, velvet surpassed all other fabrics in enhancing the emperor's image.

Definition of Velvet

Velvet is a textile made of three elements: a structural warp (vertical yarns), a structural weft (horizontal yarns) and a non-structural or supplementary warp. It can be made from any fibre, although the Mughals favoured silk. The structural warp and weft provide a foundation to support the supplementary warps, which become loops or pile in the finished fabric.

During the process of weaving, the pile warps are raised above the structural elements by rods inserted in the weft direction. The diameter of the rod determines the height of the pile. Before a rod is removed, a knife may be run along a groove in the rod, cutting the non-structural warps to create a cut-pile fabric. Uncut warps result in a loop pile. Where the pile warps are not raised, they are woven in with the structural elements, remaining unseen, to produce a gap or void in the pile. Thus a single textile can combine uncut, cut and voided areas. These variations in depth and, subsequently, in the reflection of light enhance the richness of the pattern.

The laborious weaving technique, when used with costly materials, made velvet an expensive textile to produce. Mughal and Safavid designers and weavers exploited the properties of velvet to spectacular ends, sometimes incorporating gold or silver as a flat background in voided areas and fine silk of many colours for the pile.



1. Single piece of three borders of cut and voided silk velvet. Early 19th century. India. Entire piece: 62.5 cm. x 67 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1274. The variations in depth and, subsequently, in the reflection of light enhance the richness of the pattern.

2. Tent panel. First quarter of the 19th century. India, Jaipur? Gold leaf stencilled onto red silk velvet. Entire piece: height 207 cm., width 162.4 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2343. Very similar red panels with gold floral decoration are seen in a painting of a durbar of Maharaja Jai Singh III in c. AD 1830.





3. Door hanging? Mid-17th century. India. Cut and voided silk velvet. Entire piece: height 141.5 cm., width 76.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2190. Related velvet panels, probably made to be hung in doorways or arches, are in several public and private collections.

Single piece of four borders. Mid-17th century. India. Cut and voided silk velvet. Entire piece: length 240 cm., height 78 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1692. When cut apart the bands may have bordered velvet curtains or blinds.



Early Records of Velvet

How and when velvet arrived in India is not yet known, but language provides a clue to the movement of velvet from the Mediterranean region to Iran and India. Persian, Urdu and Hindi share the same term for velvet, *makhmal*, a word borrowed from Arabic. The word and the cloth apparently were first brought to the subcontinent by Arab or Arabic-speaking traders. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Arabian cities of Jeddah and Aden served as entrepôts for the velvet trade between Europe and India. European velvet reached India via Jeddah, to Cambay, while the latter exported Indian velvet—produced in sufficient quantity and of quality by the early 1500s—to Europe via Aden.¹

The ancestors of the Mughals, the Timurids, used velvet in their Central Asian homeland. A red velvet tent at Timur's capital was described by the Portuguese ambassador Clavijo around AD 1400.² Further, the wedding of five Timurid princes in AD 1404 was graced with a tent capable of sheltering 10,000 people, "the outside of which was of scarlet of many colours, and inside of velvet of many colours."³

After taking Qandahar in AD 1507, Babur plundered the treasuries of its affluent households. The booty included not only "chest upon chest, sack upon bale of stuffs and clothes-in-wear, sack upon sack of [coins]," but also "saddle-bags of silken stuffs and cloth, tents of scarlet [cloth] and velvet."⁴

Although it often appeared in tents, velvet had other uses, as reported by Babur's daughter Gulbadan Begum. She described the presents given to her brother Mirza Hindal for his wedding in AD 1537:

What my royal father's brother-in-law gave to the Mirza was a set of nine horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles . . . and two other sets of nine horses, baggage animals, with velvet saddles and bridles.⁵

- ✓ 16
5. *Shah Shuja enthroned with Gaj Singh of Marwar, attributed to Bichitr.*
c. AD 1633. India, Mughal. Ink, colours, gold on paper. Entire piece:
height 25.1 cm., width 17.5 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art,
from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates
Purchase no. M.80.6.6. The bolster behind the young prince appears
to be red velvet.





Throne (gadi) cover.
Late 17th century.
India. Uncut silk velvet
centre in blue, cut and
voided silk velvet
borders in red and
gold. Entire piece:
height 134 cm.,
width 197 cm.
A.E.D.T.A. Collection,
Paris, no. 2220.

Mughal Uses of Velvet

Dwellings. Manoeuvring on military campaigns, travelling in caravans between cities and going on pilgrimages to holy places, the Mughal aristocracy was on the move almost constantly. Sumptuous portable palaces provided shelter during these peripatetic phases. A complete surviving gold-embroidered red velvet Mughal tent fits seventeenth-century descriptions of velvet tents embroidered with gold from Ahmedabad.⁶

During a period of four months in AD 1616 Jahangir moved his camp from Ajmer to Mandu. When settled into an orderly array of streets, the tent city had a circumference of about thirty-two kilometres.⁷ The size, colour and placement of the nobles' tents were precisely defined, with the emperor's red tent both the tallest and most central:

This tent is curiously wrought and hath many Seminans [shamianas, awnings] joyning round about it of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and many of them are of Cloath [sic] of Gold and Silver . . . I may say it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silks and Gold Carpets and Hangings in the principall places, rich as Velvet imbroydered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stone can make it.⁸

Decoration. The Mughal court used large quantities of velvet for architectural embellishment, both within buildings and as parts of temporary, fabric-based structures.

7. Salim holding court in Allahabad, attributed elsewhere to Sur Das. Late 16th century. India, Mughal. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, no. 60.27. The European-style chair is upholstered in green Italian ferrounerie (iron-work pattern) velvet.



8. Detail of figure 7.



The A.E.D.T.A. collection includes a section of a tent wall (*qanat*) and a door hanging. Gold leaf stencilled onto red velvet by means of gum arabic decorates this *qanat* panel, said to have come from Jaipur. Indeed, very similar red panels with gold floral decoration are seen in a painting of a durbar of Maharaja Jai Singh III in about AD 1830.⁹ Fig. 2

The panel in figure 3 has a red background with a highly-stylized flowering lotus plant in whites and blues beneath a cusped arch now faded. Related velvet panels, all with similar colour schemes and of comparable sizes, probably made to be hung in doorways or arches, are in several public and private collections.¹⁰ Similar panels can be seen in a painting of Shah Jahan in durbar.¹¹ Figure 4, on the other hand, shows a textile composed of four lively floral borders. When cut apart these bands may have bordered velvet curtains or blinds.¹² Fig. 3
Fig. 4

Although the emperor regularly held court surrounded with velvet and other luxury textiles, on ceremonial occasions the display of textiles became even more elaborate. For the New Year of AD 1616, Jahangir occupied a special throne “couered ouer with faire Semianes or Canopies of cloth of gould, silke, or veluett.”¹³ For a lunar birthday celebration in AD 1655 in Delhi, the walls and surrounding rooms of the Shah Mahal were hung with curtains of gold- and silk-embroidered velvet and the floors were spread with carpets.¹⁴ Enormous velvet awnings could be raised to cover courtyards between palace buildings, such as at the birthday weighing ceremony of Prince Aurangzeb in about AD 1640:

The awnings covering this great space are of red velvet embroidered with gold, and so heavy that the poles which are erected to support them are the size of a ship’s mast.¹⁵

Tents were often erected within existing structures to provide elegant spaces for private and public durbars. During Shah Jahan’s reign the sandstone Red Fort in Delhi was built to accommodate interior tents for ceremonial occasions.¹⁶ For the Nauroz celebration in AD 1628 tents were not only set up within the confines of permanent stone structures, but also one inside the other:

Within the [first tent] was set up a [second tent] of gold-brocaded velvet, and around it awnings of gold-brocaded velvet, on columns of silver and gold. Underneath the [second tent] were silver trellis tents with coverings of velvet brocaded and embroidered with gold.¹⁷

An account of another event specifies the enormous cost of a gold-brocaded velvet tent: nearly a lakh of rupees.¹⁸

Thrones and Cushions. Thrones shown in paintings are frequently large padded platforms on legs, sometimes surrounded with low railings. Upon these cushioned platforms sit the royal personages, usually reclining against bolsters. Figure 5 shows Shah Jahan’s son Shah Shuja seated with Gaj Singh on such a platform. The bolster behind the young prince appears to be covered with red velvet. The canopy held aloft is lined with a Safavid textile, either a brocaded fabric or a figured velvet with a gold background. The shaped velvet cover shown in figure 6 may have graced a platform similar to that seen in figure 5. Fig. 5
Fig. 6

Akbar frequently used a Portuguese-style velvet throne which was carried with him on journeys.¹⁹ A painting of Salim shows the future Jahangir seated on a European-style chair upholstered in green Italian *ferronnerie* (iron-work pattern) velvet. Figs. 7,

Covers. Imperial communiqués required envelopes made of various opulent textiles to declare their royal origins. Velvet was also used as a covering for precious objects such as the royal standards, small gifts and books. Preserved in the Jaipur Palace Museum, a mid-seventeenth-century velvet book cover displays a single flowering plant of blue,



9. Courtier, wearing a cloth-of-gold coat, possibly by Govardhan. c. AD 1625. India, Mughal. Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection. Photo: Catherine and Ralph Benkaim Collection.

10. Fragment, 17th century. India. Cut and voided velvet. Entire piece: 74 cm. x 74 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1487.

1. Fragment of a border. Early 18th century. India. Cut and voided velvet in red, blue and gold. Entire piece: length 101 cm., height 18 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1484. This may have trimmed the edges of a courtier's outer garment.



orange and yellow on a gold ground.²⁰ Aurangzeb's ambassador to the Ottoman court in AD 1686 carried numerous gifts, including decanters in velvet bags.²¹ Jean Baptiste Tavernier, a jeweller, was presented with gems from Aurangzeb's treasury on two trays covered with red velvet and green brocaded velvet, respectively.²²

Luxury textiles covered the royal standards. In imperial paintings the standards are frequently depicted sheathed in Safavid figurative velvets.²³

The royal path was occasionally covered with velvet, as it was when Jahangir and Nur Jahan travelled to visit Asaf Khan. Thomas Roe wrote that "velluettes and silkes [were] sowed and layed underfoote an English mile, but rouled up as the king passed."²⁴ A Mughal military victory in June, AD 1623 was the occasion for the "cheefe streetes being hanged with velvett and other goods to entertaine these victours."²⁵

Literally, the last imperial prerogative was the tomb covering. Muslims customarily placed rich textiles on royal sarcophagi. In AD 1632 Prince Khusru's sepulchre in Allahabad had a railing of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl and "a velvett Sennano [shamiana] or Cannopie over it."²⁶

Trappings. Palanquins, coaches, horses and elephants were fitted with velvet and other fine fabrics. Roe observed three palanquins in Jahangir's retinue: one was "covered with crimson velvett embrodered with pearle," while the other two "were covered and lyned only with cloth of gould."²⁷ Jahangir's coach was lined with Persian velvet; the horses "were trapped and harnessed in gould velvetts."²⁸

The emperor kept hundreds of elephants for transport, war and entertainment. During the reign of Jahangir, several English visitors commented on the velvet and cloth-of-gold trappings of the state elephants. One royal entourage included 600 elephants "covered with velvett or cloth of gould."²⁹

Clothing. The emperor annually presented a large number of robes of honour. These garments were of velvet, gold brocade and other fine fabrics. Humayun, who began the tradition of the keeper of the wardrobe always having a ready store of robes of honour at court, was himself presented with 200 garments made of velvet when he arrived at the Persian border on his retreat in AD 1544.³⁰

Figs. 9, 10 Velvet was a material for both cold weather clothing and ceremonial attire at the Mughal court. In AD 1623 the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle saw a high-ranking Mughal official wearing a "surcoat of Velvet, garded [bordered] with Gold at the bottom."³¹ *Fig. 11* A charming fragment of a narrow velvet border with a stylized floral motif may have trimmed the edges of a courtier's outer garment.

Domestic and Foreign Sources of Velvet

At the end of the sixteenth century, gold-ground as well as plain velvets were being woven in Ahmedabad and Lahore.³² In the second half of the seventeenth century, during Aurangzeb's reign, velvet for the court was being made at Ghargaon, Assam.³³ Imported velvet came to Akbar's court from Europe and the Safavid weaving centres of Yazd, Kashan, Herat and Mashad.³⁴ Akbar's son, Jahangir, possessed Chinese velvet but he considered it inferior to Persian.³⁵

By AD 1612 Ahmedabad was famous for velvet and other luxury textiles.³⁶ In AD 1693, an Italian traveller in India enthused, "I may say without enlarging that all the rich silks and gold stuffs curiously wrought with birds and flowers; all the brocades, velvets, taffetas, and other sorts made in Ahmedabat, are conveyed to Surat [the port]... I say those of Ahmedabat, which is the greatest city in India, and nothing inferior to Venice for this trade."³⁷

Conclusion

Considered in association with extant pieces, the written and pictorial evidence indicates lavish use of velvet by the Mughal court in embellishing its persons and possessions. State and religious occasions required displays of luxury textiles, of which velvet was the *sine qua non*. Akbar, always a keen observer of and participant in the exercise of royal prerogatives, once said, "Kings are fond of external splendour, because they consider it an image of Divine glory."³⁸

NOTES

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2. G. Le Strange, trans., *Clavijo's Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406* (New York and London, 1928), p. 241.
3. Abdul Aziz, *Thrones, Tents and Their Furniture Used by the Indian Mughuls* (Lahore n.d., [c. 1972]) p. 96.
4. A.S. Beveridge, trans., *The Babur-nama in English* (London, 1969), pp. 338-339.
5. Gul-Badan Begum, *Humayun-nama (The History of Humayun)*, trans. A.S. Beveridge (Lahore, 1974), pp. 128-129.
6. Illustrated in S.C. Welch, *India! Art and Culture 1300-1900* (New York, 1985), cat. no. 165.
7. Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India in 1616-1619*, ed. William Foster (London, 1926), pp. 283-287.
8. William Hawkins, in William Foster, ed., *Early Travels in India 1585-1619* (London, 1920), pp. 117-118.
9. R. Skelton, ed., *The Indian Heritage, Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule* (London, 1982), cat. no. 155, col. pl. 5.
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11. India Office Library and Records: Add. Or. 3853, published in T. Falk and M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library* (London, 1981), no. 80, p. 84, pl. 5; Skelton, op. cit., no. 68, p. 44.
12. Illustrated in Skelton, *ibid.*, no. 220, p. 87; Chandramani Singh, *Textiles and Costumes from the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum* (Jaipur, 1979), pl. 48.
13. Roe, op. cit., pp. 125-126.
14. Aziz, op. cit., p. 100.
15. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 2 vols. (London, 1889), 1:380. A similar velvet awning supported with silver poles was erected on the second anniversary of Aurangzeb's coronation (AD 1660), cf. Aziz, *ibid.*, p. 105.
16. P. Andrews, "Generous Heart or the Mass of Clouds," *Mugharnas*, vol. IV, p. 160.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
19. Aziz, op. cit., p. 11.
20. C. Singh, op. cit., no. 2696, pl. 64A.
21. M. Thevenot, *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot in the Levant* (London, 1686; reprint, London, 1971), p. 85.
22. Tavernier, op. cit., 1:395.
23. See M. Kahlenberg, "A Mughal Personage Velvet," *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXV, No. 848 (Nov. 1973), pp. 723-725.
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25. William Foster, ed., *Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, 2 vols. (London, 1896-97), 2:241.
26. Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, 3 vols., second series, No. LXV (London, 1919), 2:100.
27. Roe, op. cit., p. 286.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 285. Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain, described the coach lining as "a very rich Stuffe, . . . ground of Gold, mingled . . . with silk flowers." Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 385-386.
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31. Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, 2 vols. (London, 1982), 2:248.
32. Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami, *The Ain-i Akbari*, trans. H. Blockman (Calcutta, 1965 [reprint]), p. 98.
33. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi, 1982), p. 54.
34. *Ibid.*
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37. Surendranath Sen, ed., *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* (New Delhi, 1949), pp. 163-164.
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SHAPED CARPETS FOUND IN THE JAIPUR TREASURY

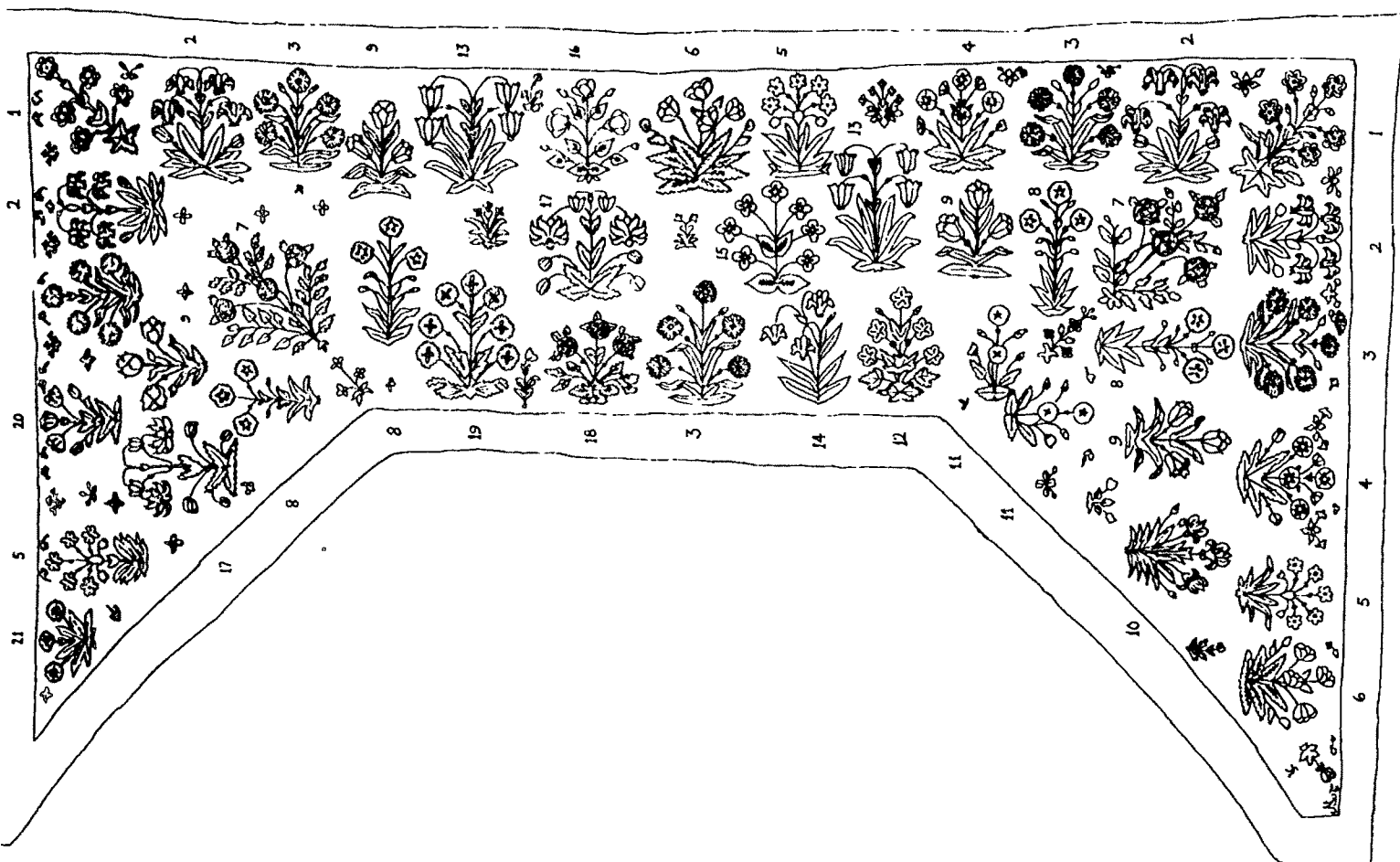


Jon Thompson

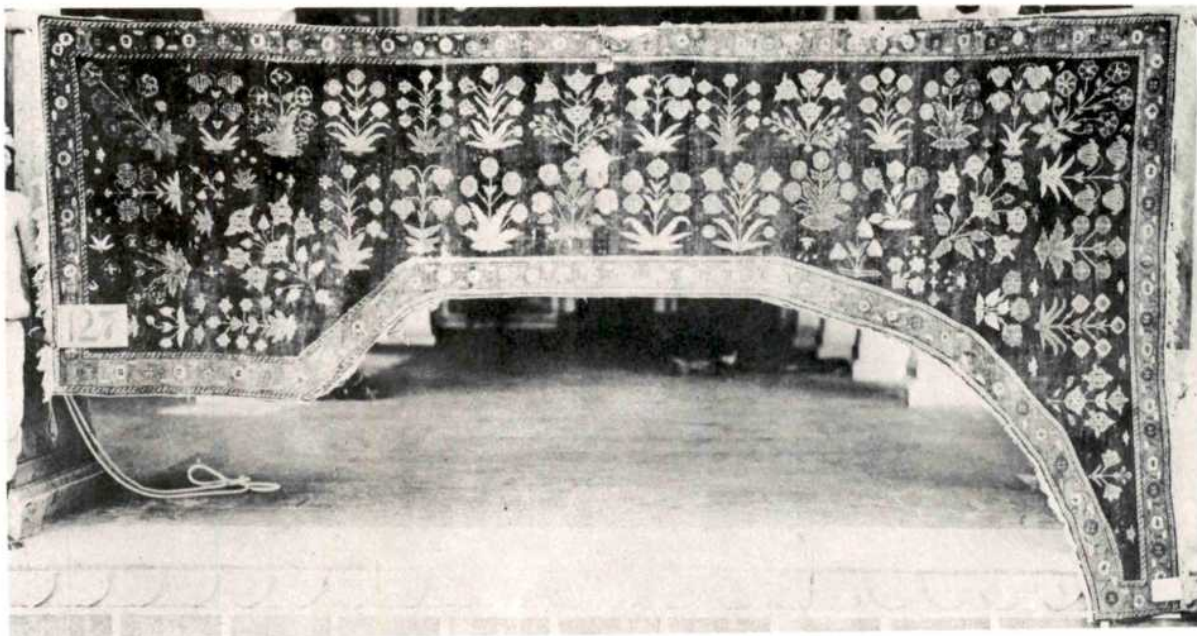
In 1929 A.J.D. Campbell, an authority on carpets from the Victoria and Albert Museum, was invited to write a report on the large collection of old carpets preserved in the Jaipur treasury. His list of two hundred and twelve pieces includes a description and photographs of fifteen shaped carpets with curved asymmetrical arches of the type shown in figure 1. A sixteenth-century shaped carpet with a straight-sided symmetrical indentation instead of a curve—figure 2—is the origin of the A.E.D.T.A. fragment depicted in figure 4. It was purchased in AD 1658 and must originally have had a companion piece, though none is recorded. Although four other pieces of similar shape are known, none of them matches. Indeed, a search through pictures of known examples reveals the curious fact that there are no true pairs (in the sense of having been worked from the same cartoon). There are sets of companion pieces which have the same layout and decorative vocabulary, but even the most closely matched of them differs in countless small details. The flowers have a different order and spacing, small flowers fill the gaps between the large ones, and tiny motifs are scattered around, apparently at the whim of the maker.

Fig. 1 The carpet, with a symmetrical indentation, has twenty-one principal floral designs undoubtedly drawn by an artist. The layout of all the shaped pieces is essentially the same; flowers are arranged symmetrically in pairs around the diagonals and progress outwards from the corners. In this piece, however, adherence to the standard layout is only approximate. Referring to the diagram in figure 3 (weaving began at the bottom and finished at the top), the flowers are well spaced on either side of the right diagonal and follow the normal plan until the fifth row, where the expected iris (no. 10) is replaced with a much larger plant (no. 13). This upsets the spacing on the right and a small plant has been inserted to fill the gap. Similar problems recur further on. The final result is that the top and bottom right hand corners do not match. Thus, although the carpet conforms to a predetermined plan in terms of its size and shape, modifications of and adaptations to the layout were made, and improvised details added while the carpet was being woven. From an understanding of the process of carpet weaving it is possible to state that none of the shaped pieces was worked from a knot-by-knot square-paper cartoon of the type used in Persia. If that is the case, how *were* they made?

3. Drawing of figure 2 showing twenty-one principal floral designs. Weaving began at the bottom where the layout corresponds to that found in other shaped pieces. Departures from the normal sequence and compensatory adjustments made in the course of weaving reveal that the carpet was produced without the use of an overall cartoon. Drawing: Jon Thompson.

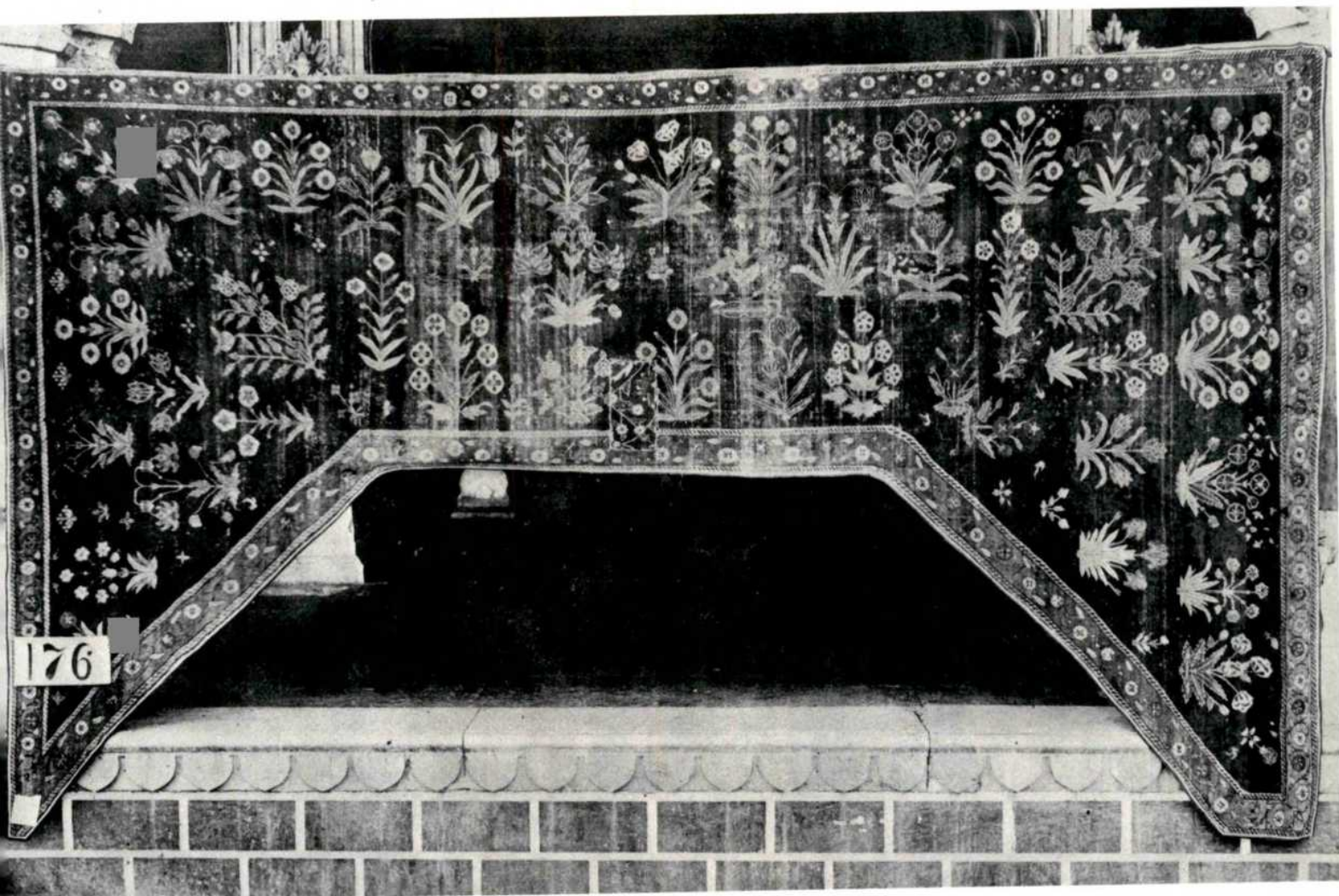


Shaped wool-piled carpet with curved asymmetrical arch. Bought in AD 1656 in Lahore; one of fifteen photographed in Jaipur by Campbell in 1929. Entire piece: 450 cm. x 145 cm. The function of these shaped pieces has been forgotten. It is no longer known if they were used in a building or in a temporary structure; whether they were hung or laid on the ground. Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Crown Copyright.



Shaped wool-piled carpet with straight-sided symmetrical indentation, origin of the A.E.D.T.A. fragment. Bought by Mirza Rajah Jai Singh of Amber in AD 1658; photographed at Jaipur

in 1929. Entire piece: 488 cm. x 274 cm. It must originally have had a companion piece, though this is not recorded. Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Crown Copyright.





Fragment of a wool-piled carpet (of the type) shown in figure 2; in shape corresponding to the left-hand corner of figure 3. Bought in AD 1658. Other carpets in the same set were bought in Lahore. Entire piece: 270 cm. x 140 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2509. A search through pictures of known examples reveals the curious fact that there are no true pairs. There are sets of companion pieces which have the same layout and decorative vocabulary, but even the most closely matched of them differs in countless small details.

5. Detail of figure 4. To obtain such fine lines the original patterns for the flowers must have been drawn by an artist trained in the court style of Shah Jahan. The process of transferring drawings onto knotted-piled carpet patterns probably involved the use of a written instruction (*talim*) for each flower.

The problem can be approached through a poetical analogy. A poet is both architect and builder. His poems have a shape and form, a definite length, express certain ideas and consist of a number of carefully constructed verses that are assembled according to an overall plan and written down exactly as he intends them to be read. The carpet designer, like the poet, works within a defined space which he fills with precisely-drawn patterns. These are integrated into an overall design and set down in the form of a cartoon to serve as an exact guide for the weaver. From that cartoon, a skilled weaver can make any number of almost identical copies.

Applying our analogy, the carefully-drawn flowers in this carpet are like the verses in a poem, but their arrangement corresponds not to the measured reading of a poem from a book, but to the recitation from memory of a long verse epic by a bard. Every performance is different, the verses are sometimes out of order, but adjustments, in the form of little improvisations, are made to keep things moving. Indeed this may be a clue, for if a *talim*¹ existed for each individual flower pattern, work would have been controlled by an *ustad* calling out the knotting sequence to his weavers. The *ustad* could adapt or adjust the layout when necessary, improvise details if he wished and correct any mistakes or distortions as he went along.

It is said that the shaped carpets were made to fit around some architectural feature in the Amber palace—nobody knows which—or that they were used in pairs and the empty space in the middle filled with a circular carpet. This space, however, is not a circle, and the two circular carpets in the Jaipur collection are both too small for the purpose. The idea that shaped carpets were spread in the maharaja's tent when he was travelling is attractive but fails to explain the advantage of a shaped carpet over a rectangular one. A possible clue is provided by three shaped pieces from Jaipur in the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad (nos. 2747, 2748 and 2749). One of them, purchased in AD 1661 (no. 2747 and Campbell's no. 27), when matched with a tracing of its mirror image, has the shape of a five-cusped arch of the type found in seventeenth-century Rajput palace architecture. Could the curved pieces have been used either to decorate an existing arch or to form arches in some temporary structure? If so, they would be nearly 5 metres tall, the flowers at the bottom would be upside down and fastenings would be needed to suspend them. Furthermore, the carpet under discussion, with its straight-sided indentations, could not have been used in this way and must have been spread on the ground. The question of temporary structures brings to mind a beautiful pavilion-like octagonal tent in Jodhpur, which was erected inside a larger tent. Could this piece have been used to surround an octagonal pavilion-tent, together with some of the similarly-designed large rectangular carpets? Now that the tents of the Jaipur maharajas have come to light, perhaps they will provide a solution to this long-standing mystery.

NOTE

1. A *talim* (from the Arabic) is a weaving instruction written in a special notation specifying which colours to use, in which sequence and over how many warps. It can be read by a weaver or called out by a master. □

GARDENS AND POETIC IMAGES: THE WOVEN SILKS OF PERSIA



Jane Merritt

The skill of Persian weavers, who created intricately designed and complex textiles, is widely recognized. For nearly four hundred years, from the first third of the sixteenth to the last third of the nineteenth century, Iran vied with India for the distinction of being known as the world's most important textile producer.

The consolidation of power by the Safavids at the beginning of the sixteenth century led to political stability. After the expulsion of foreign powers and the securing of frontiers, an Iranian dynasty emerged with a prosperous economy and world-wide political influence. Such an atmosphere led to the flourishing of the arts, which achieved a degree of sophistication and richness that reflects a wealthy court and aristocracy. Most notable, perhaps, are the luxurious carpets, velvets, satin lampas and brocaded fabrics woven during the reign of Shah Abbas I in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They are outstanding in their splendid use of colour, as well as the lavish use of gold and silver metallic thread, and represent the summit of Safavid textile technology. The opulence of these fabrics reflects the taste and wealth of the Safavid Court.

In addition to the lively use of colour, Iranian textiles are characterized by linear elegance and sophisticated patterns. From luxurious pile carpets to the most delicately woven silks, these textiles are distinguished by their quality and craftsmanship. The craftsmen were proficient in all the technical aspects of textile manufacture from silk production to weaving, as well as in the auxiliary methods of ornamentation such as printing, painting and embroidery. Work was done in court workshops which ensured a consistent supply and quality of the product. As a result, these textiles were highly regarded and sought after by the courts of Europe and Asia alike.

Fig. 1 Designs rely heavily on both naturalistic and stylized floral forms. Figure 1 shows an accurately-rendered iris in full bloom. Its form sways slightly as if the flower were seeking the sun. The blue or cream-coloured blossoms on this length of silk are accentuated by metallic weft yarns, and have shaded green leaves which stand out against the rich red background. The flower is identically repeated in each row, a design convention used in many Persian textiles. The motifs in the next row face in the opposite direction and are staggered between the plants of the preceding row.

1. Length of silk with blooming irises (detail). 18th century. Iran. Structure: 5-end satin, interruption of 2 with discontinuous weft brocading. Entire piece: warp 202 cm. x weft 70 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2140. This shows an accurately-rendered iris in full bloom. Its form sways slightly as if the flower were seeking the sun.





2. Silk fragment with flowering plants against a silver metallic background (detail). 17th century. Iran or India. Structure: 3 and 1 twill face with inner warps bound in plain weave. Complementary wefts with weft substitution and discontinuous wefts. Entire piece: warp 37.5 x weft 53.6 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2647. This type of textile forms a separate category, distinguished by the gold or silver metallic thread that covers the background surface and creates an opulent fabric.

3. Silk fragment with bird perched on rose bush against a gold metallic background. 17th century. Iran. Structure: 3 and 1 twill face with inner warps bound in 3 and 1 twill. Complementary wefts with weft substitution and discontinuous wefts. Entire piece: warp 29 cm. x weft 23.5 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2493. The weaving of flowers and gardens in textiles can be seen as a graphic representation of the sentiments expressed in poetry and prose.



This type of composition gives equal emphasis to the motif and the background.

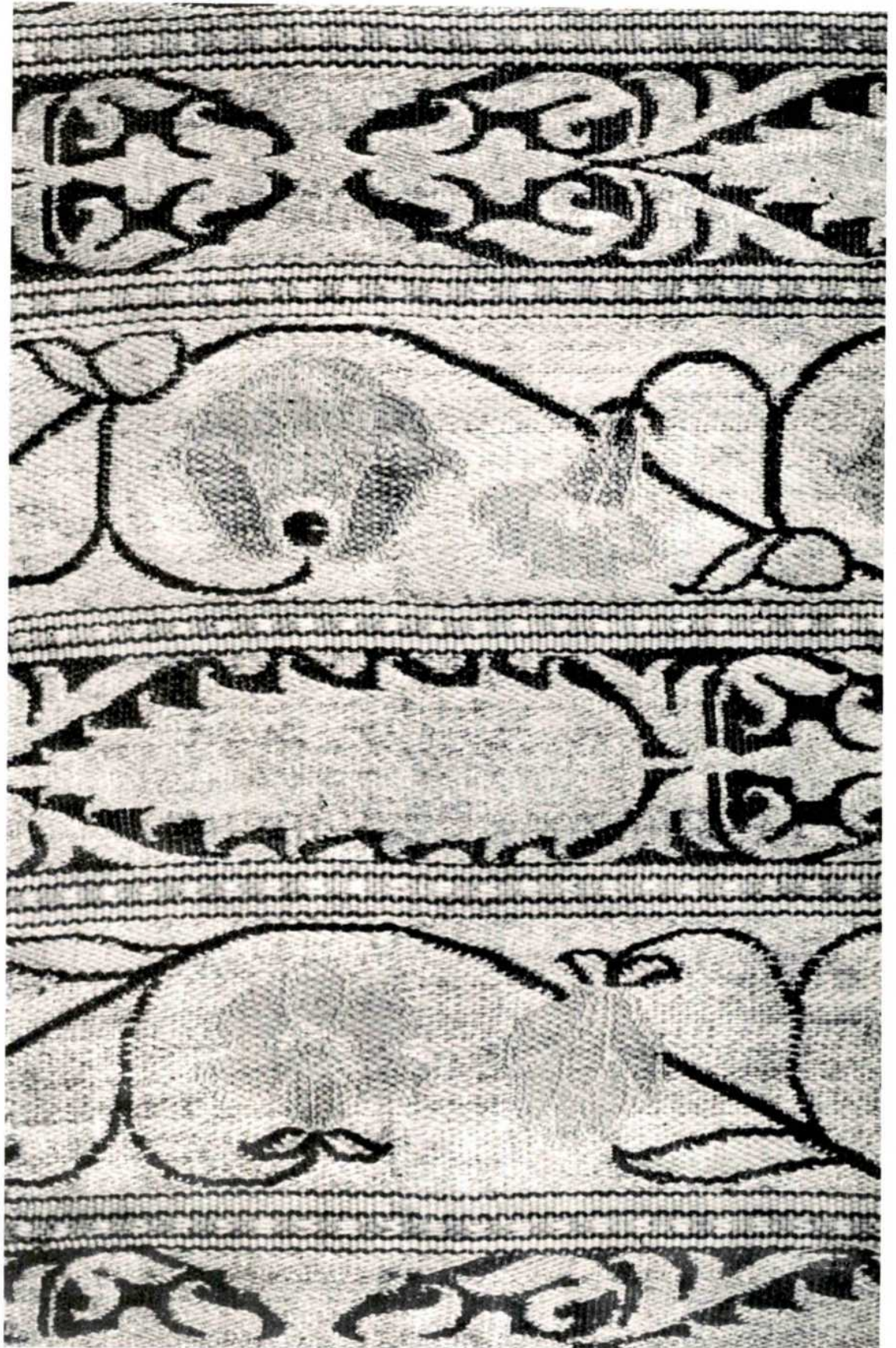
Fig. 2 The three stages of a blossom—the bud, slightly-unfurled bud, and fully-opened flower, splay from a single plant in the next illustration. Here the openness of the composition permits the silver-gilt background to be fully appreciated. This type of textile forms a separate category, distinguished by the gold or silver metallic thread that covers the background surface and creates an opulent fabric.¹ The thread is made of a flattened metal strip wound around a silk core. The shimmering metallic thread in the background must certainly have emphasized the wealth of the wearer. Additional background decoration is accomplished by diagonal lines which are stamped on the fabric and provide a slight texture. It is very difficult to determine whether these metal-ground textiles were produced in Iran or India. Both the Mughals and the Safavids prized this type of cloth. Similar garments of such fabrics are depicted in Persian and Indian miniature paintings of the period.

It is interesting to note the importance of the garden in Islamic life. From images of the “garden of delight” in the *Qur'an* to countless garden metaphors in the poetry and prose of Persia, the garden figures prominently in many of the arts.² In literature, the beauty of a light-filled garden, along with the music of songbirds, conveys a sense of peace and happiness. The weaving of flowers and gardens in textiles can be seen as a graphic representation of the sentiments expressed in poetry. In figure 3 an orange parrot with two-toned green wings and a bright yellow beak is perched on the sturdy base of a rose bush. The roses are meticulously rendered with full petals, shaded and outlined in hues of salmon-pink. The colours of this textile are remarkably well preserved, the motifs vibrant against a shimmering gold background. As in figure 2, the texture is enriched by stamping.

Fig. 3 Not all gardens are depicted so naturalistically. Figure 4 shows a detail of a square cloth with horizontal stripes composed of alternating bands of conical cypress trees and a floral arabesque set against a metallic background. The floral motifs have become much stylized and are almost devoid of foliage. The well-preserved salmon colour of the flower petals is accentuated by the use of sky blue and purple for other parts of the flower. Glistening metallic gold cypress trees, stylized with serrated edges, are silhouetted against a dark blue silk. The horizontal bands run in the weft direction. The square fragment is actually pieced together from four strips, each approximately 7.5 cm. wide and cut across the bands. It is possible that this fabric may have been used as the border of a hem of a garment.³ Such a usage would imply a vertical orientation of the cypress trees and account for the curious way in which the textile is cut. The pieced fragment is bordered by a larger-scaled and fully-developed curvilinear floral band. Piecing together fragments of textiles into square and rectangular cloths seems to have been a common practice in Iran, as many examples are extant. The use of such cloths in Shi'ite worship has continued until modern times.

While inspiration for designs was drawn from literature, nature and the activities of daily life, the influence of other cultures can also be observed. The *butah* (Persian for tree or shrub), a popular motif of the nineteenth century, figures prominently in Iranian textiles. This cone-shaped motif with a swaying tip or one that points downward derives from the Kashmir shawl tradition.⁴ The design travelled through India westward to Europe, changed, was re-interpreted and became stylized but rarely lost its appeal. One of the liveliest variations of this motif is seen in a nineteenth-century silk fragment in the A.E.D.T.A. collection. Large conical motifs, made up of small yellow and orange flowers, repeat across the fabric. A return row facing in the opposite direction balances the design. In the spaces created by this

4. Square silk cloth with horizontal stripes of floral arabesques (in salmon-pink, sky blue and purple) and cypress trees (of gold outlined with dark blue silk) against a metallic gold background (detail). 18th century. Iran. Structure: plain weave face with inner warps. Back is not visible to determine weft usage. Entire piece: warp 33.4 cm. x weft 33 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2499. The floral motifs have become much stylized and are almost devoid of foliage.





5. Silk fragment with fox-like animal against a floral background. 17th century. Iran. Structure: double cloth. Entire piece: warp 32 cm. x weft 36 cm. excluding added borders. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2650. The textile has the reverse patterns and colours on the opposite face, and is one of a group of figured textiles woven in the double cloth technique.

6. Silk fragment with seated figure and angels in rose-pink on an off-white background. Early 17th century. Iran. Structure: double cloth. Entire piece: warp 36.2 cm. x weft 12.2 cm. excluding added borders. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2649. Another example of the group of figured textiles mentioned in figure 5. The iconography may derive from contemporary illustrated manuscripts.



counterbalanced arrangement, smaller and slightly-reclining *butah* crowd the dark blue background. This textile has great movement and vitality, qualities heightened by the brightly-coloured flowers with their metallic wefts.

While a great many extant Persian textiles have floral motifs, figural scenes are also prevalent. Again, inspiration was drawn from the prose and poetry of the time. Episodes from well-known narratives or love poems were depicted on silk textiles. Everyday activities such as hunting and hawking were also used as themes. Figure 5 shows a fox-like animal, perhaps fearing pursuit, sitting against a background of delicately-drawn flowers. The animal, ears pricked, looks forward and backward respectively in the alternating rows of the repeat. The textile, with off-white figures set against a vivid orange background, has the reverse patterns and colours on the opposite face. This fragment is one of a group of figured textiles woven in the double cloth technique. This technique, which lends itself to larger and more geometric patterns, was employed by the Persians to create delicately-designed and imaginative fabrics.

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

A second and more elaborate double cloth, depicts a winged angel making an offering to a seated figure. A second angel holding a peacock hovers above. The wings of the angels are contorted and difficult to distinguish from the background, which is spotted with floral sprays. The symbolism of the scene is somewhat obscure. However, the iconography may derive from illustrated manuscripts of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Similar figures are noted in depictions from the lives of the prophets.⁵ The seated figure is wearing a head-dress in the Persian style. It is not, however, common to see a Persian seated on a chair. It was the Persian custom to be seated on pillows or cloths on the ground. Chairs gradually came into use when the number of Westerners received at the Persian court increased.⁶ Unusual too, are the colours which are softer than in most of these pieces: deep rose contrasting with off-white. The exceptional features of this textile raise questions that invite further research.

NOTES

1. M. Sonday, "Pattern and Weaves," in *Woven From the Soul, Spun From the Heart*, ed. Carol Bier (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1987), pp. 57-58.
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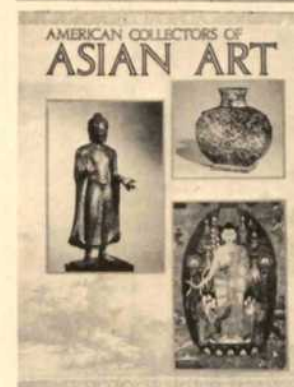


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Artwear

Arjun R. Tahlilani

Artwear explores the addition of a relatively new dimension to the painter's canvas by attempting to fuse the palette with the drape. The technique, colours and images of the artist are interpreted through the medium of clothing for the human form. Thus the body becomes the backdrop on which the painter's canvas is moulded.

As different movements in painting made their impact on society through the ages, they became the most visual representations of the mood at the time. Whether figural or abstract, each style represents the thought processes and

energy of a particular group. Hence it is natural that painting should inspire contemporary or future generations through a variety of ways and expressions. Motifs, colours, abstractions and certain juxtapositions have always been used for the embellishment of fabric, clothing, jewellery and other allied ornamentation. Carpets, shawls, wall hangings and other older weaves, for instance, have been the principal sources of inspiration for contemporary designs in prints, embroideries, and so on. Artwear is an extension of this force—the designer working from the paintings of the artist.

This new dimension began in the early part of the present century. Elsa Schiaparelli, who was held in awe for

her endless 'nerve', reproduced the drawings of Jean Cocteau on her evening coats, causing quite a sensation in 1929. More recently, Yves Saint Laurent, one of the greatest contemporary couturiers, produced collections based on the art of Mondrian and the 'Birds' of Braque. Although the ideas were revolutionary, these designers restricted themselves to working with the forms of the artists and not the artists themselves. This resulted in the designers using their own discretion entirely and

1. Designed by Anu Mafatlal, based on a painting by S. H. Raza. Silk; block-printed, embroidered patch. Photo: Suresh Cordo.



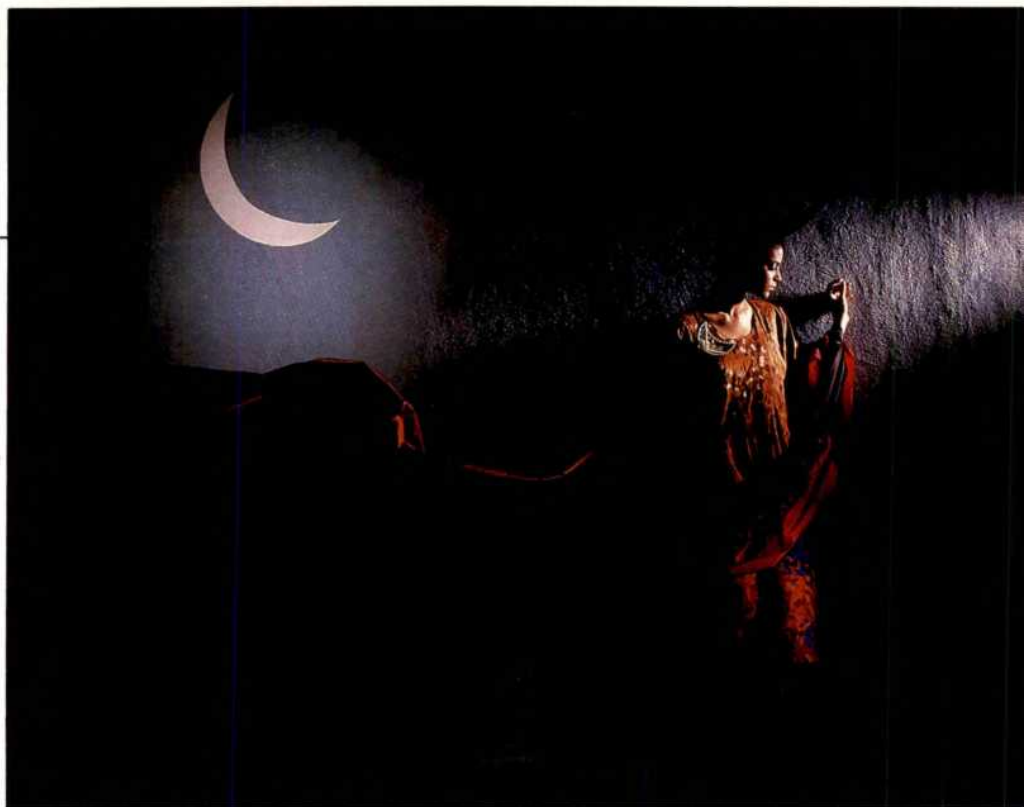
therefore expressing completely their own point of view given the parameters of a single source of inspiration. Obviously, the designer was restricted to embroidery, weaves and prints—nobody had the luxury of the artist's involvement. This involvement is what has made artwear truly ARTWEAR—here the designers (in most cases) worked directly with the artists some of whom painted on fabric and thus participated in the creations.

Bina Kilachand, the spirit behind the artwear under discussion has been excited for sometime by the potential of artwear in which the artist and the designer work together, each representing an art-form and interacting to create a balanced amalgam of the two. In addition, Bina has felt strongly about the concept because she feels that the Indian woman's dress is an art-form in itself simply because of the possibilities in the draped garment as opposed to one that is structured completely. A sari or *odhni* or shawl can be worn in many ways.

The various designer-artist combinations include an assortment of styles. Rohit Bal began with a collection of scarves based on the motifs of Manjit Bawa. The Nandi is predominant against bright colours. He continues with simple *kurtas* and *angarkhas* which have been hand-printed by Gurcharan Singh whose normally expressive works have focused in the recent past on issues relating to the Punjab. Gurcharan's progression inclines towards birds and faces in more muted colours as opposed to the vibrant tones he usually uses.

The writer has presented clothing expressing variations of Akbar Padamsee's paintings from the *Metascape* series (figure 2). The emphasis in the clothing is on delineating the textures that Akbar builds on the canvas with a palette knife. In addition, the brilliance of his visual colours is portrayed with a fine embroidery that was worked on the fabric in the same manner in which the palette knife was used to lay one coat of paint over the other. Beaten metallic moons complement the clothing: this is the predominant motif in the series.

Anu Mafatlal has worked with Raza to present what is visually the most outstanding collection of artwear (figure 1). Her simplicity and styling has brought out all the strengths of Raza's paintings—the vibrancy of colour, the lines and the BINDU that represents all kinds of forces as well as Raza's obsession with creation. These were evolved into a



2. Designed by Tarun R. Tahiliani, based on a painting by Akbar Padamsee. Embroidered silk. Photo: Suresh Cordo.

series of prints that was enhanced with embroideries and worked into various structures and draped garments in addition to some saris and scarves which the artist subsequently signed, after writing some Hindi poetry on them.

Abu Jhani has chosen to work with three ink drawings done by Abu himself. These are linked with mystical Africa and use lines and motifs with the geometric precision of medieval Muslim art. Around such drawings, Abu and Sandeep have designed enormous shawls that are replicas of the line work. These were completely embellished with hand embroidery.

Rohit Khosla and Jagdish have complemented each other beautifully. Both of them have a certain witty approach to their expression and styling. The famous papier-mâché statues made from newsprint art translated by Rohit into fabric printed with newsprint designs and masks that seem to suggest that the statues themselves have come to life. In addition, he has used some of the other puppets which Jagdish makes in earthy colours and paintings that are based on the mythical themes. Jagdish has painted on fabric what he normally paints on the statues. So the entire effect is one of a witty folklore puppet show where everything has suddenly sprung to life.

Finally, Bina Ramani has worked with Anjolie Ela Menon using all the motifs that appear on the latter's beautiful haunting paintings. These

include the icon-like face, the crow, the kite and the chequered charpoy. The fabric was not painted on directly and the emphasis was on what has now become Bina's trademark, namely beading and patchwork. Pieces of fabrics in various colours were appliquéd on various shapes drawn by Anjolie, and this was enhanced with bead work so that the faces, for example, were done in shaded sequins. The result was some enormous capes that closely resembled Anjolie Menon's work as well as an interesting adaptation of the *selta mundu* which is the traditional Keralite garment worn wrapped around the body.

In conclusion, one notices the predominance of the rectangular and square scarf, cape and shawl. This, in all likelihood, is because of the geometric similarities and correspondences to a canvas, India being the home of the unstitched garment this was not a constraint as the sari and *odhni* are draped in a multitude of styles. Although the challenge in artwear increases when more complex structured shapes are introduced, let it suffice to say that the effect of draped art worked marvellously, and one hopes this concept can be extended to prints so that it is much more accessible to all art lovers.

Acknowledgements

The artwear illustrated has been modelled by S. Joseph (figure 1) and N. Chatterjee (figure 2). We acknowledge Urshila Kerkar and Dhun Cordo for the art direction.

Title : **Handspun and Handwoven Textiles of Ponduru**
 Writer : Kurma Rao
 Publisher : Crafts Museum, Delhi
 Format : 22½ x 23 cm., 51 pages
 Price : Rs. 52.00

The All India Handicrafts Board stipulated some years ago that the Crafts Museum in Delhi should publish the research in Indian crafts and related skills, carried out by members of other institutions. Kurma Rao's *Handspun and Handwoven Textiles of Ponduru* is the first monograph published under this noteworthy scheme. Mr. Rao was at the National Institute of Design when he conducted a field study at Ponduru, in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. In this village, an ancient tradition, of spinning and weaving cotton cloth by hand, continues to the present day. Not only has the skill proved durable, but the Ponduru material lasts a long time as well. My mother has a sari with a typical "Janta Marada Dalam" motif that looks as new today as when she bought it more than twenty-five years ago!

Himself a weaver's son, Rao learnt the art from his father and acquired a lifelong interest in textile manufacture. Having sat at a loom himself, he is able to describe in great detail the implements and techniques used in weaving at Ponduru. He has traced the entire process of weaving from the pre- to the post-loom stage. *Textiles of Ponduru* is a book by a weaver, about weavers and for weavers. It is not addressed to the laity but to those already interested in cloth fabrication, both students and scholars. It assumes familiarity with the terminology employed in the weaving business and a certain understanding of production methods and practices.

Rao's main purpose is to record each minute aspect of an art that might well die out if the weavers are not institutionally and financially encouraged. Since the book is educational in nature its appearance is unpretentious. It has a textbook quality and approach and the reporting is systematic.

Spinning and weaving procedures are set forth sequentially over three chapters which have subheads demarcating different aspects of the creative course. At the beginning of each chapter the writer lists the tools used during the respective stages and discusses their appearance, dimensions and availability. He sometimes mentions a special feature or matter of interest. Rao wastes no words and his text is to the point and dry. He uses and explains local words throughout the book.

Over sixty black and white photographs are placed alongside relevant textual portions. A few maps and diagrams are also featured. The photographs of implements and the spinning or weaving actions are well taken but, due to poor printing, look shoddy. Colour illustrations, which are better printed enliven the book. Three of these illustrate existing designs and the other four depict variations of old patterns that Mr. Rao worked out. He has also developed new shades and has a section on "Suggestions" which would reduce the time and effort spent by the weavers. His technical innovations can, he claims, eliminate the dependence of the craftspeople on weather conditions. He says, "If any of my ideas help to improve their efficiency, productivity and the quality of the fabrics they produce, and in the long run benefit them financially I will consider it a privilege to have served them."

In addition to describing and evaluating the actual clothmaking, the writer provides a brief geographical and occupational profile of Ponduru and outlines the social hierarchy of the weaving subgroups. Finished products such as saris, dhotis, lungis and shirting are examined and a Commission-approved wage structure tabulated. Rao's account is organized and there are no loose ends in his narration. Perhaps he could have touched upon how the finished goods from Ponduru are distributed and marketed. But then he is

more concerned with manufacturing and his aim is to document the craft so that if there is ever any danger of its dwindling, it can be revived through such records. As Pupul Jayakar notes in the Foreword, "it would be a tragedy if the weavers of Srikakulam forgot the ancient skills of weaving fine ornamented cotton muslins employing the archaic process of Jamdani weaving."

—Anuja P. Mahindra-Sharma

Title : **The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture (AD 1498-1707)**
 Writer : Ahsan Jan Qaisar
 Publisher : Oxford University Press
 Format : 22 x 14 cm., xv, 211 pages, 5 colour, 26 black and white illustrations
 Price : Rs. 140.00

Following the Weberian thesis and its myriad derivatives it has become common academic practice to start with the assumption that the socio-cultural infrastructure of the Indian civilization lacks 'developmental consciousness'. Furthermore that this innate conservatism and resistance to innovation is a part of its historical legacy.

The writer of this book has set out to investigate this assumption and his methodology has yielded important information. He meticulously separates the specific technology introduced or the specific aspect of culture to which Indians were exposed and then sets out to analyze the responses broadly under the categories—positive, negative or indifferent. He further differentiates the segment of the population that was exposed to this foreign influence—the ruling elite, the bureaucracy, the artisan, the common man in the street and then assesses the nature and intensity of the foreign stimulus.

He then concludes that no single formula can be evolved to evaluate the foreign stimulus and the Indian response to Western technology and science in the early phase of east-west contact. By "early phase" the writer clearly means the 15th to the early 17th century. Thus, while Indians, unlike the Chinese responded negatively to assimilating any technology associated with watches and clocks, they enthusiastically adopted technology associated with military defence such as artillery. He provides several examples of this nature. Indians rejected all technology associated with book printing, glass technology or oil painting. In the field of shipbuilding they rejected the Western processes of "casking" and "caulking" preferring the age-old method of "rabetting". Having enumerated a number of examples, Qaisar sets out to study the reason for acceptance or rejection of a particular form of technology. Thus in some cases the indigenous alternative was functionally efficient and as such the Indian artisan did not adopt an imported form of process. This argument has been cited in the case of rejecting "caulking" in shipbuilding. Clocks and watches did not match the Indian time measuring systems and hence were rejected. Here the writer, while noting that no attempt was made at adapting Western mechanical clocks to Indian requirements, offers no reason for this failure to indigenise. He also distinguishes between favouring the use of a

product and learning to acquire the knowledge of manufacturing the product. Thus while mirrors were used, no attempt was made to acquire the manufacturing technology as there was no one to teach it. At times there was a deliberate reluctance to transfer technology. This was particularly so with the Dutch.

The question of patronage also has been touched upon. Imperial princes liked or disliked a particular form and that decided the adoption or rejection of a product or a process. Thus Jahangir's disinterest in oil-painting put an end to this form being adopted by Indian painters. The culture, as we can infer from Qaisar's statement, was one of business and commerce, not of manufacture and hence the businessmen were primarily satisfied with trade as a means of profit. The fact that the market for products of foreign origin did not exist, has also been pointed out as a factor.

Having gone through all the arguments put forward one still detects a certain note of the patriotic apologist in the writer. This is particularly evident in the epilogue. A variety of Luddite-oriented activities in the West are catalogued and the question is posed as to whether these would qualify to describe European society at large as conservative, or allergic to innovation? He also refutes the Weberian attribution of the caste system as a negative factor in adopting foreign technology but fails to provide any reason for dismissing such an assumption.

One feels quite strongly at the end of the book, though Qaisar nowhere states explicitly so, that several factors such as the lack of a manufacturing tradition, the excessive concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the ruling elite, the absence of a truly middle class market, the lack of contact between the intellectuals and artisans and several other socio-economic and cultural factors did hamper the growth of a spirit of enquiry and the ability to convert new ideas into marketable commodities. The impression that one gets is what the writer is really trying to shift the Weberian emphasis from the socio-religious angle to a more economic-oriented approach.

The writer must be commended for packing a great deal of information painstakingly researched from Persian and early European accounts of contact with India and presenting it in a lucid manner which any lay reader can understand.

—Rajeshwari Ghose

Title: *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*

Writer: Vijaya Ramaswamy

Publisher: Oxford University Press, 1985

Format: 22½ x 14 cm., xiii, 250 pages, 3 maps, 3 tables, 3 figures, 7 plates

Price: Rs. 150.00

For more than two millennia the fame of cotton goods produced by Indian weavers has extended throughout the known world. The Romans, the first consumers on a world-wide scale, are said to have valued Indian cotton cloth as equal to Chinese silks, and each according to its weight in gold. Numerous archaeological finds have proved that the Romans were early depositors of foreign currency in Indian soil. Cotton, then as now, was one of the pillars supporting

India's international commerce.

Several scholarly works have included the economic importance of cotton in various discussions of the history of India's trade, the techniques of production, or have analyzed the artistic qualities of embroidered and printed goods. Other works have included weavers in a more general description of Indian society. However, to my knowledge, no other historical work has so successfully and so sympathetically analyzed the varying fortunes of South Indian weavers as the scholarly volume under review.

The writer clearly states her objective, which is to study the vicissitudes of the handloom industry and the communities of weavers of South India from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries. She argues convincingly that the social status of the weavers during this period rose and fell with their economic importance. They participated in an ongoing struggle (sometimes with violent results) to assert a greater importance than would be given by theoretical systems defining ritual status. Anti-brahmanical sectarianism, left and right-hand caste divisions and the increasing importance of royal (and, later, Company) patronage were important dimensions of medieval society which were manipulated by weavers. Generally, the communities of weavers suffered during periods of famine and political chaos, but they prospered during the reign of successful dynasties.

Ms. Vijaya Ramaswamy defines three phases of activity during this seven-hundred-year-period. From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries particularly under the Chola dynasty—trade flourished, guilds and village assemblies were powerful, and armies were based on caste. Communities of weavers were concentrated in certain geographical areas where the soil was suitable for cotton cultivation, dyes were available and ports were accessible. Weavers, thus, were not present in every local community but formed part of the ruling group. Weavers often were associated with temple complexes and were important donors. They participated both in local as well as international trade, the latter through merchant corporations (some of which specialized in textiles) and brokers. Those dealing in expensive high quality goods were better off. While not the dominant community in South India, the Kaikkolars appear to have combined their craft with that of the soldiers in the Chola army.

From the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, renewed urbanization, the growth of trade under royal patronage and commercial wars between Golkonda and Vijayanagara (in part stimulated by the Portuguese) all affected communities of weavers. The Vijayanagara kings encouraged textile production by granting facilities and privileges to weavers and traders of cloth. The adoption by the Hindu courts of the Muslim-styled sumptuous attire and palace decoration, also improved the quality and quantity of production. Royal patronage of temples benefitted weavers and other artisans. Weavers participated in the expansion of Telugu-speaking artisans into the Tamil country. The wealth of the weavers, and hence their ability to compete for status, greatly increased during this period. They were able to buy land and give sizeable donations to temples. Not surprisingly, the manipulation of sectarian and other social privileges also increased. At the same time, within these communities a greater difference in roles and wealth occurred. Master-weavers and merchants gained increasing control over production.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, with their settlement at Goa, European involvement in the commerce of South India had begun. At first the competition between various European and English East India Company increased its power, its growing monopoly of trade put craftsmen at a disadvantage. Their lives came to revolve around European factories and "Black Towns". Left and right-hand castes competed fiercely for company contracts. Weaver lost their independence and social standing as merchant middlemen set out the terms for production and as the allure of advances from

the Company reduced craftsmen to a kind of wage slavery. At the end of the seventeenth century, productionist sentiment in England led to the first of a series of laws prohibiting the import of Indian textiles.

This brief sketch barely does justice to the richness of topics covered by the writer. The variety of textiles produced, their uses and values, methods of production, details of settlement, trade and taxation are all discussed. Particularly interesting, are her assessments of various controversies concerning the nature of South Indian society and state. Ms. Vijaya Ramaswamy is careful to note the sources from which her inferences are developed—inscriptions and literary sources in the first period are enhanced by travellers' accounts in the second, and by Company records in the third. However, while she is careful to note bias in the records of European traders, she tends to take inscriptions at face value.

One of the sad ironies of this excellent work is the present condition of the weavers in South India. For while the revival of local handloom manufacture was one of the most important symbols of the revolutionary ideology of the nationalist movement, the writer found that today weavers live in deprivation—underpaid, deeply in debt, their goods unwanted. It is not the mills of Manchester which have accomplished this, but India's indigenous power loom industry and various middlemen who have squeezed their profits out of the labour of dependent producers. Attempts have been made and are being made within the communities of weavers and by the government to increase the economic power and security of these craftsmen. But while India's handloom goods are again asserting their rightful place in the consciousness of those who value quality and artistry, it is by no means clear that her weavers will survive this latest turmoil in a long series of vicissitudes.

—John M. Fritz

Title: *Crafts of Gujarat (Living Traditions of India)*

Editor: Jasleen Dhamija

Publisher: Mapin International, Inc. New York, 1985

Format: 23½ x 23½ cm., xvi, 167 pages, 160 illustrations + 1 map

Price: Not given

The third volume in the edition, "Living Traditions of India" thanks to its well turned-out graphic get-up designed by Dolly Sahiar attracts at the first glance the jacket with the colourful scene from the Tarnetar fair, the superior binding; the perfectly printed flyleaf, and numerous colour as well as black and white illustrations which bring out vividly the uniqueness of the traditional Gujarat crafts and their function in the life of the local inhabitants.

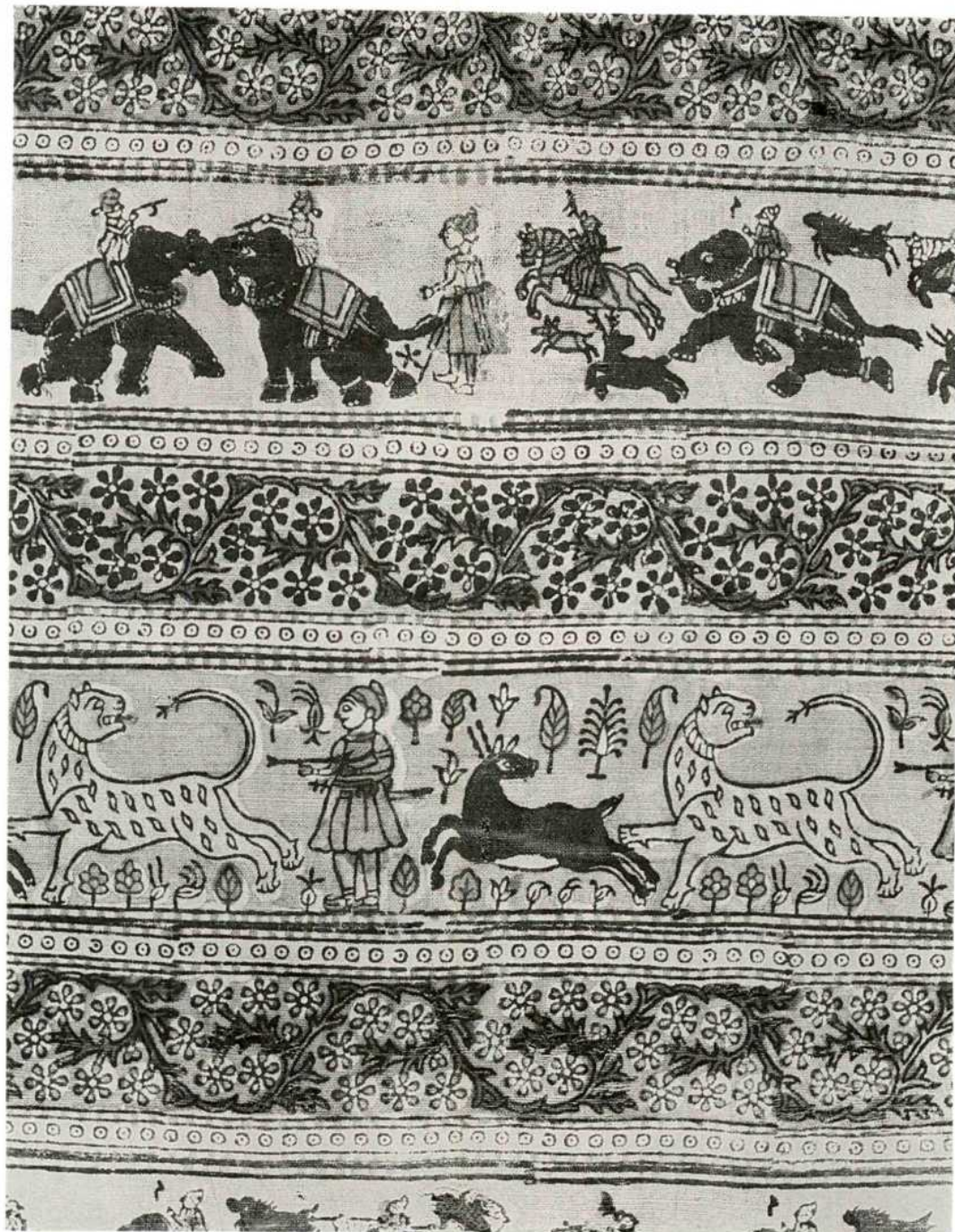
As is clear from the title of the volume itself, its content is considerably wide ranging. It deals not only with embroidery, ornaments and textiles which give the inhabitants of Gujarat a specific character and together form a natural whole, but also with woodwork, stonework, metal work, and pottery, as also votive terracottas, and finally the so-called festive crafts. With this wide range the third volume of this edition differs considerably from the two previous ones which had a marked monographic orientation

(see the one on "Kalamkari: Painted and Printed Fabrics from Andhra Pradesh" by Nelly Sethna, and Votive Terracottas by Haku Shah). These were of interest mostly to those readers who were looking for a deeper knowledge of Indian crafts. The wide range of the third volume was explicitly chosen with a view to making its content as varied as possible and interesting, this time, for a wider circle of readers. For a book not large by the number of pages, 167 pages, this certainly was an exacting task. Mrs. Jasleen Dhamija, the editor, was aware of it and therefore invited a whole team of experts to cooperate with her, knowing that their knowledge of the Indian crafts would guarantee the success of the work. The chapter on Embroidery was compiled by Jaya Jaitly, that on Ornaments by Jyotindra Jain together with Mallika Sarabhai, the one on Textiles by the editor herself. The task of all the contributors however, was made difficult by the fact that they had to write the text with an intimate knowledge as well as veracity, at the same time concisely as the central point of the book was not to be the written word but the pictorial aspect of it, limiting the length of each chapter to two-four pages of continuous text and descriptions of the individual pictures. Every writer, of course, conceived his or her text somewhat differently. The chapter on Embroidery is in the form of a brief survey of the local variations of this craft classified according to the technological point of view and contains much useful information. Similar is the case of the Ornaments and Textiles; the Ornaments however, are classified according to geography. All the three chapters mentioned have the pictorial matter selected in close connection with the running text and, together with the descriptions, form a harmonious whole. It is different in the case of the chapter on Woodwork, the introductory text of which is instructive but deals only with architecture whereas the pictorial section is rather limited, seven illustrations, and gives also reproductions of rural objects to which the writer unfortunately does not even refer to in his introduction. A classical form, clearly and logically formulated, was given to her introduction and text by the writer on the chapter on Stonework. She touched upon the typically classical traditions as well as the folk creations. It is a pity that the pictorial section of this chapter provides only four pictures and that too only examples of the classical work and does not contain a single example of the rural variety of votive objects or hero stones. The introduction to Metal Work is written with a knowledge about the problem and forms with its far richer pictorial part than is the case in the two already mentioned chapters. The introduction is similar to the ones on pottery and votive terracottas. The one on votive terracottas is the shortest (only two pages) may be owing to the fact that a separate volume has already been devoted to it in this series. The last chapter entitled Festive Crafts is beyond the whole concept of the book and appears somewhat incongruous besides the other chapters because it deals with the crafts of Gujarat from quite a different angle from those dealt with in the other chapters, that is, from the point of view of their social significance during festive occasions. The social significance of crafts is certainly an important and attractive problematic question but also very wide ranging and complex and so far not treated in its pictorial form of publication. Therefore a separate volume in the edition should be devoted to it and not just a few remarks and illustrations which merely skim the surface of the topic. On the other hand, what is missing is a brief survey of votive and ritual paintings, scroll paintings, wall paintings and underglass paintings whose importance in the Gujarati tradition is definitely not negligible.

However, as has already been stated, the book under review is primarily a pictorial publication and it is therefore necessary to turn one's attention also to the various photographers. There is Anand Patel who has contributed the largest number of photographs to



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*Detail of a fragment of a block printed
textile. 19th century. India, Rajasthan,
Sanganer. Cotton. Entire piece:
height 101 cm. x width 88.4 cm.
A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1273.*

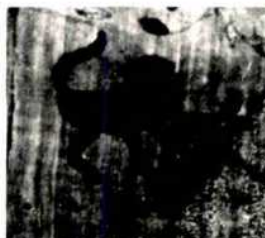


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width 165 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection,
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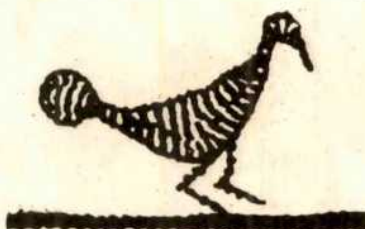
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Kantha (detail). Late 19th century. India, Bengal. Cotton embroidered. Entire piece: height 95 cm. x width 124 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 877.



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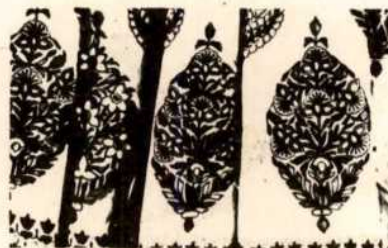
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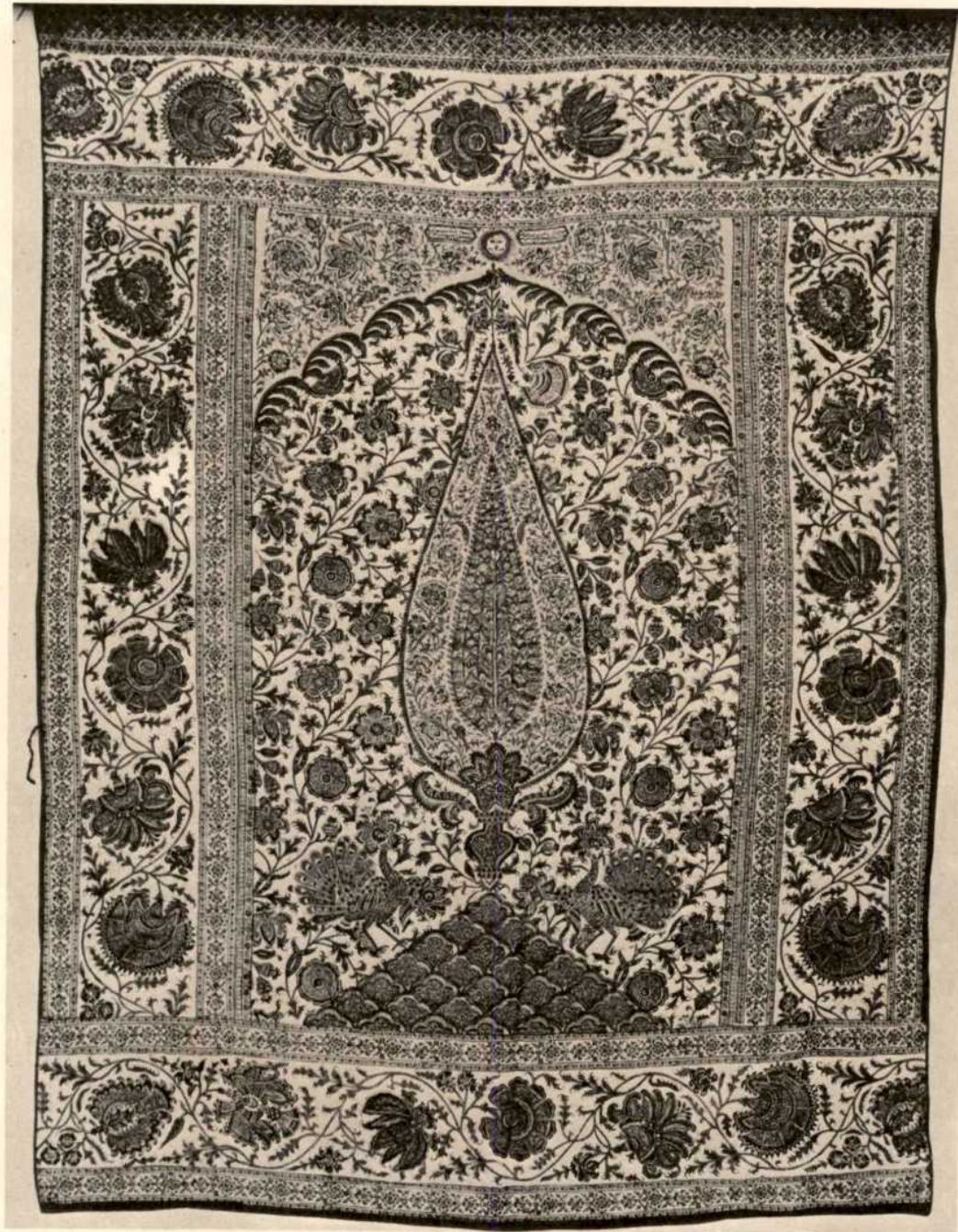


*Detail of a Chuga. 19th century. India.
Silk, brocade. Entire piece: height 124 cm. x
width 182 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection,
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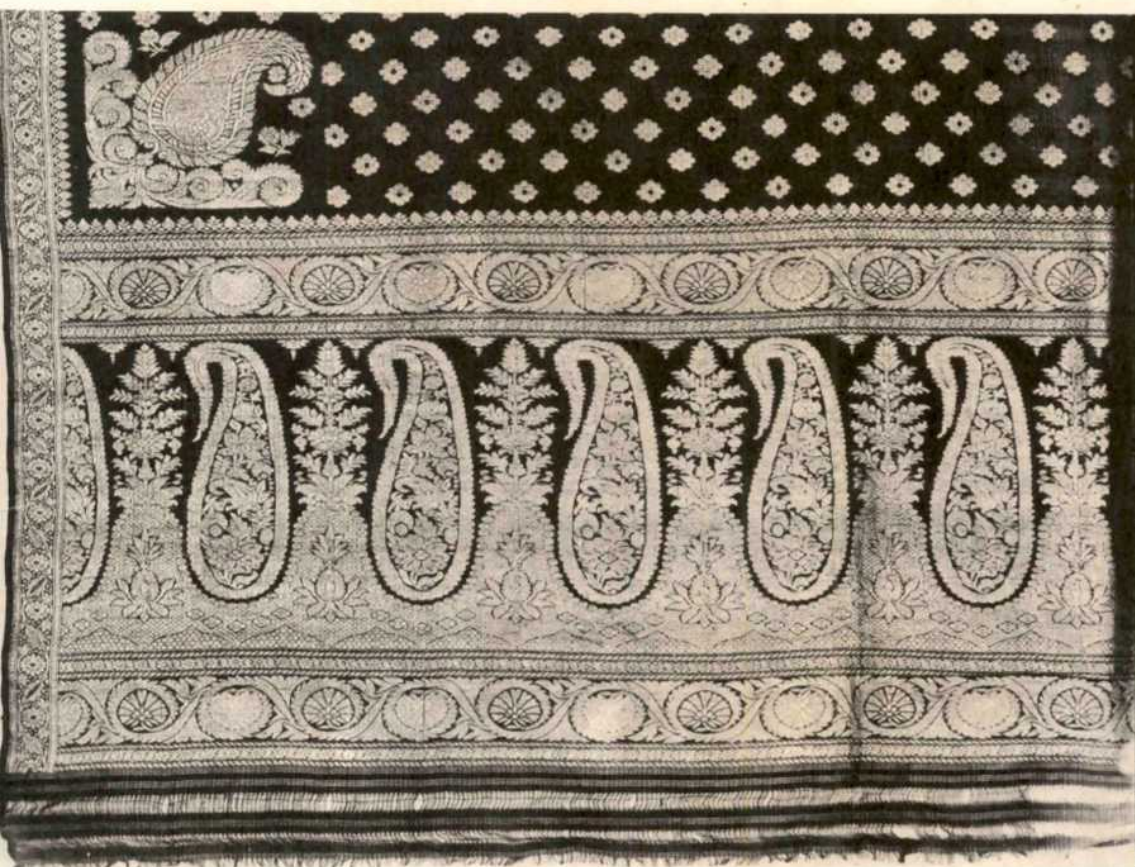
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Jamdani sari (detail). 19th century. India, Bengal (Dacca). Cotton muslin and golden threads. Entire piece: height 498 cm. x width 115 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 494.



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Sari. (detail). 19th century. India, Hyderabad. Silk. Entire piece: height 444 cm. x width 117 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 096.



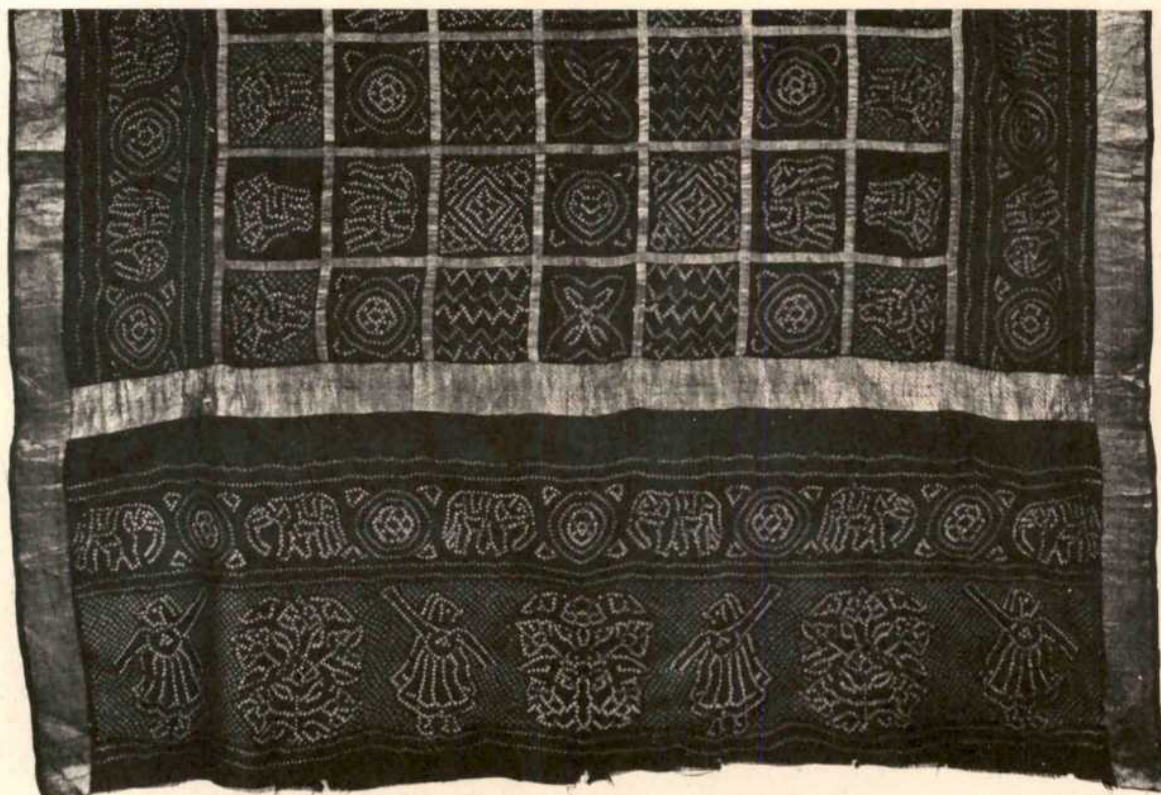


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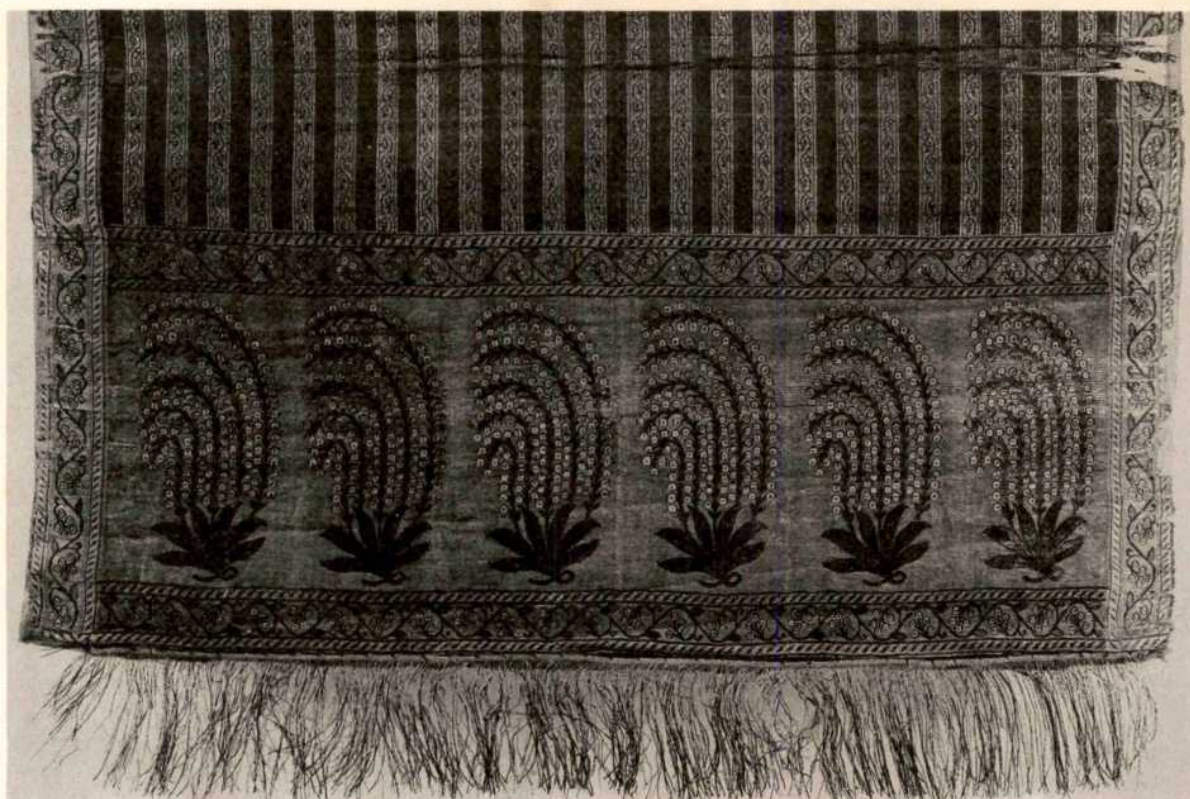


Sari garcholu (detail). Late 19th century. India, Gujarat. Silk; tie and dye (bandhani). Entire piece: height 497 cm. x width 120 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1422.



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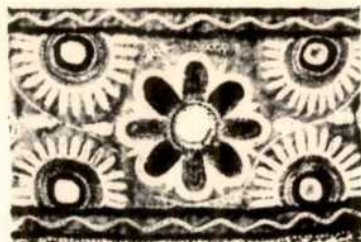


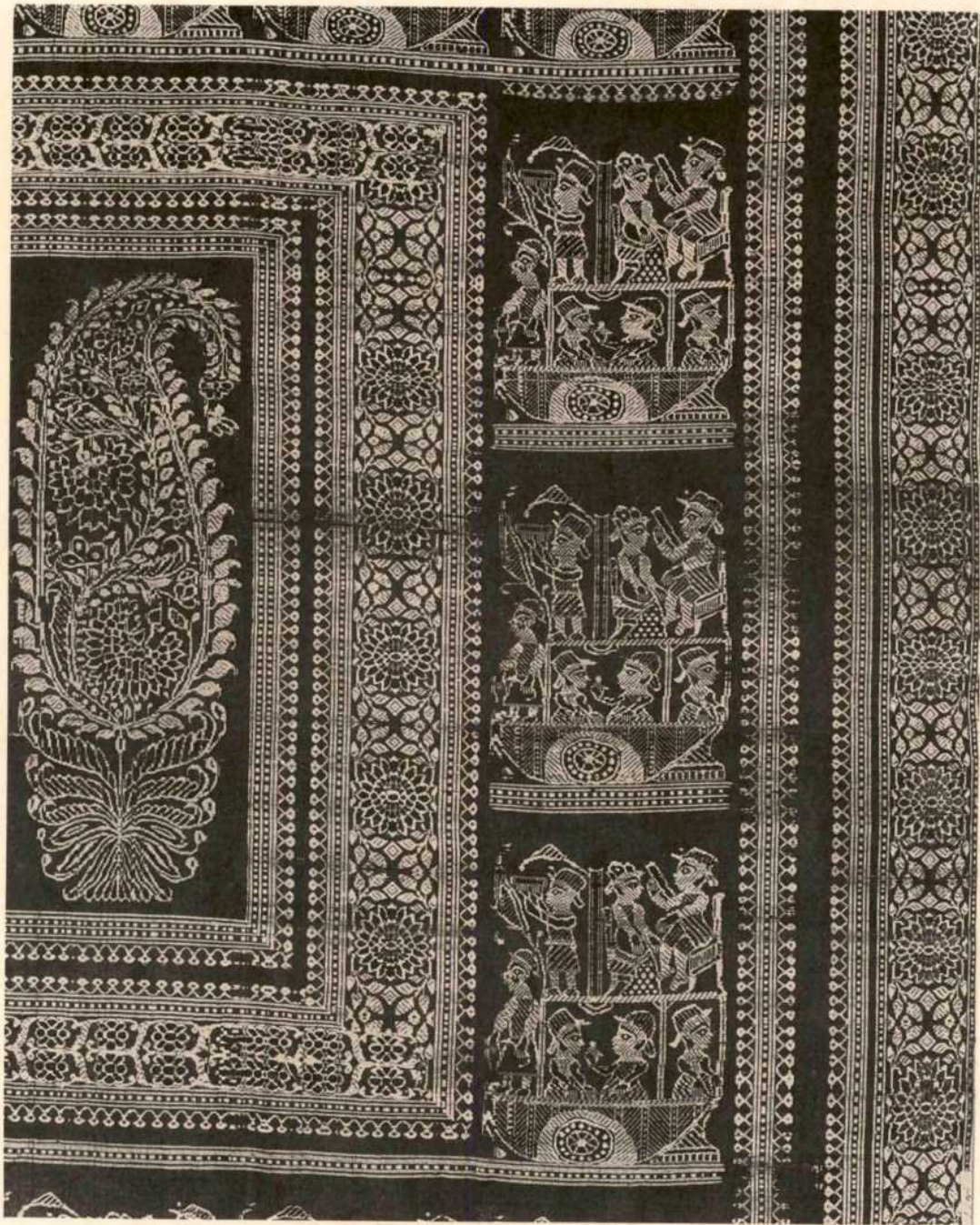
Patka (detail). c. 1700. North India. Silk, brocade. Entire piece: height 254 cm. x width 51 cm. A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 2222.





*Child's costume. Late 19th century. India,
Kutch. Cotton embroidered. Entire piece:
height 48 cm. x width 108 cm. A.E.D.T.A.
Collection, Paris, no. 540.*

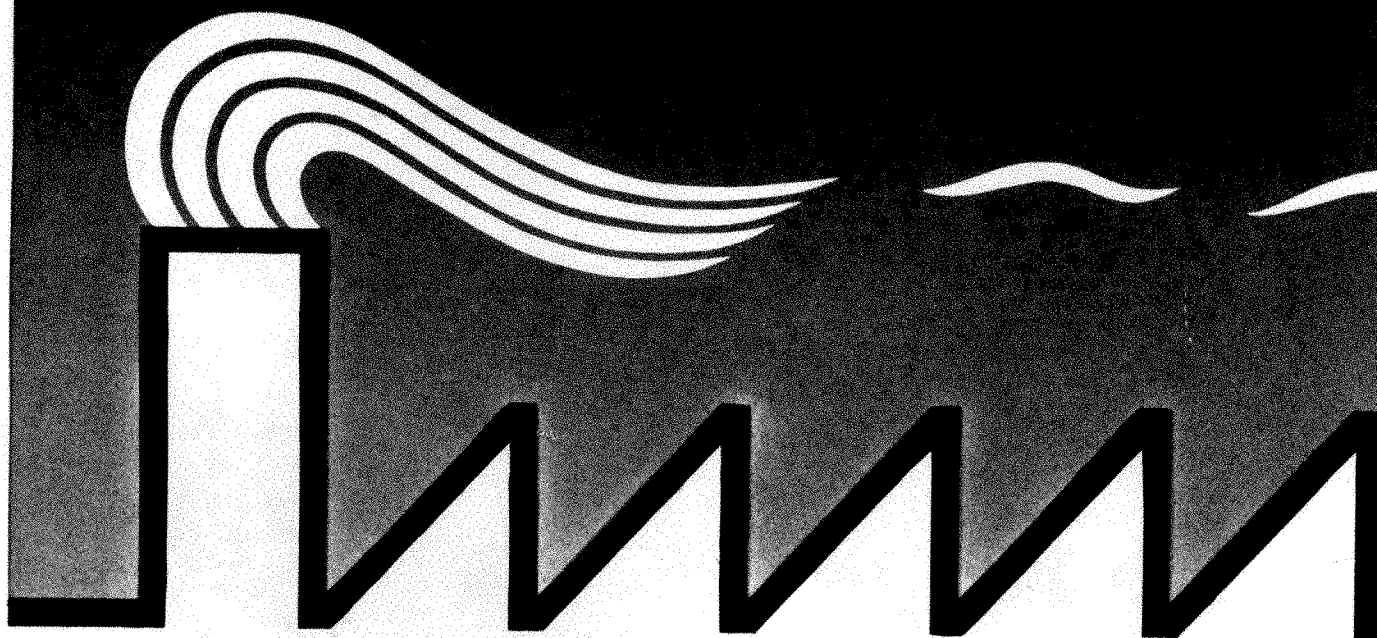




*Detail of Baluchari sari. 19th century.
India, Bengal. Silk. Entire piece: height
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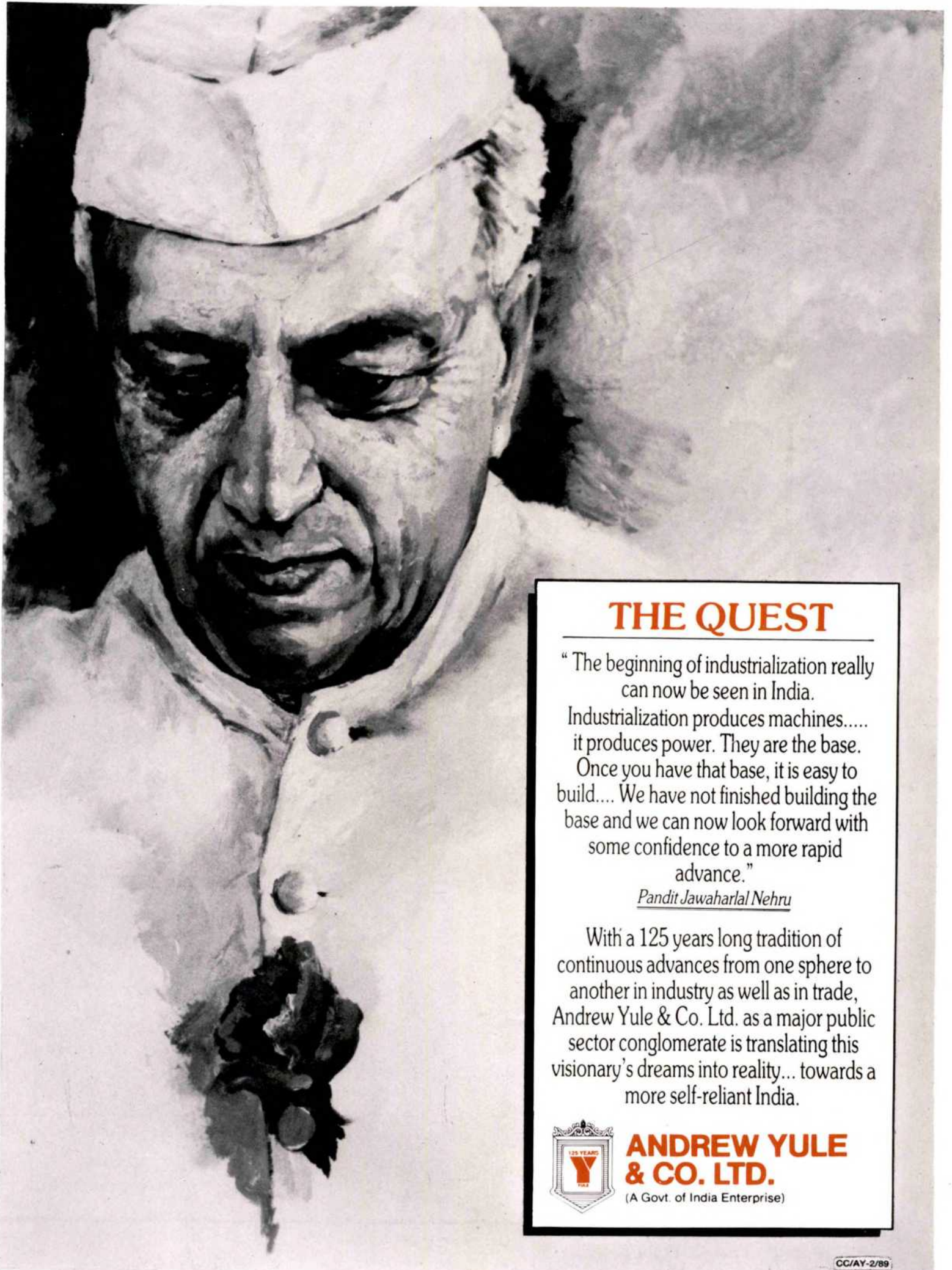


West Gopuram of the Nataraja Temple, Chidambaram, Tamil Nadu, AD twelfth century.

Discussed in the article, The work of the archaeological survey of India by Thomas Tuohy, APOLLO, September 1988. This issue also includes an important article on problems in early Chinese ceramics.

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Indonesia, Sumba. Cotton-ikat. Entire
piece: height 234 cm. x width 141 cm.
A.E.D.T.A. Collection, Paris, no. 1704.*



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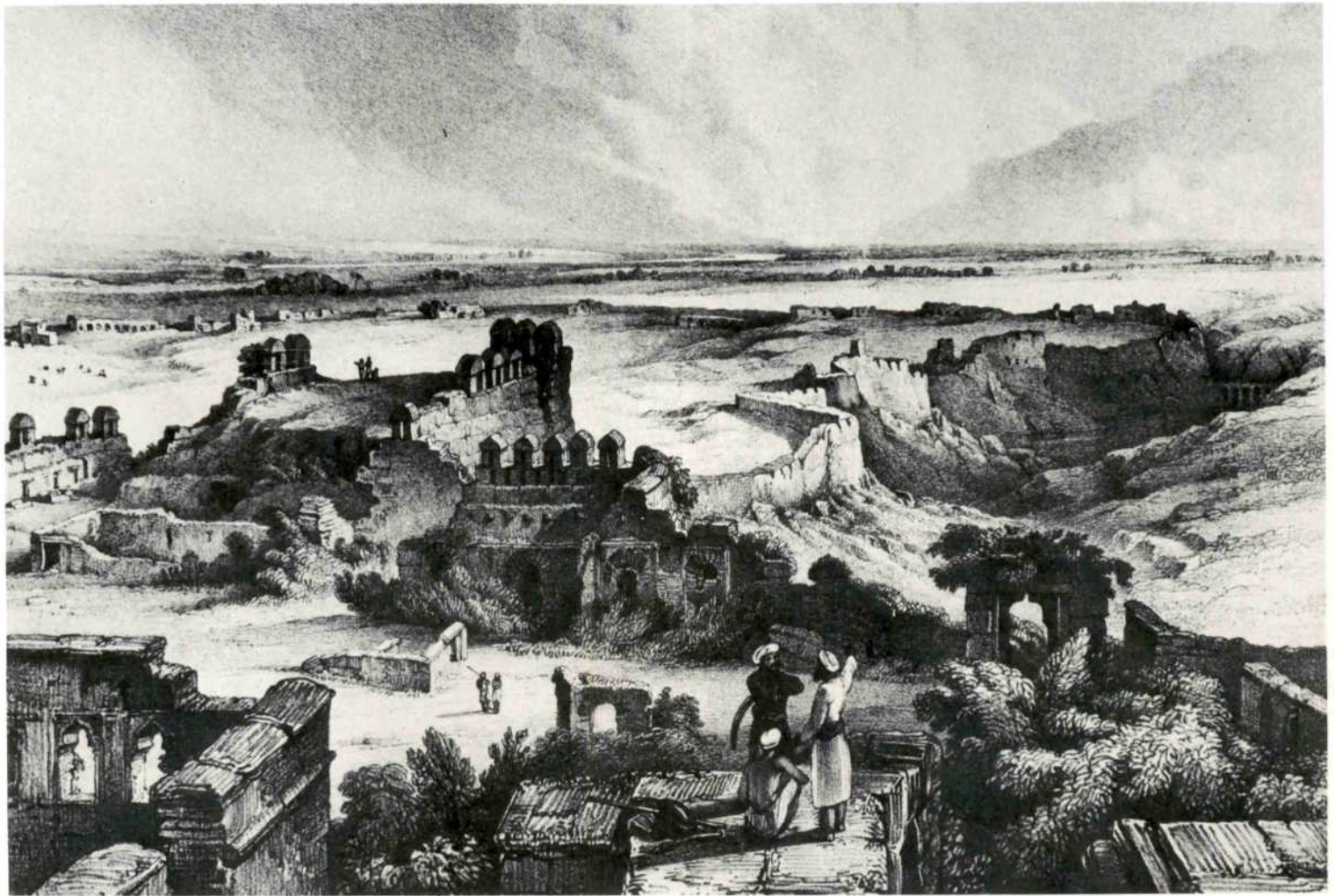


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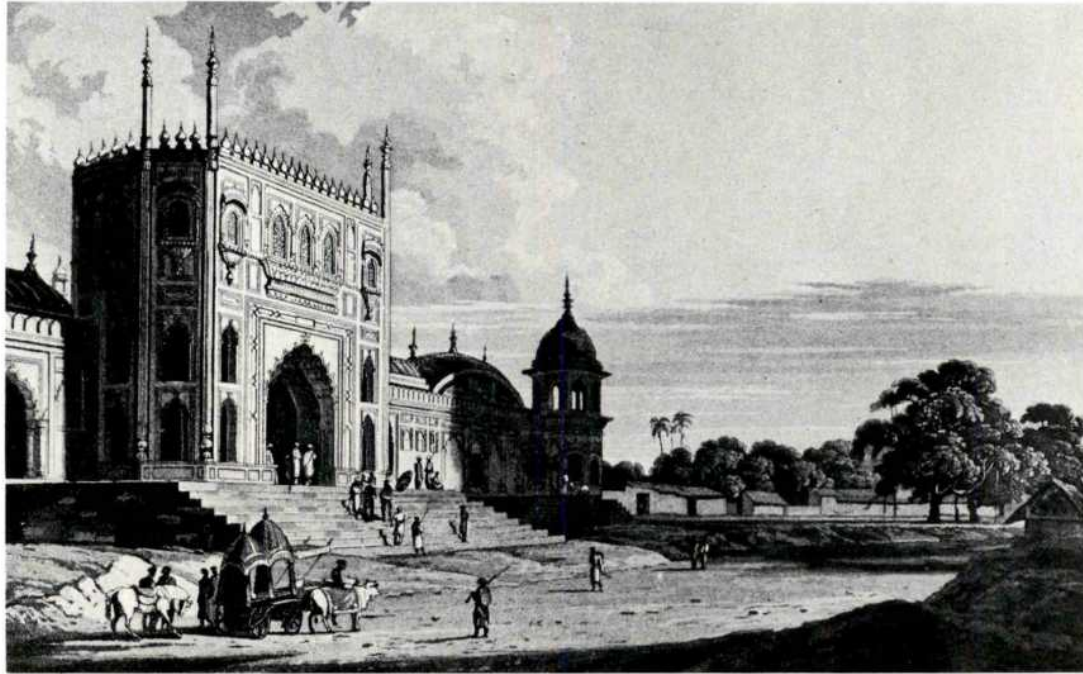
"Togalakabad".

Uncoloured lithograph by and after Captain John Luard from his Views in India, Saint Helena and Car Nicobar.

Printed by C. Hullmandel, London, 1852.

Courtesy, Phillips Antiques, Bombay.



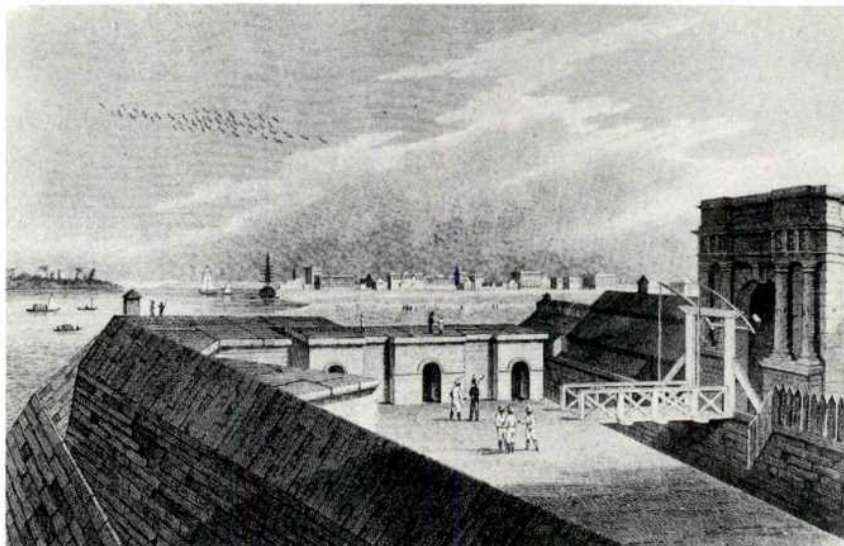


*"Gate of a Mosque, built by Hafiz Ramut, at Pillibeat".
Uncoloured aquatint with etching after Thomas and William Daniell from their reduced
version of Oriental Scenery.
Published by Thomas and William Daniell, 9 Cleveland Street, Fitzroy Square, London, 1813.
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"The Mission Bungalow and School House, Theog, — The Forests of Mahassone and Phago in the distance. — Sunrise".

*Colour lithograph by Thomas Picken after Anne Eliza Scott (Mrs. W. L. L. Scott) from her Views in the Himalayas. Printed by Day & Son and published by Henry Graves & Co., 6 Pall Mall, London, 1852.
Courtesy, Phillips Antiques, Bombay.*



*"The Rocks of Colgong".
Hand-coloured aquatint by G. Hunt after Charles Ramus Forrest from the latter's
A Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna. Published by R. Ackermann,
101 Strand, London, 1824.
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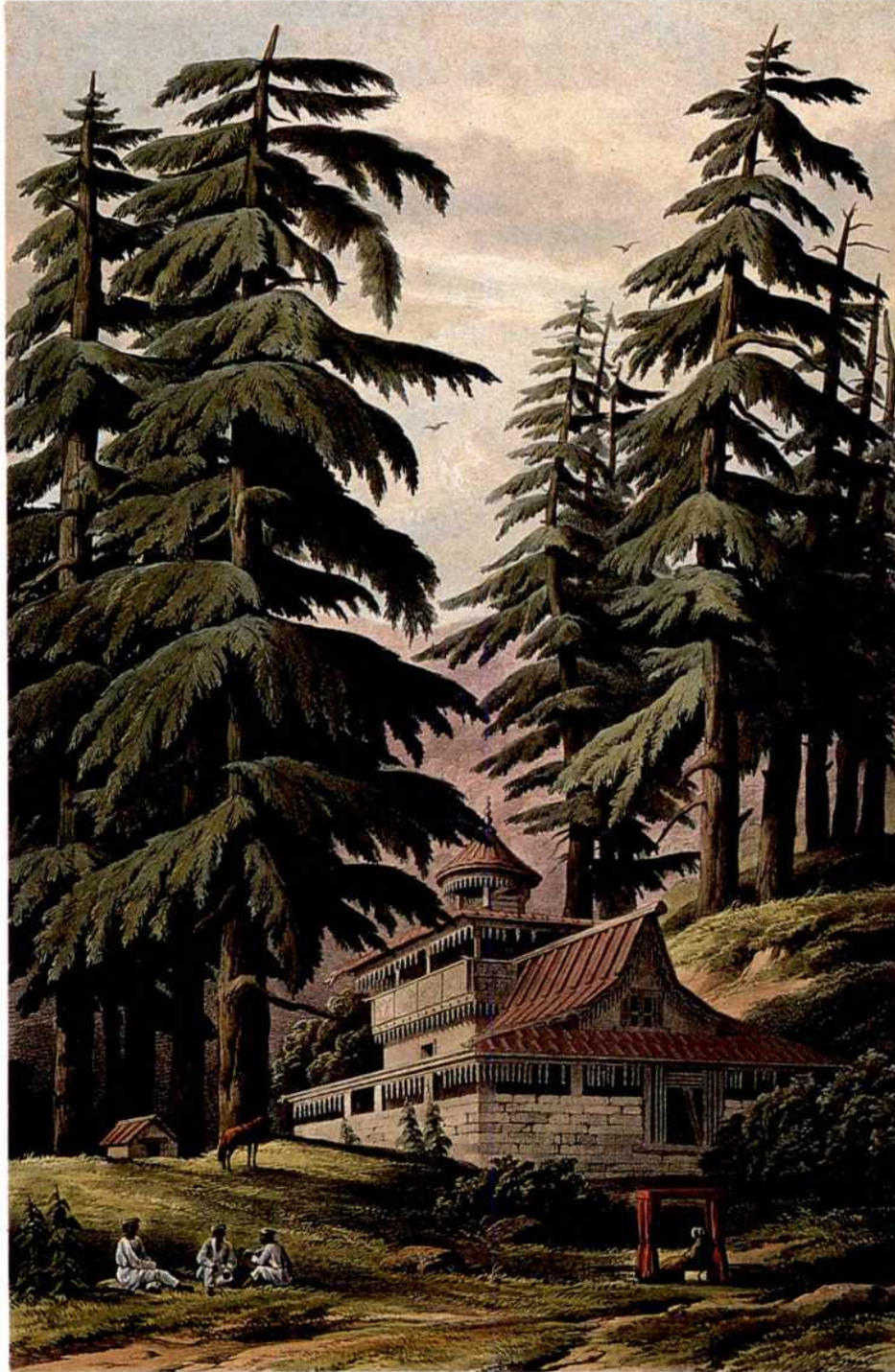


*"Near Gangwaugh Colly, on the River Hoogly".
Hand-coloured aquatint by and after Thomas and William Daniell, from their
A Picturesque Voyage to India by the way of China. Published by Messrs. Longman,
Hurst, Rees & Orme, Paternoster Row, London, 1810.
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from her Views in the Himalayas. Printed by Day & Son and published by Henry
Graves & Co., 6 Pall Mall, London, 1852.
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India — A Selection of Prints People, Places and Flora

Volume XL No. 4

A MAGAZINE OF THE ARTS

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FOR THE
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Cover: "The young lady's toilet".

Coloured lithograph by J. Bouvier after William Tayler, London, 1842.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

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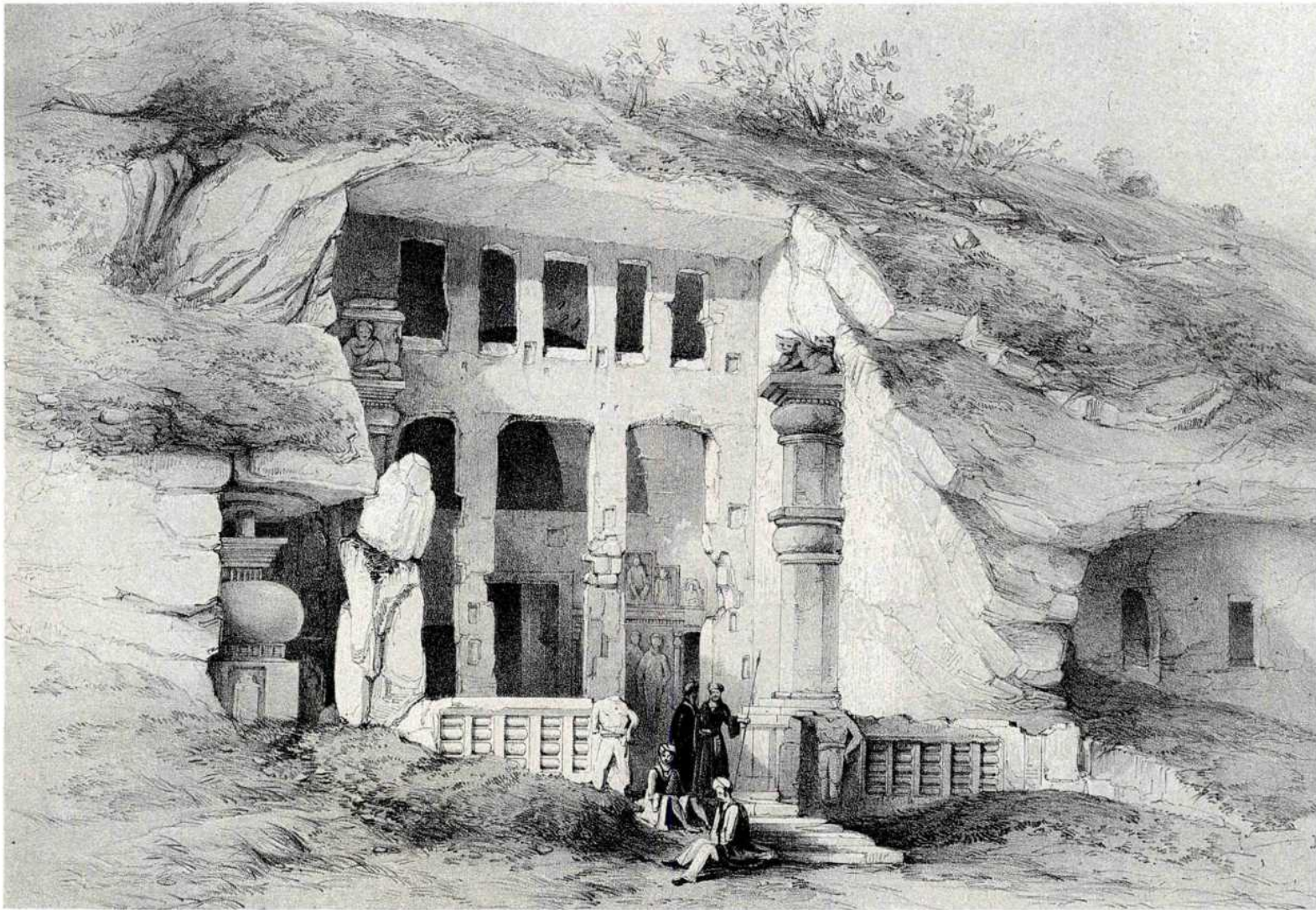
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1. An archaeological study — Exterior of the great chaitya cave at Kanheri. Lithograph by Thomas C. Dibdin after a drawing by James Fergusson from the latter's Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India, London, 1845. India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

INTRODUCTION

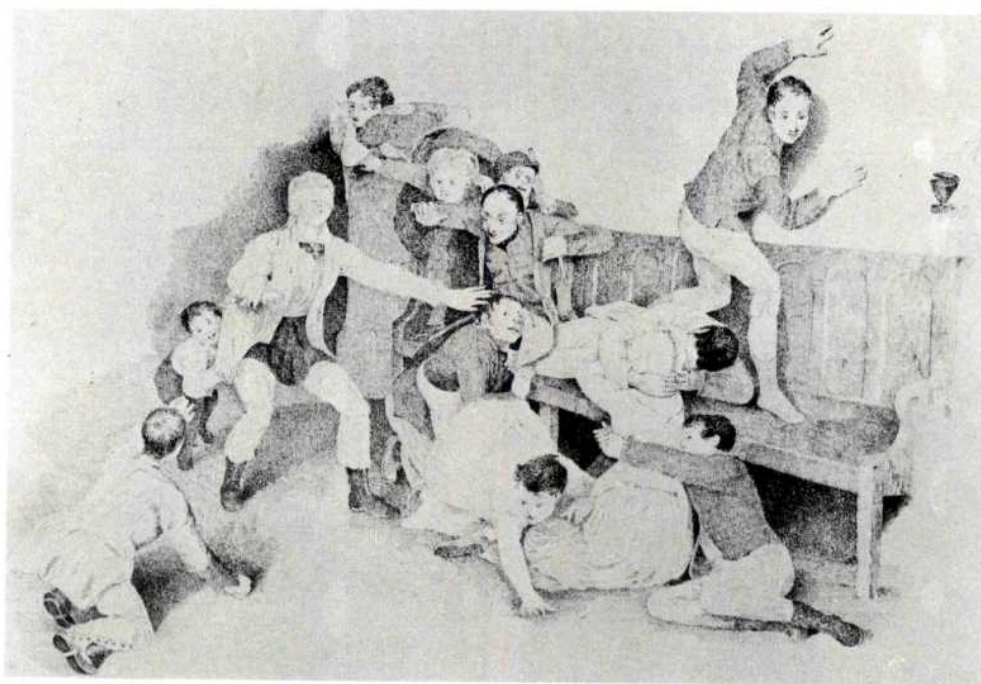
PAULINE ROHATGI AND PHEROZA GODREJ

To launch into the world of prints is like embarking on a never-ending voyage of discovery. Pictorially, the range of subjects is vast. It includes historical episodes, naval and military events, customs, costume, social life, caricature, natural history, field sports and portraiture. In addition, there are topographical views covering architecture and archaeology, besides scenic studies of mountains, rivers, waterfalls and coastlines. Printed maps and typography may also be included. As one delves further into the subject, the events that led to the production of a particular print, or indeed any form of printing, and the role of the people involved in this process, become increasingly fascinating. Knowledge of the circumstances leading to printing and publication and the reason why a particular print was issued (facts not always easy to ascertain), add greatly to its interest.

What is a Print?

By definition, a print is an image that has been produced by a technical means which enables it to be multiplied. Such techniques range from the simple lino or potato-cut, through the more complex hand processes of engraving and lithography, to the most sophisticated type of photomechanical colour printing invented to date. A distinction is normally made in the definition of a print, however, between the hand techniques and the photomechanical processes; the latter developed and generally replaced the former for commercial purposes from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. Every print formed by one of the hand techniques is classified as an original. When the print was first published the particular subject portrayed was intended for a wide audience. Prints produced by the various new processes, resulting largely from the invention of photography, are usually described as reproductions.

In general, prints fall into three categories. They may be single items, part of a set or a series, or illustrations in a printed book or journal. For example, subjects such as portraits or historical events were often published singly. Prints depicting places, customs or natural history were frequently produced in sets, or as a series over a period of time. If the publication of a series was planned over a number of years, the prints were usually issued in parts; each part could contain several prints and be offered to subscribers in a folder or wrapper. The entire range of subjects is to be found among the book illustrations in the great wealth of literature, for example, on India dating from the seventeenth century onwards. Sometimes they simply enhance a narrative or provide a visual dimension to a particular passage in the text. In other cases, they form an integral part of the volume and may even be



2. A caricature—Blind man's buff.
Talc tracing by Sir Charles D'Oyly, c. 1824.
Private Collection.

the prime reason for its publication. Such books or folios generally have an introduction to the subject and a description accompanying each print.

The reasons for publication varied greatly. Prints were produced to extend knowledge. Many were issued for scientific, educational, political or commemorative purposes, while others were published simply to entertain and even amuse the spectator. In addition, a large number of prints was made solely for artistic reasons.

There are three basic techniques of printing: relief, intaglio and surface printing. The relief process follows the potato-cut principle whereby a print would be made as a result of inking the uncut surface areas. The image obviously appears laterally inverted. Woodcut and wood-engraving are typical of the relief technique.

The intaglio processes, all of which come under the general term of engraving, require a metal plate which, in the early days, was normally copper. The plate would be either cut into by hand or bitten into by acid. It was then inked for printing so that the ink penetrated the incisions. The surface of the plate was subsequently cleaned, with the result that when it was printed, the image represented the incised lines laterally inverted. Line-engraving, etching, mezzotint, stipple and aquatint are among the most common types of intaglio engraving.

Surface printing, as its title suggests, is the process of printing from a plane surface, such as a smooth stone, on which the image to be printed is ink-receptive and the blank area ink-repellent. In the case of lithography it is based on the principle that grease and water do not mix. The lithographic image is also laterally inverted during printing.

The print-making process usually began with a sketch or painting, although the end result in the form of a print was not always envisaged, or indeed intended, by the artist at the outset. The original drawing, as in the case of a landscape, would normally have been made on the spot or, as in the preliminary studies of flora or fauna, executed from a specimen. Proposals for publishing a particular subject could follow even many years after the original drawing had been made. This would take place once it was realized that the subject had a public appeal. It was often the case that a painting or sketch of a particular person, event or subject became specially significant or popular enough to merit circulation through the



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3. A portrait—"Maharaja Mitrajit Singh Bahadur. Raja Tirhut Kya. C. W. Smith 1828. From an Original of Jeyram Das's *Behar Lithy*". Lithograph from an album compiled by Mrs. Jean Macnabb, c. 1830. India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

print medium. The projected publication would frequently be announced in the press to attract subscribers.

Normally a water-colour drawing would be specially prepared, or worked up, for the graphic artist, from the original sketch or painting. He would then transfer the image on to the copper plate (if it was to be engraved) or on to the lithographic stone (if it was to be lithographed). This particular process needed considerable skill, and usually required a professional engraver or lithographer. As a result of this, numerous specialist print and publishing firms were established throughout Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of them survived for several generations, and a few still exist today. Some of the original artists, however, also produced their own prints instead of employing professionals.

Prints of India

As far as India is concerned, prints made from sketches and paintings by European artists are of paramount importance. Their relevance may be appreciated further when one considers the differences in the stylistic traditions of Indian and European art. Although Indian miniature painters were keen observers of nature, the compositions of their paintings tended

to be conceptual. By contrast, European artists interpreted nature perceptually and one trend in the history of European art led to a high degree of realism using aerial perspective. This quality is also to be found in the prints. As a result, many prints may be valued as accurate visual records of the past. Those depicting topography might show places or buildings that no longer survive or that have altered beyond recognition. Social events, contemporary customs and portraiture are a few of the topics that reflect the spirit of this bygone age. In addition, the prints are often, in themselves, most attractive compositions and many are also fine examples of the particular technique of engraving or lithography by which they were produced. They frequently display characteristics of the art style then in vogue, such as the Picturesque which became popular in the latter part of the eighteenth century or the Romantic which developed somewhat later. Above all, prints of India reveal the tremendous interest on the part of European artists, in numerous visual aspects of the country. But, as one discovers while probing deeper into the subject, their interest went far beyond its purely pictorial features.

The early contacts between Europe and India were largely a result of voyages made for trading purposes. From the sixteenth century onwards, the Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danish and French gradually established trading settlements or factories mostly around coastal India. The Portuguese occupied the region of Goa and other parts along the west coast. Success in establishing an English factory at Surat (a port of the Mughal Empire), alongside those of other European countries, led the English East India Company to found other settlements during the course of the seventeenth century. The most important of these were Madras, Bombay and Calcutta.

Many of these Europeans developed specific interests and kept journals and accounts of their discoveries and travels in India. Some of their published works are embellished with woodcuts and engravings. Although many of the illustrations tend to be fanciful, since they were produced by print-makers who had never visited India, they nevertheless provide an invaluable source of visual information about these early days.

The expansion of the East India Company led to the appointment of an increasing number of civilians and military personnel, especially from the eighteenth century onwards. In addition, there were many free merchants and adventurers. As life in the Presidency capitals, especially in Calcutta and Madras, became more structured and settled, people became increasingly interested in acquiring pictures.

Professional portrait and landscape painters as well as a few professional engravers began to arrive in India, with permission from the East India Company, from about the 1760s onwards. Their intention was to make a living largely through patronage in India, and eventually to return to England.

A much larger group of British artists in India, however, may be classed as amateurs—men in civil or military employ and their wives, for whom sketching was an important pastime. There were also, for example in survey work, those who were required to make drawings of a variety of subjects as part of their official duties. Some of them also sketched in their leisure time. Many of the sketches and paintings by these professional, amateur and official artists were also published as prints. Some artists actually produced engravings or lithographs in India itself, and even set up private printing studios to do so. Lithographic presses were also established in the main cities by the Company. The majority of artists returned to England with their material and organized publication through a printing and publishing firm.

The heyday of artistic activity among British artists in India coincided with the golden age of engraving and lithography in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The outcome was a great wealth of printed images, some aspects of which are highlighted in this volume. These illustrated articles are based largely on the collections in the India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London. Their holdings comprise the largest and most comprehensive collection in existence, of prints relating to the Indian subcontinent.

THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

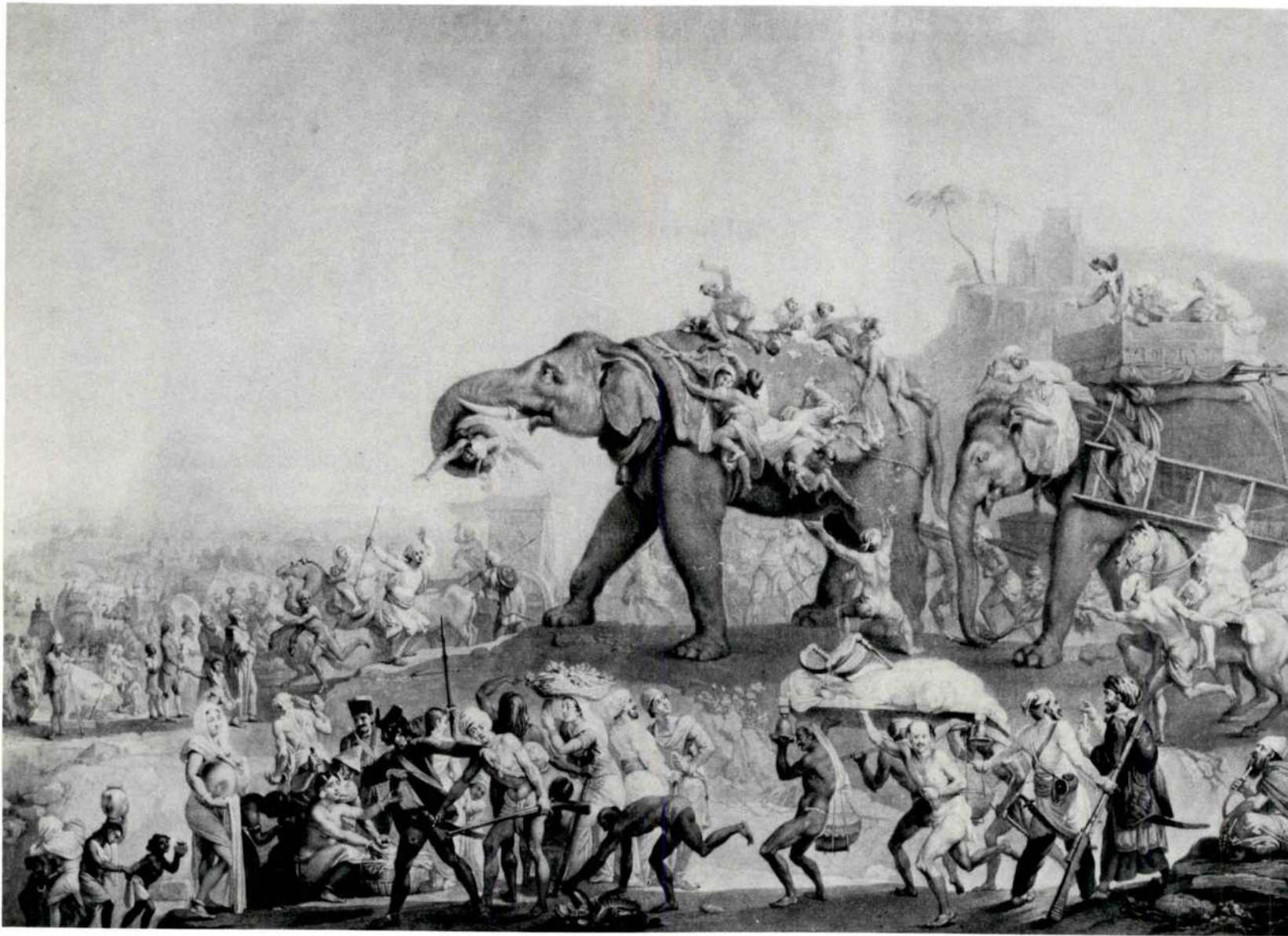
MILDRED ARCHER

The concept of the picturesque played a vital part in British art in the eighteenth century. Several treatises were published, which discussed and clarified the meaning of the term. In 1792, William Gilpin published *Three essays*, on "Picturesque Beauty", "Picturesque Travel", and on "Sketching Landscape". Two years later, Sir Uvedale Price also published a work entitled *Essay on the Picturesque*. They all dealt with the manner in which picturesque scenes or characters should be transferred to canvas or paper. The eighteenth century was the Age of Enlightenment and a period of eager scientific enquiry, when men and women were interested in subjects of every kind. Foreign travel added new interests for many and India in particular appealed to artists with a zest for the picturesque.

Numerous prints illustrating a great range of subjects reflecting these interests, were published mainly for the benefit of the British public in England and for those resident in India. Most professional artists working in India, such as William Hodges or Thomas Daniell, were largely concerned with landscape. A number, especially among the amateur artists, was interested in the costume, customs and occupations of the Indian people. These too formed the subjects of many engravings and lithographs published in England and occasionally in India. A general interest in picturesque and exotic costume had already developed in England by 1773, when Thomas Jeffry published *A collection of the different dresses of different nations especially old British dresses*. The vogue for representing people of distant lands was also beginning to flourish in Europe at that time.

John Zoffany (1733-1810)

Three mezzotint engravings by Richard Earlom after oil paintings by John Zoffany, a professional portrait painter who worked in Calcutta and Lucknow, provide a vivid record of the colourful events which Zoffany actually witnessed in India between 1784 and 1788. The print of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cockfight" depicts the extravagant life at the court of Asaf-ud-Daula, who ruled as Nawab of Oudh from 1775 until 1797. Mordaunt was Commander of the Nawab's bodyguard. On June 3, 1784, Zoffany was present at a cockfight which was attended by all the leading Indian and European members of Lucknow society. The mezzotint after Zoffany's painting showing the spectators watching the two birds in contest, was published in London in 1792 and it was extremely popular.



1. "Embassy of Hyderbeck to Calcutta. From the Vizier of Oude, by the way of Patna, to meet Lord Cornwallis". Published with a key engraving.
 Mezzotint engraving by Richard Earlom after John Zoffany, London, 1800.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Fig. 1 The second print, published in 1800, shows the "Embassy of Hyderbeck to Calcutta". In late 1786, Asaf-ud-Daula's minister, Haidar Beg Khan, was on his way to meet the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, when Zoffany, who was returning to Calcutta from Lucknow, caught up with the baggage train. When it was nearing Patna, a *musth* elephant ran amok causing great confusion as Zoffany shows so dramatically in his rendering of this episode.

About two years after this event, Zoffany attended a tiger hunt at Chandernagore in Bengal, which became the subject of another painting, engraved by Richard Earlom and published in 1802. Like the first two prints, "Tiger Hunting in the East Indies" shows a scene crowded with people of different castes and nationalities. The scene of

Fig. 2 the embassy of Haidar Beg Khan, for example, includes a Portuguese doctor and his

Index to the Embassy of Hyderbeck, from the Vizier of OUDE to Calcutta, by the way of PATNA, to meet Lord Cornwallis.



Nº 1. A Male Baysage Elephant, irritated by his Driver, who is taken from his Seat and destroyed, and by the Violence of the Elephant's Action, are seen the Women and Children falling from his Back, this was the moment when Mr Zoffany took his Design for the Picture. 2. A Female Elephant. 3. Elephant Driver. 4. John Kannevery, the Company's Interpreter at Lucknow. 5. Nabob's Interpreter. 6. John Lofting Esq. 7. House keeper to Dill. 8. An Attendant who always keeps pace with his Horse. 9. The River Ganges. 10. Patna. 11. Soldiers for preserving Order, created by Order of Warren Hastings Esq. 12. A Soldier's Wife and Attendants. 13. An Hurdle with Ladies and their Attendants. 14. A Delhi Soldier. 15. Europeans busy on their March. 16. Hyderabad's Square. 17. Nabob's Horse & Grooms. 18. Patna Midway to Calcutta. 19. Portuguese Doctor, Wife & Son. 20. Native Soldiers. 21. A Fakir, who always keeps the same Position. 22. A Dill. 23. A Dill. 24. Young Hindoos coming from Buthing. 25. Women bringing Water from the Ganges. 26. A Woman. 27. A Hindoo selling Eggs to a Soldier. 28. A Hindoo Soldier. 29. A Native Soldier, parading or obliging a Prisoner to carry his Arms. 30. A Fakir. 31. A Hindoo Girl. 32. An Hindoo. 33. A Young Persian. 34. Women or Grooms, carrying Bedding to. 35. A Native Soldier. 36. A Delhi Soldier. 37. A Mole or Priest.

Published at Sale, after the Death of LAYBURN & WHITTE, at the Sign of the Lion, in Pall Mall.

2. Key engraving to "Embassy of Hyderbeck to Calcutta".

London, 1800.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

family, a Persian, a brahmin, a holy man, coolies carrying bedding, village women with water pots and soldiers. The viewpoint for each scene was chosen by Zoffany to capture to the greatest visual extent, the people, their picturesque costume and their various reactions to these events.

François Balthazar Solvyns (1760-1824)

A little later, François Balthazar Solvyns, a professional artist from Antwerp working in Calcutta from 1790, became aware of the opportunities offered to an artist by the wide range of occupations among the local people in the city as well as in the surrounding countryside of Bengal. On arriving in Calcutta, he endeavoured to work as a marine



3. "A Ooria Brahmun".

Hand-coloured etching by and after François Balthazar Solvyns, Calcutta, 1799.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Fig. 3 artist but with little success. He then thought he might be able to earn a comfortable livelihood by drawing the costume and occupations of the people around him. On February 6, 1794 (with the encouragement of Sir William Jones), he announced his lavish scheme for "250 coloured etchings descriptive of the manners, customs, character, dress and religious customs of the Hindoos" to be issued in twelve folio parts at one sicca rupee a plate, in the weekly newspaper, the *Calcutta Gazette*. He carried out the task with great dedication, making drawings of every caste and occupation he could find. He also included different methods of transport, musical instruments and the various pipes used for smoking. He then proceeded to etch all the plates himself. The venture, however, proved to be a dismal failure financially. Indeed, had he not married an English woman, Mary Anne Greenwood, who was comfortably off, he would not have been able to continue working on the gruelling task of producing his marathon work. The prints were issued between 1796 and 1799, as he had planned. But, as the *Calcutta Gazette* noted in Solvyns' obituary notice in 1824: "The sketches though not very picturesque, are very



4. "A loom with the process of winding off the thread".
Coloured stipple engraving by Peltro William Tompkins after Arthur William Devis, London, c. 1800.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

faithful delineations. He must have been a man of very laborious and observant research. The engravings executed by himself are very rude." This was the reason for the lack of appreciation by Solvyns' contemporaries. The prints failed as images in terms of the picturesque. That nothing had been wrong with Solvyns' initial idea or the choice of subject was soon to be proved by William Orme who, following their publication in Calcutta, redrew sixty of the original plates in London in 1804 and 1805. They were engraved in the more delicate technique of stipple, as compared with the etching process. They were likewise hand-coloured, but in more attractive and softer shades of green, pink and mauve. As a result, Edward Orme, who was the actual publisher and print-seller, was able to market them successfully.

From Calcutta, Solvyns and his wife returned to Antwerp and then moved to Paris. Here, between 1808 and 1812, he brought out a new and even larger edition of his work at ruinous expense. Entitled *Les Hindous*, this too did not succeed. Today, however, Solvyns' original etchings published in Calcutta are appreciated for the charm and sensitive portrayal of their subjects. The dignified and sometimes melancholy figures depicted in sombre colours of brown and fawn convey the character and surroundings of these humble city dwellers and local villagers. Many details, accurately recorded by Solvyns, provide a wealth of information concerning caste, costume and craft technology in Bengal in the late eighteenth century.

Arthur William Devis (1762-1822)

In 1784, the professional portrait painter, Arthur William Devis went to India. He too became fascinated by the craftsmen involved in the manufacturing processes that he saw around him while travelling in the Bengal and Bihar countryside. He made a series of oil paintings of muslin, cotton and carpet weavers, sugar and saltpetre manufacturers, potters and brass-workers. These craftsmen are most sensitively portrayed in their natural surroundings with the implements of their trade around them. Several of the paintings, including his study of "A loom with the process of winding off the thread", were executed in 1792 at Santipur, a centre of the muslin industry situated about ninety-seven kilometres north of Calcutta in Bengal.

That Devis had planned a series of engravings to be made from the paintings is confirmed by announcements in the press the same year. On July 19, the *Madras Courier* advertised "proposals for publishing by subscription a series of prints illustrative of the arts, manufactures and agriculture of Bengal from paintings taken from nature by Mr. Devis." A total of thirty prints were to be engraved in England under Devis' supervision and issued in three parts with a description of each scene. Later, on October 18, the *Calcutta Gazette* reported: "Mr. Devis is at present at Santipore busily engaged in the execution of his paintings from which the engravings of the arts and manufactures of Bengal are to be taken; and we are happy to understand that they are in such progress as promises soon to gratify the patrons of this extensive undertaking with the possession of a most desirable specimen of the abilities of our favourite artist."

In 1800, a coloured stipple engraving by J. Wright entitled "A pottery with the various utensils in general use" after one of Devis' paintings was published. "A loom with the process of winding off the thread" was engraved in stipple by Peltro William Tompkins and probably appeared about the same time. Devis had returned from India to England in 1795, and had fallen increasingly into debt. Although it is possible that more of his paintings of the Indian occupations and manufactures were published, these are the only two prints out of the thirty originally planned by Devis, which are known to exist. Several of the original paintings, however, still survive.

Fig. 4



5. "Palankeen passing through a tope of cocoanut, palmyra and arica trees".
 Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by John Wells after Charles Gold, London, 1806.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Charles Gold (died 1842)

Few British artists were able to compete with Solvyns in the volume of work produced. A number of British amateurs, both men and women, many of whom were skilled water-colourists, succeeded however in publishing their drawings of people as illustrations to their memoirs after returning to England. Captain Charles Gold, for example, served in Mysore. While travelling with a detachment of the Royal Artillery between 1791 and 1798, he made drawings of various local people whom he met on the way. They included ascetics engaged in religious practices, villagers going about their work, women pounding rice, barbers, jugglers, sepoys and marriage processions. Forty-nine of these drawings were used to illustrate his book, *Oriental drawings*, which was published in London in 1806. Fig. 5



6. "Duck shooting".

Lithograph by and after Sir Charles D'Oyly, Patna, 1829.

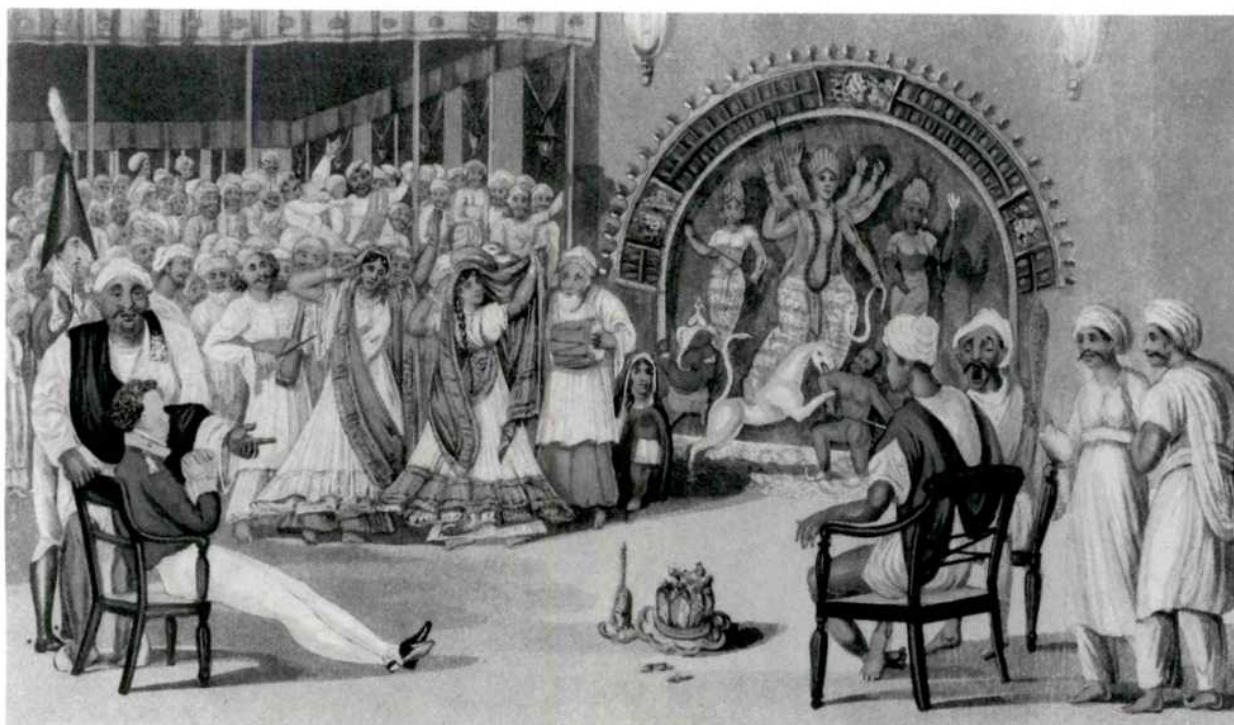
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Sir Charles D'Oyly (1781-1845)

One of the most skilled amateur artists whose drawings of people were published as prints, was Sir Charles D'Oyly. An energetic East India Company servant, he served in India between 1798 and 1838. Wherever he was posted, in Calcutta, Dacca and in Patna, he made sketches of people and places. At the same time, he encouraged his friends and colleagues to draw. While at Patna from 1821 to 1832, he organized a light-hearted art society called "The Behar School of Athens". He imported a lithographic press from England and taught a local Patna artist, Jairam Das, how to operate it. In this way, he was able to publish lithographs from the members' drawings; they were issued in Patna in a periodical entitled *The Behar Amateur Lithographic Scrapbook*. In 1828, a set of lithographs, *Indian Sports*, was also published. As a result of encouraging his friend, Christopher Webb Smith, a keen ornithologist, to draw Indian birds, they jointly published *The Feathered Game of Hindostan* in the same year, with lithographs printed at the Behar Press.

In 1813, Edward Orme published in London, *The costume and customs of modern India*. It is illustrated with twenty coloured aquatints by John H. Clark and C. Dubourg after drawings by D'Oyly and contains descriptions by Captain Thomas Williamson who was already known for *Oriental field sports*, which had also been published by Orme in 1808.

Rudolph Ackermann, another well-known London publisher, issued in 1828, an amusing poem by D'Oyly illustrated with small coloured aquatints after his own drawings. Entitled *Tom Raw the Griffin*, it describes the life and adventures of a young East India Company cadet. Beginning with his appointment, the illustrations frequently depict the hero in awkward situations, such as mounting an elephant for the first time, mistaking a French milliner for a Hindu goddess and being carried up-country in a palanquin when the bottom of it gives way.



7. "Tom Raw at a Hindoo entertainment".
 Hand-coloured aquatint engraving after Sir Charles D'Oyly, London, 1828.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



8. "Tom Raw sits for his portrait".
 Hand-coloured aquatint engraving after Sir Charles D'Oyly, London, 1828.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



9. "The young lady's toilet".

Coloured lithograph by J. Bouvier after William Tayler, London, 1842.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

The lady is being attended by her ayah, while "a khidmutgar boy (a table attendant) is bringing in a bottle of iced water; the striped cloth purdah hanging before the door, at the back of the picture, is a common appendage to Indian rooms." (Tayler's text to his illustration).

William Tayler (1808-1892)

Like Sir Charles D'Oyly, another East India Company servant, William Tayler, was for many years in the Bengal civil service, and rose to become Commissioner of Patna in 1855. Tayler was an unconventional character and was amused by the pomposity of some of his British colleagues. His *Sketches illustrating the manners and customs of the Indians and Anglo-Indians*, which was published in London in 1842, provides a visual record of a young civilian and his wife in their home, attended by their servants: they are both shown at their toilet and having breakfast. The six lithographs also include a village barber and some ascetics. Similarly, Captain George Francklin Atkinson's *Curry and rice, or the ingredients of social life at "our" station in India*, published by Day & Son in London in 1860, made gentle fun of life in a small up-country station. It contains forty lithographs after his sketches with accompanying descriptions. Both George's parents, James and Jane, were also amateur artists in India. James served with the Bengal medical service, while George joined the Bengal engineers.

Fig. 9

Emily Eden (1797-1869)

A number of British amateur women artists also filled their leisure time making drawings of people in India. Most young women going to India had received instruction in water-colour-drawing and many were highly skilled. Outstanding among them was the aristocratic Emily Eden, sister of the Governor-General, Lord Auckland. She had a unique opportunity to draw the people of India when she and her sister, Fanny, accompanied their brother on his long tour up-country from Calcutta to meet Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Punjab.

The tour lasted from October 1837 until March 1840. Throughout that time, she tirelessly sketched the people she met—ranging in social status from villagers to princes. On her return to England, a selection of her water-colours was lithographed by Lowes Dickinson and published by J. Dickinson in 1844, entitled *Princes and people of India*. The lithographs include studies of ascetics, hawkers, camel messengers and handlers of hunting leopards. There are also Tibetans and Pathans, besides eminent personages including Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sher Singh, Raja Dhian Singh, Hindu Rao and the Rajas of Patiala and Nahan. Emily Eden's correspondence from India with another of her sisters, Mary Drummond, was first published in 1866 as *Up the country*. The witty descriptions of their experiences and life-style in the Governor-General's camp, together with the lithographs of such a conspectus ranging from humble villagers to bejewelled princes, have been a continuing source of delight ever since their publication.

Fig. 10

The Interest Extends

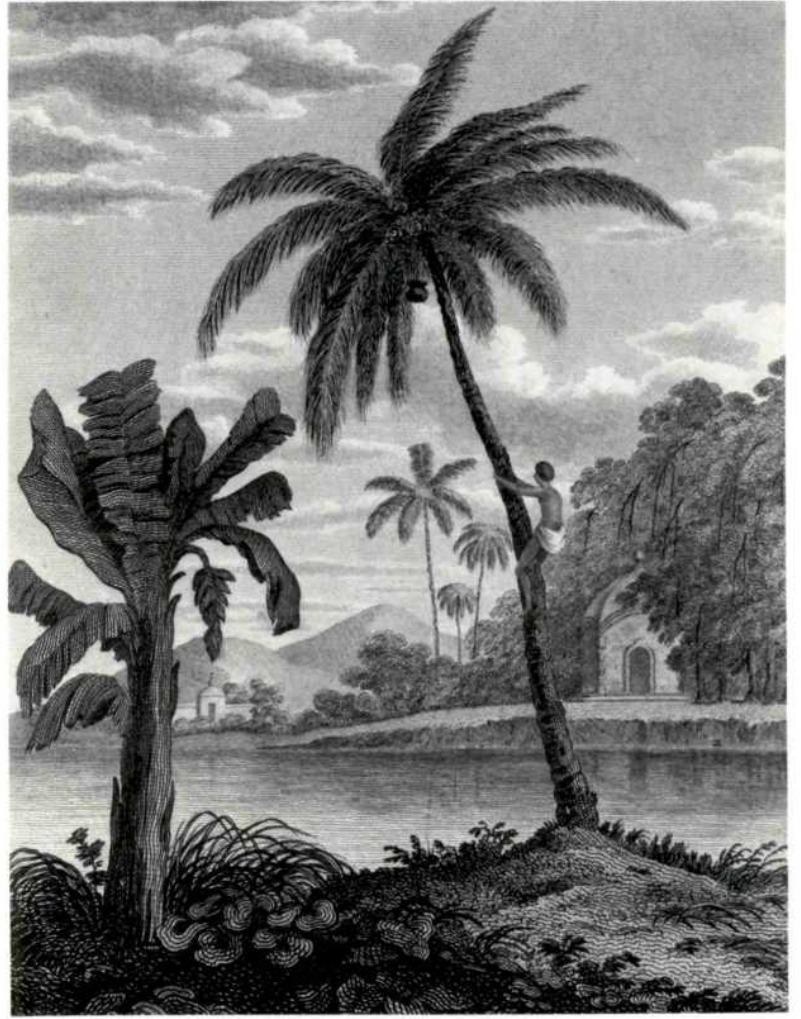
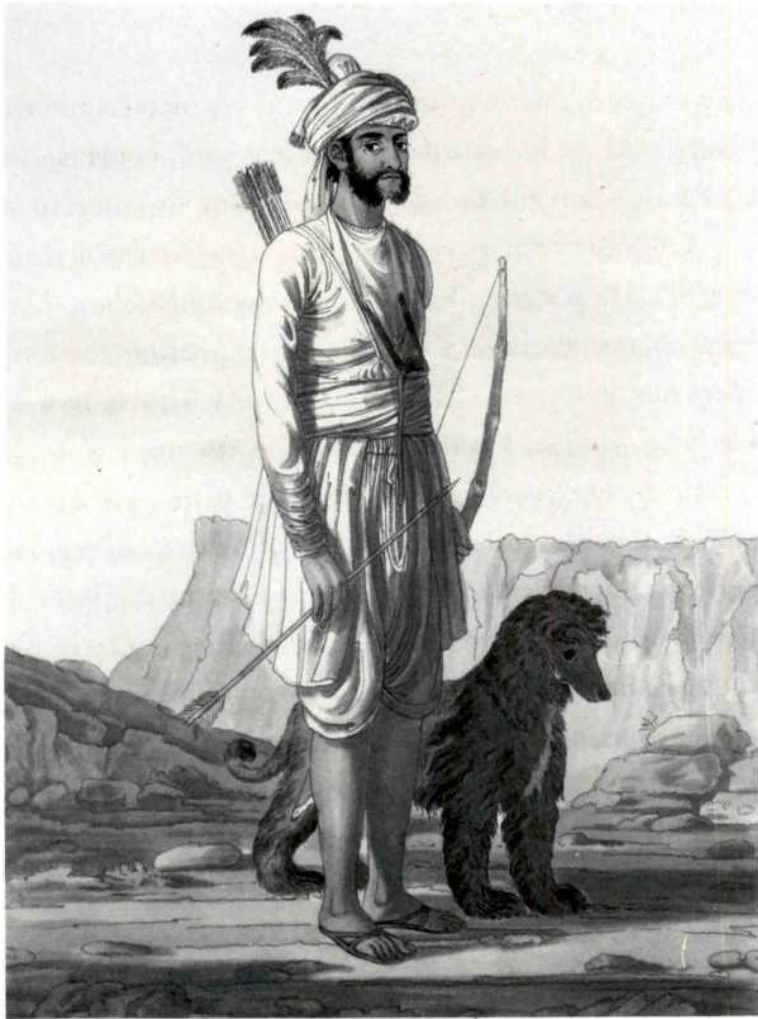
As British administration spread over India, many new areas provided an even wider scope for sketching the local people, their dress and customs. In 1813, Captain Thomas Broughton, who served in the Maratha wars, published his *Letters written in a Maratha camp*, which include pictures of dancing girls, pundits and ascetics in western India. In the same year, James Forbes, a Company civilian who spent many years in some remote parts of western India, published prints in his *Oriental memoirs*, based on drawings of the Maratha Peshwa at Poona, Madhu Rao Narayan, and his ministers. His large number of illustrations also includes villagers, dancing girls and musicians from the many different areas that he saw.

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

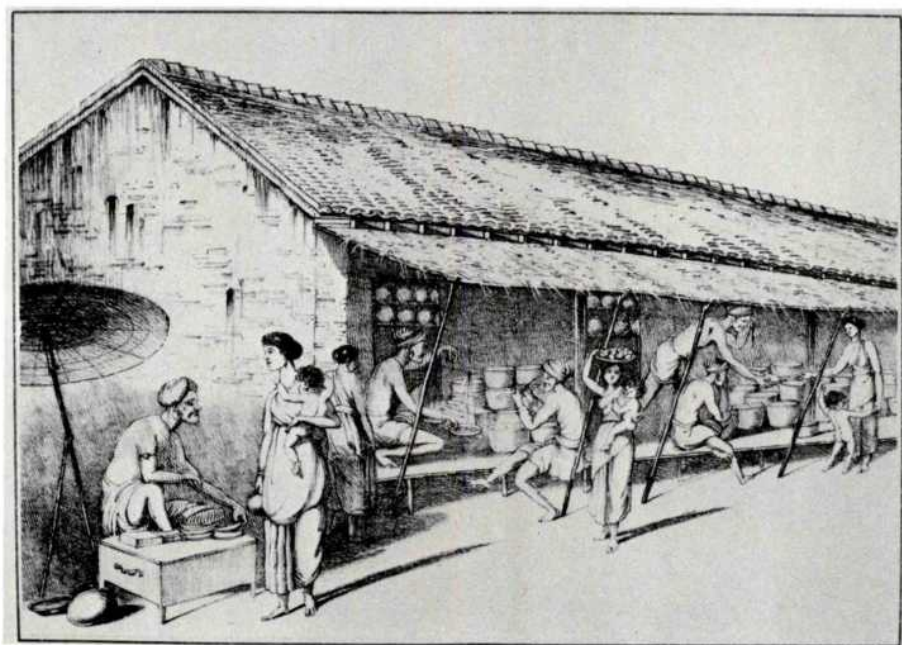


10. "Hira Singh".
Coloured lithograph by Lowes Dickinson after Emily Eden, London, 1844.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



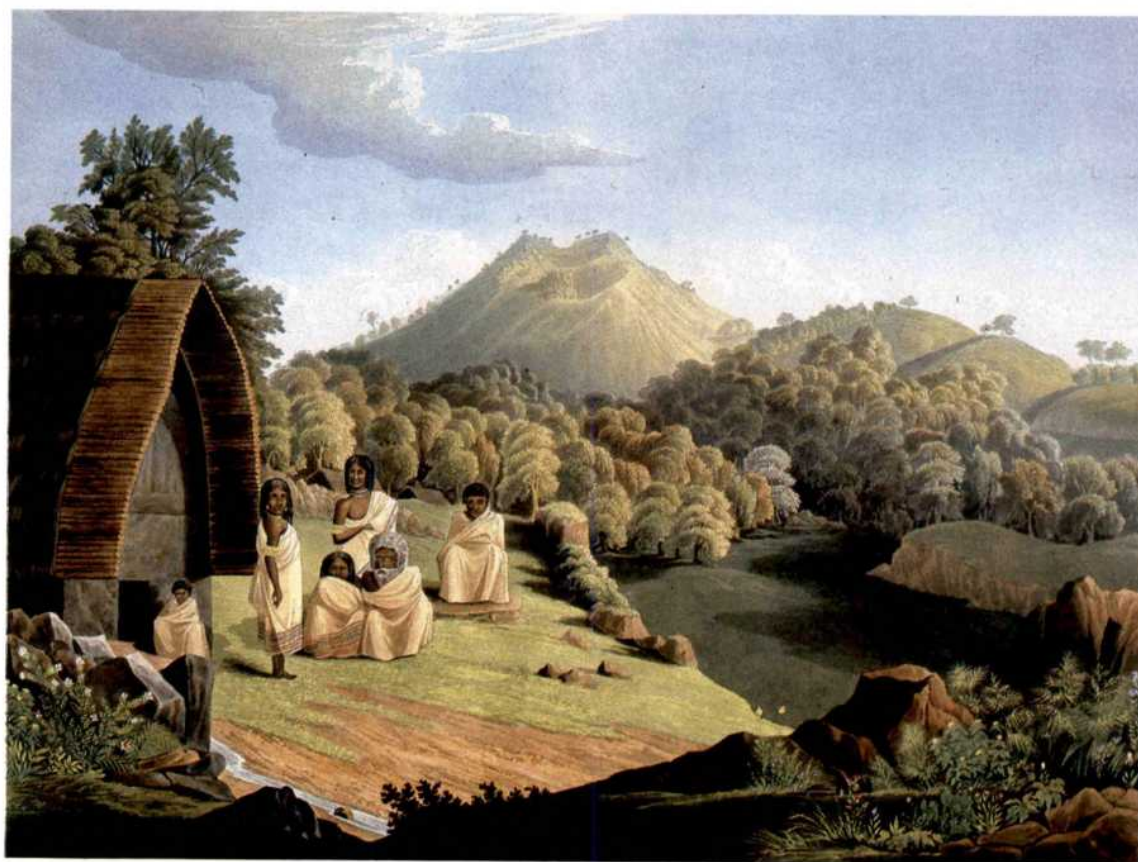
11. "A Meena at Jajurh".
Coloured aquatint engraving by T. Baxter after the original
by Deen Alee, from T. D. Broughton's book, London, 1813.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

12. "Hindoo peasant ascending the cocoanut tree to draw
the tari or toddy".
Engraving by James Shury after James Forbes, London, 1813.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



13. "Bazaars".

Lithograph by and after John and Justinian Gantz, Madras, 1827.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



14. "Taken at Kandelmund".

Coloured aquatint engraving by Robert Havell junior after Richard Barron, London, 1837.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



15. "Durbar horseman. In the service and pay of the Rao of Cutch".
Lithograph after Marianne Postans, London, 1839.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

In the south at Madras, John Gantz with the help of his elder son, Justinian, produced *The Indian microcosm* in 1827. Their printing establishment was located in Pophams Broadway. The book contains lithographs showing studies of various trades, rice-beaters, oil-sellers, basket-makers and blacksmiths. As a result of a visit by Captain Richard Barron to the Nilgiri Hills, six of his drawings were published in London in 1837. Engraved by Robert Havell junior, they are among the most evocative of all aquatints made after studies by amateur artists. The set, entitled *Views in India, chiefly among the Neelgherry Hills*, includes a study of the celebrated Todas beside their beehive-shaped huts. Fig. 13

Fanny Parks, in her *Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque* of 1850, included pictures of a Bengali woman and various servants, while Marianne Postans, wife of an officer in the Bombay Native Infantry, made drawings of places and people in Cutch. Some of these she published in 1839 as *Cutch or random sketches*. This was an almost unknown area. Scenes and people of Sind were depicted for the first time by James Burnes in *A visit to the court of Sindh*, published in the same year, while the Nagas were portrayed by John Butler in *Views in Assam*, published in 1847. Fig. 14

Fig. 15



16. "Assemblage of Goorkhas".

Coloured aquatint engraving by Robert Havell and his son, Robert, after James Baillie Fraser, London, 1820.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



17. "General Sir David Baird. Discovering the body of the Sultaun Tipoo Saib, after storming Seringapatam".
Mezzotint engraving by John Burnet after Sir David Wilkie, London, 1843.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



18. Krishnaraja Wadiyar III of Mysore (1796-1868).

Mezzotint engraving by Samuel W. Reynolds after A. Stuart, London, 1827.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

The Raja was only three years old when, after the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799, the throne of his ancestors was restored to him. He ruled as a minor until his installation in 1811.



19. Princess Victoria Gouramma of Coorg (1819-1901).

Line-engraving by R. Graves after F. Winterhalter, London, c. 1835.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

The Princess was the daughter of King Viraraja II of Coorg, who was exiled to London. She was a favourite of Queen Victoria, for whom her portrait was painted by Winterhalter.

The great snow-capped mountains of the Himalayas were first drawn by James Baillie Fraser, when he accompanied his brother, William, on a long tour during the Nepal war in 1815. A set of fine coloured aquatints by Robert Havell senior and his son (also named Robert), was made after James Baillie's drawings. These include pictures of Gurkhas and Garhwalis and they were published in 1820 as *Views in the Himala mountains*.

Fig. 16

Prints after paintings of historical events frequently include celebrated personages. For example, a spate of paintings, done by professional artists in England, based on sketches and information gained from returning amateur artists who had been involved in the four Mysore wars between 1767 and 1799, depicted Tipu Sultan and his army of South Indian troops. This ruler had become a household name in England and there was a keen demand for prints of the characters involved in the campaigns, especially of Tipu and his family. Each dramatic episode was painted in oils by such artists as Robert Ker Porter, Henry Singleton, Thomas Stothard and Sir David Wilkie. The episode when Tipu Sultan's young sons were handed over as hostages to an avuncular Lord Cornwallis, became a favourite subject. Tipu was also shown fighting against the British during his final stand at his capital, the Fort of Seringapatam, in 1799. The finding of his body by Major-General Baird in a gateway of the Fort, was painted by Sir David Wilkie while the recognition of his body by the family was depicted by Henry Singleton. These pictures were also produced as prints often by different engravers after the same painting, so popular were the events surrounding this ruler of Mysore.

Fig. 17

In contrast with the prints of the peoples of India, engravings and lithographs of important British officials after oil paintings by professional artists who had gone to India, were also produced in considerable numbers. As William Hogarth noted: "Portrait painting ever has and ever will be constant, as new faces arise." There was a demand in England and India for portraits of eminent civil and military officers, who were involved in the stirring events of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Several of the Indian princes commissioned their portraits from British artists and a few of these were also engraved and lithographed. In India, the climate had such a disastrous effect on oil paintings that even the wealthy often preferred to acquire prints for their homes and offices. In the Presidency cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, oils were generally hung in the Government Houses, Town Halls and the Law Courts but elsewhere and especially in private houses, prints would be displayed. As a result, there is a fine record through prints of many oil paintings made in India, that have since perished or been severely damaged through damp and heat.

In addition to the engraved or lithographed portraits of Governors-General, Commanders-in-Chief and Chief Justices in their rich robes or uniforms, prints after oil paintings by British artists of Indian noblemen (and occasionally of Indian ladies) in splendid attire, are another aspect of the captivating subject, the peoples of India.

Figs. 18,

19

A FLORAL PARADISE

RAY DESMOND

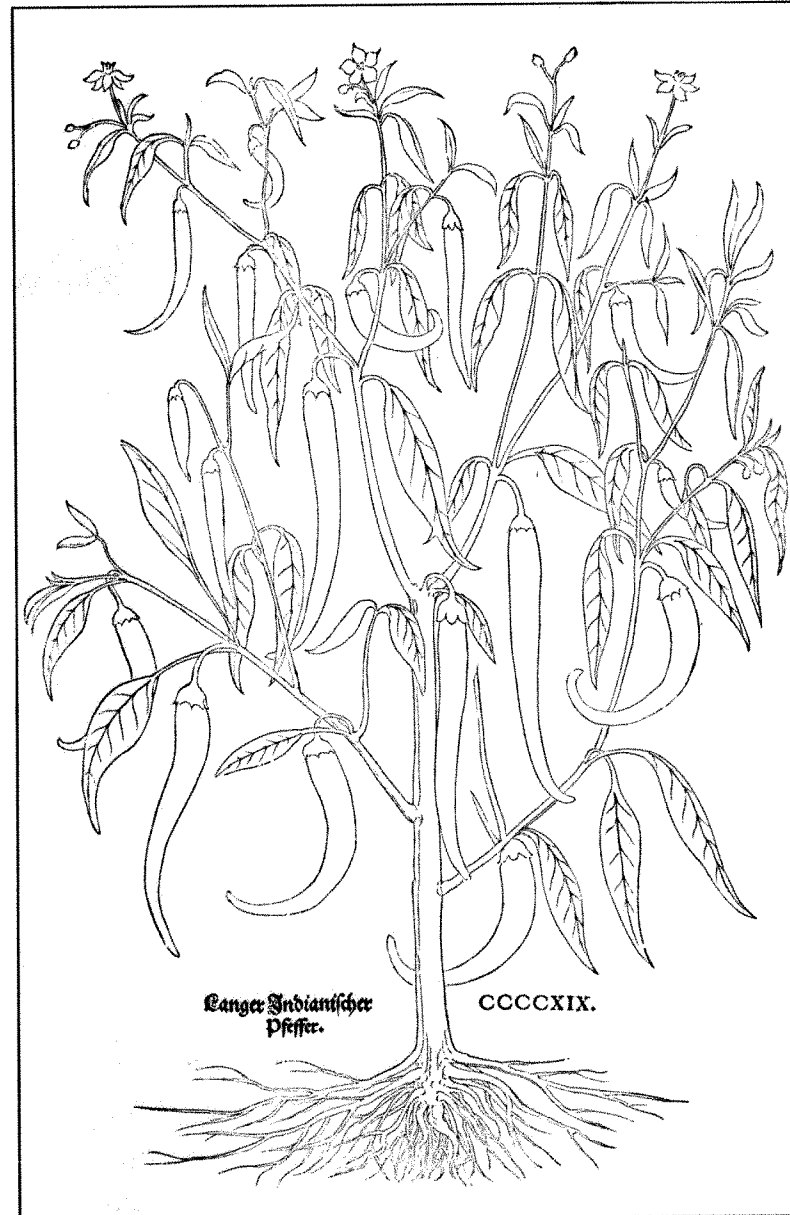
Aristotle's pupil, the Greek philosopher Theophrastus (c. 372-287 BC), now honoured as the father of botany, was one of the earliest European writers to mention the Indian flora. The source of his information for the Indian plants he described in his *Enquiry into Plants* was the naturalists who accompanied Alexander on his military campaigns in northern India. Trade links with the Mediterranean world followed Alexander's invasion, with Indian ivory and spices being much in demand. During the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus, more than a hundred ships a year plied the sea route between the Red Sea and India. Roman citizens spiced dried fish to improve its flavour and used cinnamon as a perfume and a condiment. Pepper was one of the most important commodities in early Indo-European trade, but Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* was rather disparaging about its qualities: "It has neither sweetness nor appearance to make it attractive. The only thing to commend it is its pungency and for this we go all the way to India for it."

Henry VIII of England ate ginger as a protection against the plague and gingerbread was a popular sweetmeat at Elizabeth's court. After Vasco da Gama found a sea route to India around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, he returned triumphantly to Portugal with a precious cargo of spices. Within a few years, the Portuguese had firmly established themselves in Goa, and Lisbon became the principal centre of European trade with India. In neighbouring Spain, opium and hashish (*Cannabis sativa* or *bhang*) were sold freely in apothecaries' shops. Sebastian del Cano, who brought back to Spain the only surviving ship of Magellan's ill-fated fleet, petitioned Charles V to reward him with a coat of arms incorporating two crossed sticks of cinnamon, three nutmegs and two cloves rampant. Spices had now become a symbol of wealth and power.

Other plants in Asia were generally ignored, but the unusual configuration of one particular tree always astonished travellers to India. This was the banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), widely planted for its shade. It impressed Alexander the Great, and Theophrastus described it graphically: "it drops its roots from its branches every year, and it drops them, not from the new branches, but from those of last year or even from older ones; these take hold of the earth and make, as it were, a fence about the tree, so that it becomes like a tent in which men sometimes even live." John Gerard's *Herball* first published in 1597 (and revised by Thomas Johnson in 1633), was one of several early botanical works which illustrated it. Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein, Governor of the Dutch possessions in South India, tried unsuccessfully to introduce it into cultivation in Holland. Fig. 1



1. *Banyan* (*Ficus bengalensis*).
Woodcut from John Gerard's *The Herball or Generall
Historie of Plantes*, edited by Thomas Johnson, London, 1633.
Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



2. "Langer Indianischer Pfeffer" (*Piper longum*).
Woodcut from Leonard Fuchs' *New Kreüterbuch*, Basel, 1543.
Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

The Portuguese

Garcia da Orta (c. 1500-1568), a Portuguese physician who came to India in 1534, settling in Goa four years later, was the first European to examine a wide variety of Indian plants. After nearly thirty years in the country, he wrote an account of the more common vegetable condiments and drugs sold in the street markets. In 1563, he published in Goa his *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas Cousas Medicinais da India*, one of the earliest books printed in India. It discusses fifty-seven vegetable products in the form of a discursive dialogue between the writer and a fictional friend; succinct botanical descriptions are given and medicinal properties are considered. His casual digressions—the treatment of a cholera victim or a visit to the Elephanta Caves at Bombay, for instance—add an idiosyncratic charm to his text. Social customs were of absorbing interest to Da Orta—the bewildering caste system or the niceties of betel chewing: “a woman having to treat of love never seeks her man without first chewing a little.” Similar aphrodisiac qualities were attributed to hashish: “I hear that many women take it when they want to dally and flirt with men.” He was quick to add, however, “I have not tried it, nor do I wish to do so.” Unfortunately *Coloquios* was not illustrated. Charles de l’Escluse (1526-1609) embellished his Latin summary of it with a few woodcuts in Antwerp in 1567. The Portuguese physician, Cristobel de Acosta (c. 1525-1594), who met Da Orta during his first tour of duty in India, was the writer of the first illustrated European work on Indian plants, *Tractado de las Drogas y Medicinas de las Indias Orientalis* which was published in Spain in 1578. It displays twenty full-page woodcuts, some based on field sketches made by De Acosta who also sensibly abandoned Da Orta’s artificial dialogue presentation.

In the botanical field, the Portuguese scored a double first: they were the first to study the Indian flora and the first to enrich it with foreign introductions—tobacco and the pineapple, for example, from the New World and mangosteen from Malaya. The Emperor Jahangir rejected tobacco with regal disdain but the pineapple became one of his favourite dishes.

Pepper was one of the most coveted of all the spices and featured in most early European herbals. One of the best illustrations is that of Long Indian Pepper (*Piper longum*) in Leonard Fuchs’ *New Kreüterbuch* (Basel, 1543) in which the woodcuts have an invigorating crispness and clarity. Fig. 2

The Portuguese monopoly of Indian trade was eventually challenged by the British and the Dutch, who were also anxious to participate in the lucrative spice trade. In 1608, cloth purchased in India for £ 5000 could be bartered in Java for pepper valued at about £ 20,000 in the European market. It was essential for the British to have bases in India to facilitate the purchase of Indian fabrics and opium to exchange for spices in South-east Asia. The Dutch despatched their first trading fleet to the East in 1595, the British some five years later. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were not only entrenched in South India but also in Ceylon, where they dispossessed the Portuguese of the valuable cinnamon trade.

The Dutch

Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein (1636-1691), soldier, diplomat and administrator in the service of the Dutch East India Company, was its most distinguished Governor in Malabar. It was the Dutch Company’s policy—and also that of the British Company—to encourage its officers to discover plants useful in medicine and



3. "Kalou-Kadale".

Copper-engraving (1683) from *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* by Hendrik Adriaan van Reede tot Drakenstein, Amsterdam, 1678-1703.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

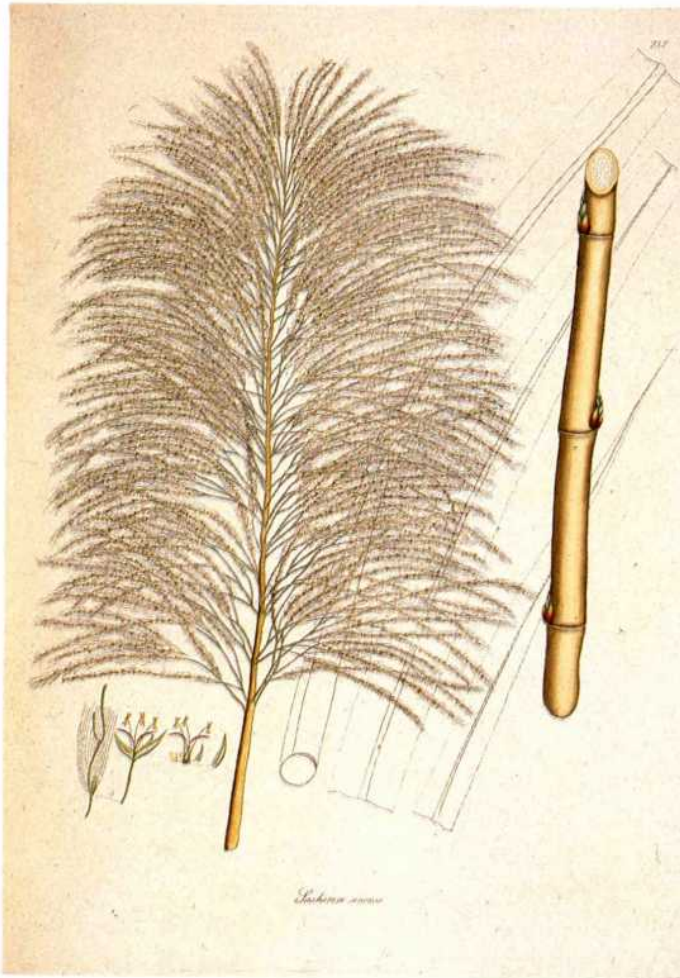
commerce. It was with this directive in mind that Van Reede tot Drakenstein enlisted the help of brahmins to recruit plant collectors and to inform him of the local usage of plants. He engaged three or four European draughtsmen to provide drawings for the first work on regional Indian flora, *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* (Amsterdam, 1678-1703). The Dutch engravers copied these drawings with superlative vigour and confidence, many of their plates occupying a double spread of pages in the printed form that remained an indispensable work on the Indian flora until the late eighteenth century. The plates demonstrate not only the flexibility of copper engraving but through their freshness and spontaneity something of the excitement engendered by the acquaintance with new flora of astonishing prodigality. Fig. 3

It is to this keen interest of the Dutch in the potential products of their colonial empire that we are indebted for Jan Burman's *Thesaurus Zeylanicus* (Amsterdam, 1737), an account of the plants of Ceylon; for *Flora Indica* (Amsterdam, 1768) by his son Nikolus Burman; and for Georg Rumpf's *Herbarium Amboinense* (Amsterdam, 1741-1750). None of the copper engravings in these three works, however, approaches the monumentality of the life-size plant portraits in *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*.

Johann Gerhard Koenig (c. 1728-1785) and Patrick Russell (1727-1805)

The United Brethren or Brothers was the name the Moravian Brothers gave to their mission in the Danish settlement in Tranquebar in South India. Johann Gerhard Koenig who joined them as a physician in 1768, had been a pupil of the great Swedish naturalist, Linnaeus, and became the first botanist in India to apply his teacher's revolutionary system of classifying plants. After a few years as naturalist to the Nawab of Arcot, Koenig was engaged by the British East India Company to seek out plants of economic interest in Malacca and Siam. His industry and competence earned him the appointment of naturalist to the Government of the Madras Presidency in 1780. Koenig was urged by a fellow physician, Patrick Russell, to publish engravings of a selection of his extensive plant collections. This was unfortunately prevented by Koenig's death in 1785. Sir Joseph Banks, the influential President of the Royal Society in London and the recipient of Koenig's papers and collections, declared that Koenig had repaid the East India Company "a thousandfold in matters of investment, by the discovery of drugs and dyeing materials fit for the European market."

Russell, who succeeded Koenig as naturalist in Madras, petitioned Banks to publish his predecessor's researches and convinced the Governor of the Presidency of the worth of "a work limited to the useful plants of Coromandel; which, though perhaps less generally interesting to the botanists in Europe... might prove of real service to India." In his opinion, Banks was the obvious person to supervise its publication under the patronage of the East India Company. The Company's Court of Directors gave cautious approval to the project. "It is our earnest wish to give the most liberal encouragement to every proposition calculated to excite the knowledge of useful science but when you recommend such propositions to our protection, you should at the same time give us some idea of the probable expense in order to enable us to form an immediate decision." The Court of Directors having been assured, by Sir Joseph Banks, of a modest profit in the venture, authorized Russell to proceed. Russell, however, returned to England in 1789 and it was left to his successor, William Roxburgh, to supervise the preparation of botanical drawings for despatch to Sir Joseph Banks.



4. *Saccharum sinense*.

Hand-coloured copper-plate engraving from William Roxburgh's *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel*, London, 1795-1819. India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



5. "*Methonica superba*" (*Gloriosa superba*).

Hand-coloured stipple engraving by De Gouy from Pierre Joseph Redouté's *Les Liliacées*, Paris, 1806-1820. India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

William Roxburgh (1751-1815)

Roxburgh had arrived in Madras as an assistant surgeon in 1776 and, like so many other medical men in the Company's service, soon found official employment in botanical research. He trained Indian artists to draw plants with the scientific accuracy demanded by European botanists. Despite some difficulty in adjusting to a new artistic discipline, these artists acquitted themselves well. Roxburgh admitted to Sir Joseph that "there is a degree of stiffness [that] runs through the whole of my drawings, particularly, the first, which now begins to wear off, so that I think you will be better pleased with those I am about to send than with any of the former, the same men have drawn the whole, but they daily improve, tho very slowly." Sir Joseph, who was carefully scrutinizing every consignment of drawings, agreed that they revealed progressive improvement. "Many of the last drawings were charming, the grasses in particular are valuable in the highest degree to botanists as the fructification is delineated with accuracy." When the first part of *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel* was published in London in May 1795, Sir Joseph enthusiastically declared the plates to be superior to those in *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*.

From the 2542 drawings despatched by Roxburgh, Sir Joseph selected 300 for publication in twelve parts between 1795 and 1820. Some of the drawings were modified to correct botanical inaccuracies but, in general, the copper engravings faithfully reproduce these stylized but decorative plant portraits. The volumes were well received by European botanists and the East India Company deserved the glowing tribute paid them by Patrick Russell in the preface: "it shows the disposition of the Honourable Court of Directors to promote Science in India; and produces an example for the encouragement of the Company's servants abroad, to dedicate their leisure hours to useful research, as a means of recommendation to the notice of their superiors, as well as of obtaining a well earned reputation in their native country." Fig. 4

The Promotion of Botany in India

When the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in Calcutta in 1784, one of its objectives was the study of "MAN and NATURE, whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other." Its principal promoter, Sir William Jones, a Judge of the Bengal Supreme Court, included botany among his many interests and his influence and example encouraged many amateur botanists to attend the Society's meetings and to contribute to its journal, *Asiatick Researches*.

Although the Society performed an invaluable service to botanical endeavour, it was not until a botanical garden was established by the Company in Calcutta in 1787 that British India had an official centre for botanical research. The botanic garden developed too slowly for the impatient Sir Joseph Banks who felt it necessary to remind the Court of Directors in 1790 that its function was "the cultivation of plants likely to prove useful either for Food, Physic or Manufacture." When Roxburgh became its Superintendent in 1793, the modest collection of 300 species of plants gradually grew to 3500. Roxburgh was required to cultivate plants "connected either with medicine, the arts, or manufacturers," but he was allowed "the admission of new plants, or of such as have hitherto been imperfectly described." Under his management the Calcutta Botanic Garden became the entrepôt for suitable plants from the Far East and the New World. Roxburgh's *Flora Indica* (1820-1824), published posthumously, was the first attempt to present a systematic survey of the vegetation of India and remained the standard work until it was superseded by Sir Joseph Hooker's *Flora of British India* (1872-1897).

The study of India's flora and fauna enjoyed the support and encouragement of the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley (1760-1842), who proclaimed in a minute of July 26, 1804 that "the knowledge hitherto obtained in Europe respecting certain branches of the natural history of the continent of India and of the Indian isles is defective." He was convinced that "the illustration and improvement of that important branch of the natural history of India which embraces an object so extensive as the description of the principal part of the animal kingdom is worthy of the magnificence and liberality of the English East India Company, and must necessarily prove an acceptable service to the world." With characteristic impetuosity he formed an institution for promoting the natural history of India and established a menagerie and aviary at his country residence at Barrackpore. His extravagance, which reflected his concept of viceregal splendour and Britain's imperial role, clashed with the more modest aspirations of the Company, which recalled him in 1805 replacing him with the more prudent Lord Cornwallis whose task it was to curtail expenditure. The menagerie at Barrackpore was, unfortunately, an early casualty

in the new Governor-General's campaign to cut costs.

Specimens of the Indian flora were being shipped to Europe either as plants in pots or seeds in pouches, for cultivation in conservatories. Those which survived the long sea voyage and the experimental methods used in their cultivation were eagerly drawn by artists and some appeared as coloured plates in British periodicals and books. The *Botanical Magazine*, for example, featured the common jasmin from north India as early as 1788. Some of the finest portraits of Indian flowers were drawn with exquisite delicacy by Pierre Joseph Redouté and published in *Les Liliacées* (1806-1820), one of the outstanding works in an age of great botanical art. The process so successfully manipulated was stipple engraving which achieved tonal values by a massing of minute indentations on the metal plate, using a punch and possibly a roulette with multiple points. It conveyed with remarkable sensitivity the fragility of petal and leaf and the subtle nuances of texture.

Fig. 5

Lithography and Botanical Illustration

During the early years of the nineteenth century, stipple engraving, line engraving, aquatint and mezzotint were superseded by lithography or polyautography as it was first called. The artist, who drew direct on to the lithographic stone, was now independent of the engraver. Just over twenty years after its invention, a lithographic press was established in Bombay, while the Government Lithographic Press and the Asiatic Lithographic Press were founded in Calcutta. Amateur artists now had access to a relatively easy method for the duplication of their work. Sir Charles D'Oyly, Opium Agent at Patna, acquired a lithographic press on which he printed drawings by himself and by his friends. Nathaniel Wallich's *Tentamen Florae Nepalensis Illustratae* (1824-1826) contained possibly the earliest published Indian lithographs of plants. The first part was published by the Government Lithographic Press and the second by the Asiatic Lithographic Press in Calcutta.

Figs. 6, 7

Natural history has always attracted the enthusiasm and dedication of the amateur. James Forbes left India in 1784 with about 150 notebooks filled with comments and sketches of topography, natural history and social life. Lady Canning, the wife of the Governor-General, executed charming water-colours of Indian plants. When these amateur botanists and zoologists lacked artistic talent, they often engaged Indian artists. Lady Impey, the wife of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bengal, employed Indians to make bird and flower studies for her. Major-General Thomas Hardwicke gradually assembled an impressive collection of zoological and botanical drawings, rivalling that of Lord Wellesley, using both Indian and European talent.

Nathaniel Wallich (1786-1854)

Fig. 8

Nathaniel Wallich, formerly surgeon to the Danish settlement at Serampore, became Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden in 1817. He continued Roxburgh's practice of employing Indian artists and from a series of 1200 drawings he chose 294 for lithographing in his *Plantae Asiaticae Rariorae*, published in London between 1824 and 1832. Vishnupersaud, (one of the most prolific of his artists), is represented by 109 plates, Gorachand by 146, and the remainder are contributions by European artists. The plates, vigorous in design and bold in colouring, were competently printed by the London lithographer, M. Gauci. Noel Humphreys, artist



6. "Grains in Guzerat".
Aquatint engraving with etching by William Hooker after James Forbes from the latter's *Oriental Memoirs*, London, 1813.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



7. "Indian Squirrel and Tamarind".
Coloured aquatint with etching by William Hooker after James Forbes from the latter's *Oriental Memoirs*, London, 1813.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



8. *Amherstia nobilis*.

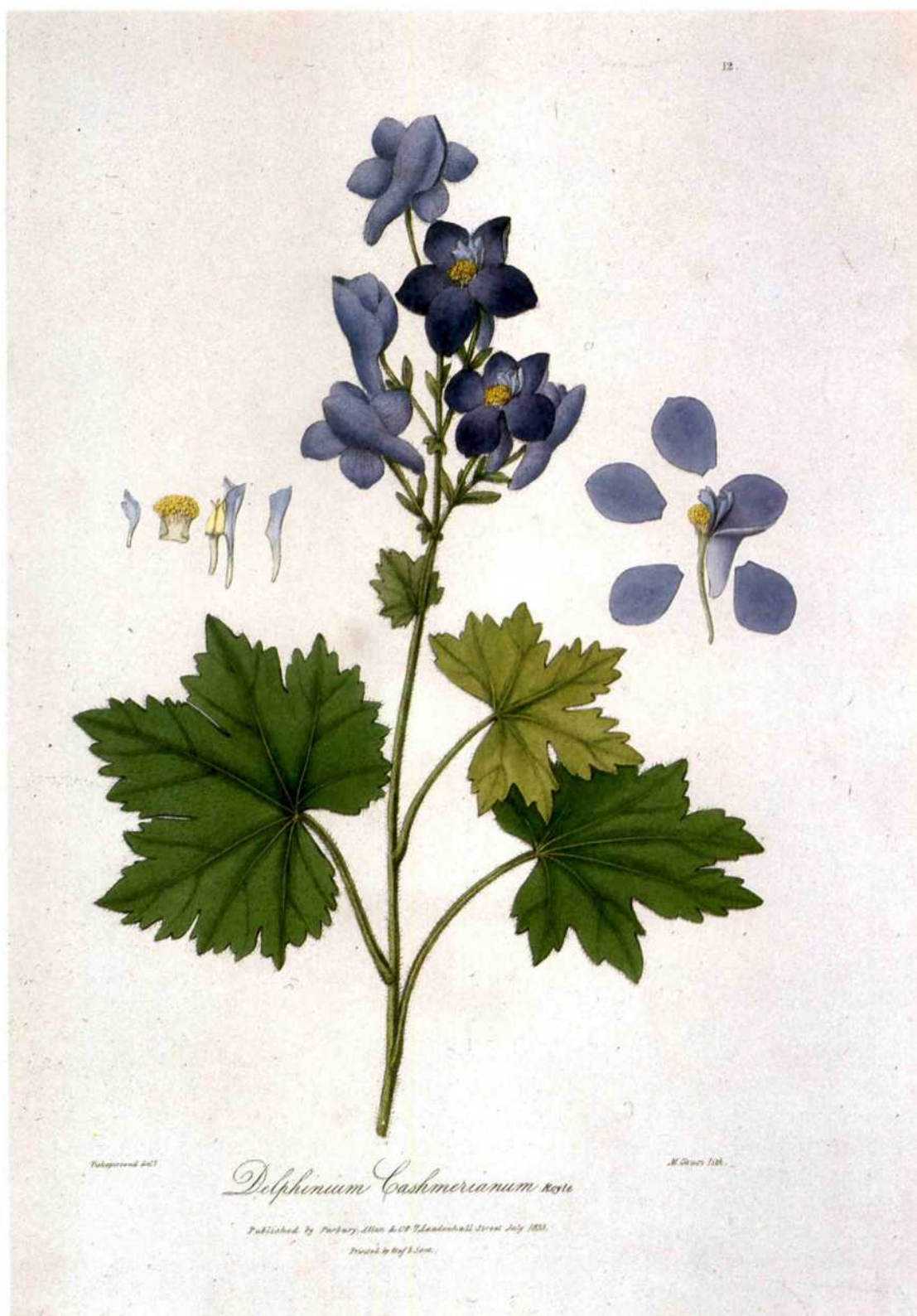
Hand-coloured lithograph by M. Gauci (1830) after a drawing by Vishnupersaud from Nathaniel Wallich's *Plantae Asiaticae Rariorae*, London, 1824-1832.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

and naturalist, while applauding the choice of lithography for this work nevertheless detected "a coarseness" in the lithography "which is very offensive to the eye, as it precludes the possibility of obtaining that transparency of colour, which is so desirable in depicting flowers."

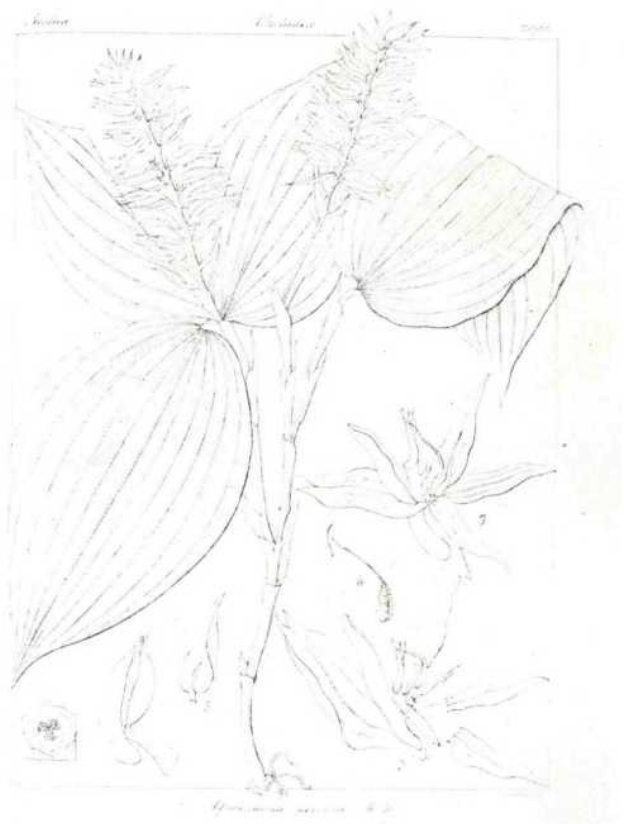
John Forbes Royle (1799-1858)

John Forbes Royle, another surgeon of the Company, was posted to Saharanpur in 1823 to take charge of its two hospitals and the neglected garden which had been created by the Mughals nearly a century earlier. Royle studied the flora of the neighbouring Himalayas, using the Calcutta Botanic Garden team of artists to record his collections. Some of their drawings appear in *Illustrations of the Botany and other Branches of the Natural History of the Himalayan Mountains and of the Flora of Cashmere* (1833-1840).



9. *Delphinium cashmerianum*.

Hand-coloured lithograph by M. Gauci (1833) after a drawing by Vishnupersaud from John Forbes Royle's *Illustrations of the Botany and other Branches of the Natural History of the Himalayan Mountains and of the Flora of Cashmere*, London, 1833-1840. India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



10. *Govindooia nervosa*.

Lithograph by Dunphy after a drawing by Govindoo from Robert Wight's *Icones Plantarum Indiae Orientalis*; or *Figures of Indian Plants*, Madras, 1853.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



11. "Dr. J. D. Hooker, F.R.S. in the rhododendron region of the Himalaya mountains".

Mezzotint engraving by W. Walker after F. Stone, London, 1854.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Robert Wight (1796-1872)

While Wallich and Royle were investigating the flora of northern India, Robert Wight, a surgeon and a man of phenomenal energy and industry, was collecting plants in the south. He was the sole proprietor of four botanical works, receiving little official support apart from the purchase of fifty copies of each of them by the Government of Madras. In 1838, having secured a hundred subscribers, he launched his *Illustrations of Indian Botany* which was brought to a close in 1850. He regarded its 182 lithographed plates as "a source of much regret." At one time he had about twenty Indian artists colouring the plates and mixing their own colours. Wight found it impossible to obtain satisfactory water-colours anywhere in India and was compelled to use thick, coarse paper which marred the quality of the lithographs.

Almost as soon as he had published the first part of *Illustrations of Indian Botany*, Wight realized that the number of plates planned for the work was patently inadequate. So in the same year he began his *Icones Plantarum Indiae Orientalis*; or *Figures of Indian Plants*, also printed and published in Madras. In this new work he ambitiously aimed to publish over a hundred figures a year in monthly instalments. He adopted various means to accelerate its production. He decided to omit practically all textual matter and to abandon any idea of coloured plates. He selected transfer lithography as being the quickest process available to him in India. The undertaking



12. "*Rhododendron argenteum*" (*Rhododendron grande*).
 Hand-coloured lithograph by W. H. Fitch after Joseph D. Hooker from his *Rhododendrons of Sikkim-Himalaya*, London, 1849-1851.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

was completed in fifteen years with 2115 lithographic line drawings, many being copies of drawings done for Roxburgh and for Wallich at Calcutta. Wight was impressed by the skill of his Indian artists and expressed his appreciation of one of them in particular—Govindoo—by naming a plant *Govindooia* as a tribute “to the artist whose facile pencil produced the drawings for the greater part of the plates of the last three volumes of this work, and whose skill in analytical delineation is, I believe, as yet quite unrivalled among his countrymen and, but for imperfect knowledge, rarely excelled by European artists.”

Fig. 10

Joseph D. Hooker (1817-1911)

A new impetus to the study of the Indian flora was provided by Joseph D. Hooker, Assistant Director at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, during his botanical explorations in the Sikkim Himalayas from 1848 to 1850. Hooker harvested many new species of rhododendron which he sent to his father, the Director of Kew Gardens. There, the resident botanical artist, W. H. Fitch, skilfully drew these flamboyant flowers based on Joseph Hooker's dried specimens and meagre field

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

sketches in a series of spectacular plates for *Rhododendrons of Sikkim-Himalaya* (1849-1851), lithographed with Fitch's characteristic exuberance and panache. *Rhododendron Wightii* in this work commemorated Robert Wight whose *Icones Plantarum Indiae Orientalis* was much admired by Joseph Hooker: “The first plates of that work are equal to any produced at the era of their publication in India; the latter will compete with the best outline lithographers of Europe.”

While he was in India, Hooker met J. F. Cathcart (1802-1851) of the Bengal Civil Service. A competent amateur botanist, Cathcart had Lepchas collecting plants for him in the forests around Darjeeling. At one time he employed five artists who produced about three flower studies a week. Cathcart had intended publishing a work similar in concept to Hooker's book on rhododendrons but died before being able to proceed with his project. Hooker selected a number of these drawings which were usually in outline with just a flower and a leaf coloured, and Fitch redrew them correcting “the stiffness and want of botanical knowledge displayed by the native artists who executed most of the originals” (J. D. Hooker's Introduction).

Fig. 13

It is almost invidious to pick out any one of the twenty-four lithographs in *Illustrations of Himalayan Plants* chiefly selected from drawings made for the late J. F. Cathcart (1855) for special mention, but one need look no further than the first plate, “*Hodgsonia heteroclita*”. The vertical rhythms of the long spiralling fringes to the petals of this flower make a compelling composition.

Nature Printing

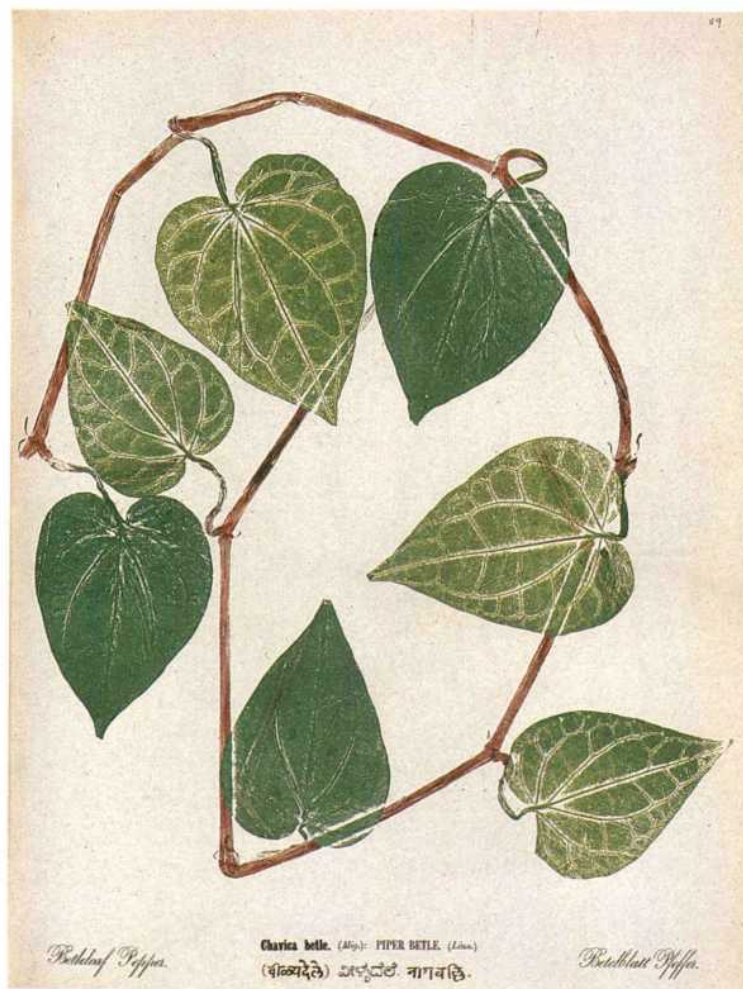
Nature printing is a graphic process usually encountered only in illustrated works on natural history. The attraction of this centuries-old process is its simplicity; no special skills are demanded and little equipment is required. An image of a plant is obtained by applying ink or paint to the surface of the plant itself and then carefully pressing it on to a sheet of paper; thus a silhouette of the plant is achieved. Dexterous fingers can preserve minute details such as hairs on the stem and veins in the leaves. One disadvantage of this process is that comparatively few impressions can be taken from a plant before it becomes limp and loses its shape. It was often necessary, therefore, to replace a plant with another specimen. This is the reason why plates



13. *Hodgsonia heteroclita*.

Hand-coloured lithograph by W. H. Fitch after a drawing by Joseph D. Hooker from the latter's *Illustrations of Himalayan Plants Chiefly Selected from Drawings made for the late J. F. Cathcart*, London, 1855.

Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



14. "Piper betle" (betel leaf).

Nature print from Nature's Selfprinting: a Series of Useful and Ornamental Plants of the South Indian Flora. Taken from Fresh Specimens in Facsimile Colours, Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1862.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

of the same species of plants vary in different copies of Henry Smith's *Specimens of Nature Printing from Unprepared Plants*, printed and published at the Fort Saint George Gazette Press in Madras in 1857. Probably the last use of nature printing in any published work—and one of the finest examples of the art—is *Nature's Selfprinting: a Series of Useful and Ornamental Plants of the South Indian Flora. Taken from Fresh Specimens in Facsimile Colours* published in Mangalore in 1862.

The cessation of nature printing coincided with the rising popularity of the degenerate form of lithography, chromolithography, and also the advance in photographic techniques. The long tradition of the craft of print-making by hand, except for very limited editions, had come to an end by the second half of the nineteenth century. Indian peoples, the landscape and architecture were perhaps always the most popular subjects for the artist and printmaker, but the floral riches of the subcontinent never lacked admirers and talented interpreters.

WILLIAM HODGES AND THE DANIELLS AT AGRA

PAULINE ROHATGI

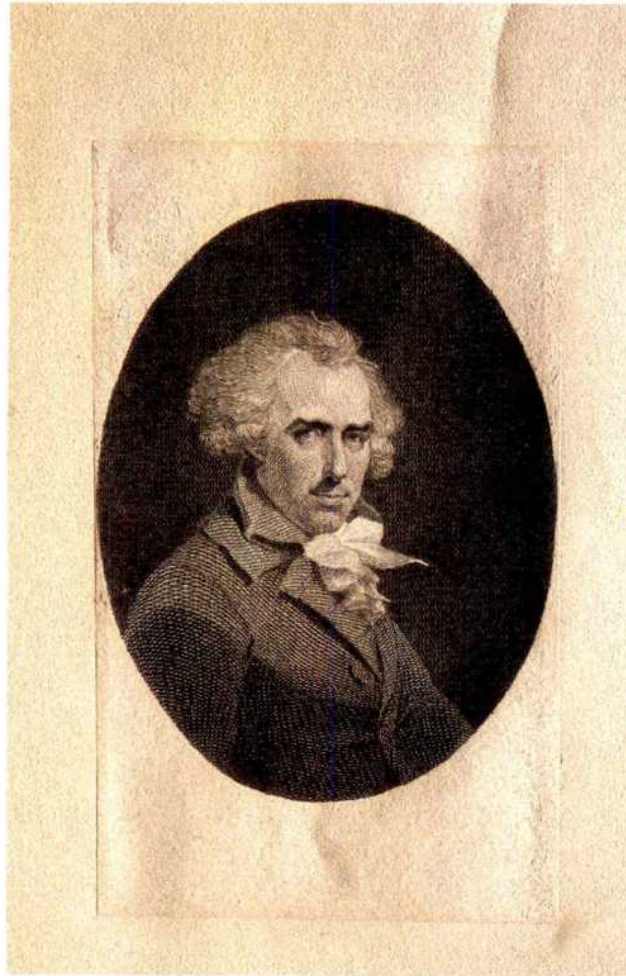
“**W**hen this building is viewed from the opposite side of the river,” wrote William Hodges of the Taj Mahal, “it possesses a degree of beauty, from the perfection of the materials and from the excellence of the workmanship, which is only surpassed by its grandeur, extent and general magnificence.” These words were published in 1793 in his memoirs, *Travels in India, during the years 1780-1783*. Hodges then concluded: “the whole together appears like a most perfect pearl on an azure ground. The effect is such as, I confess, I never experienced from any work of art.” Fig. 1

Although many Europeans had already visited Agra by the latter half of the eighteenth century, William Hodges (1744-1797) was the first professional British landscape painter to arrive there. After returning subsequently to London, he produced a series of aquatint engravings entitled *Select Views in India*. They were all engraved by Hodges himself, from his own sketches made on the spot in the country. They include four views of Agra and its surrounding area. As a result of their publication, some of the visual splendours of this legendary Mughal city became known in the West.

The history of Agra can be traced back at least to the reign of the Afghan, Sikandar Lodi, who made his capital there in the early sixteenth century. Although no buildings constructed in his time are known to have survived, Sikandra, situated nearby, was named after him. Agra subsequently became the intermittent capital of various Mughal emperors. Babur occupied Agra in 1526. Akbar made it his seat of government, demolishing the brick fort of the Lodis and constructing his own, the Red Fort, between 1565 and 1574. Many structures in his fortified palace of red sandstone were later replaced or altered by his grandson, Shah Jahan, after he ascended the throne in 1628. Shah Jahan preferred marble as a building material, and it was during his reign that the peak of Mughal architectural design was achieved. The Taj Mahal was erected in memory of Shah Jahan's wife, Mumtaz-i-Mahal.

With permission from the East India Company to practise his art in India, Hodges had reached Madras in early 1780 and he moved to Calcutta the following year. After meeting the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, who became his patron, Hodges made three up-country tours before leaving for England in late 1783. It was on the third tour during his last year in India, with official sanction from Warren Hastings, that he reached Agra.

At that time, the Mughal empire, under Emperor Shah Alam II, was disintegrating and unsettled political conditions pervaded the regions around Delhi, Agra and elsewhere. Shah Alam's Persian General and Chief Minister, Mirza Najaf Khan, under



1. Portrait of William Hodges.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library,
London.

whose control there had been some stability, died in 1782. Although Najaf Khan's nephew, Mirza Shafi Khan, had succeeded him, his position was being challenged by Najaf Khan's adopted son, Afrasyab Khan. In order to settle their dispute, Warren Hastings and his Council deputed Major James Browne, who was then the British Agent in Delhi, to visit these noblemen at Agra. On hearing about this forthcoming embassy while he was in Lucknow, Hodges sought permission to join Major Browne and travel with him for protection through the Agra district. After journeying from Lucknow in a palanquin with, as was usual, a team of bearers, servants, a tent and provisions, he met Browne near Etawah. The party arrived at Agra on February 23, 1783.

At first, they camped to the east of the River Jumna, opposite the main city. From there, Hodges could observe the range of structures bordering the great bend in the river: "Along the western bank of the river are seen the ruined palaces of the great Omrahs [Mughal chiefs and ministers], built in the time of Acbar, Jehanguire, and Shah Jehan. A little farther, the city of Agra offers itself to the eye, with the great fort and palace, and the prospect is terminated to the south-west by that vast monument of eastern elegance, the Taje Mahel, built by the emperor Shah Jehan." Although, according to his description of the view of the fort, Hodges intended to publish a close-up view of the Taj Mahal in his *Select Views*, the glimpse in the distance is his only rendering of it in print.

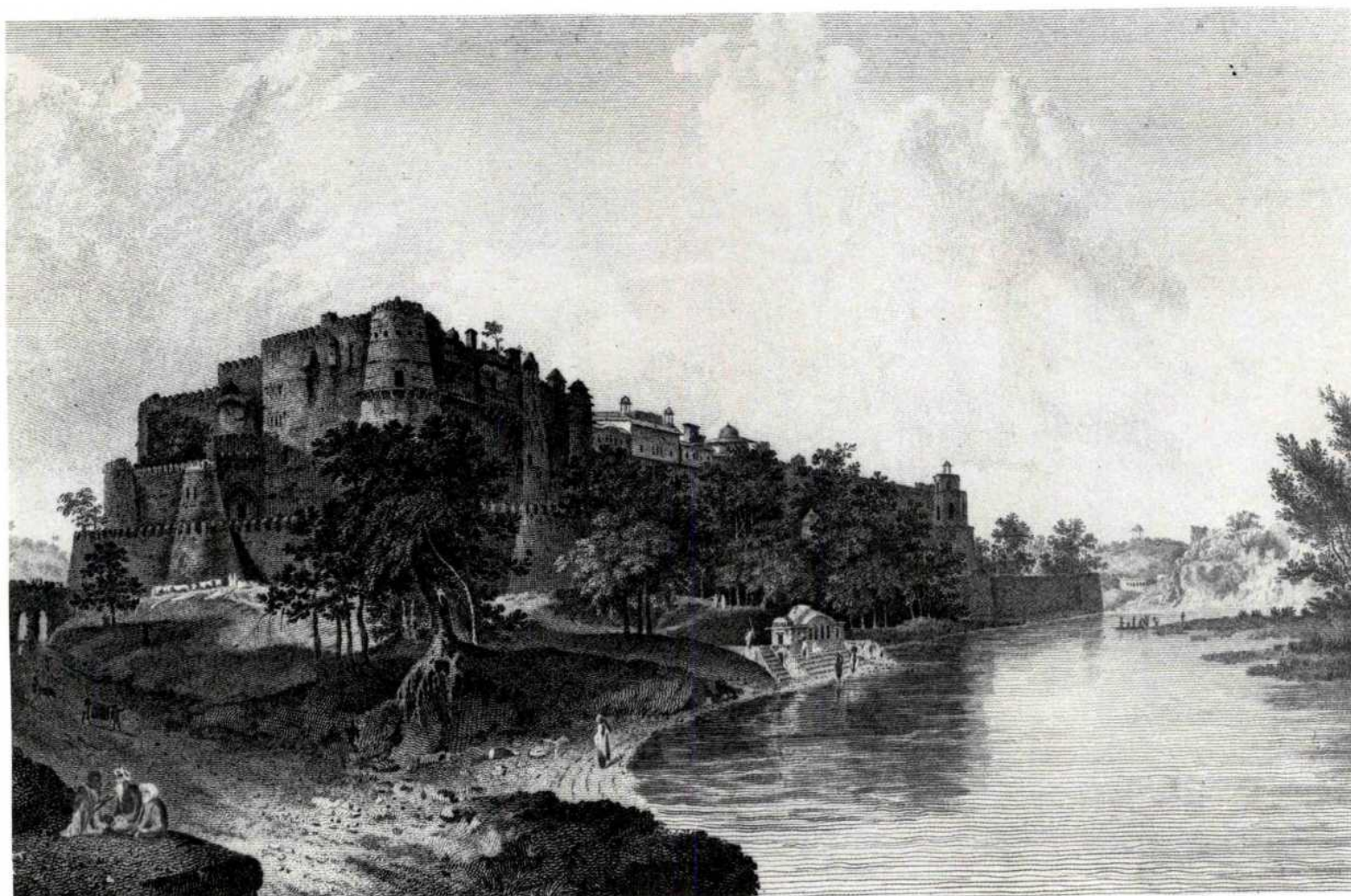
Fig. 2



2. "A View of the Fort of Agra, on the River Jumna".
 Aquatint engraving with etching by and after William Hodges, from
 his *Select Views in India* London, 1786.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Hodges and Major Browne crossed the river two days later. They set up camp to the north of the Red Fort, close to Mirza Shafi Khan's encampment, "in a garden walled round, and which formerly was adorned with very considerable buildings, now in ruins The camp of Mirza Shuffeh extended over a great space of ground, and more resembled a great city than a camp, having shops of every denomination, retaining in part the character of the armies of the great emperors, only without their splendour It is not improbable that the tent of the Nabob [Mirza Shafi Khan] might have been formerly an imperial one, being of crimson velvet, embroidered in many parts with gold, and lined with silk."

One of Major Browne's first engagements was to attend a *darbar* in Mirza Shafi Khan's camp. Hodges, who accompanied him, noticed especially, "the principal commanders, amongst whom were several old Persian Chiefs, with beards depending to their girdles, and countenances of great dignity." During the proceedings, Shafi Khan sat on the ground, surrounded by his noblemen, while Browne and Hodges were offered "old fashioned chairs" to sit on. Fragrant attar and rose-water were passed round as a mark of distinction and as Hodges also recorded: "This was a visit of ceremony, and the business of Major Browne's mission was not entered upon for many days afterwards, for, amongst these people, delay seems a settled principle of etiquette."



3. "A View of Agra taken from the South West" [the Fort].
Etching and line-engraving by John Walker after William Hodges from the latter's Travels in India, London, 1793.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

During the days that followed, while Browne was involved in diplomatic discussions, Hodges explored, sketched and made notes on the sites in the neighbourhood. He frequently set off very early in the morning: "I had the whole day for my studies. The climate at this season is delightful, the mornings clear and very cold, frequently frosty, in so much, that I have seen several tanks frozen entirely over; but in the middle of the day we generally found it very hot."

The Red Fort

One of his first excursions was to the Red Fort. This, he observed, "is situated on the south side of the river Jumna, which at this place is not fordable, and rises immediately from the water in a vast semicircle A view of the fort is given, and is such as will afford a general idea of the building and its situation The fort was an island, formed



A View of part of the RUINS of the CITY of AGRA.

Published in 1787 by J. Smith & Co. Strand.

4. "A View of part of the Ruins of the City of Agra".
Aquatint engraving with etching by and after William Hodges, from his *Select Views in India* London, 1787.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

by three ditches; one face of it, that to the eastward, was washed to the foot of the walls by the river. The outer ditch is now totally ruined, the high road going through it, as may be observed in the Plate." This engraving, the only illustration of Agra in *Travels in India*, was made from a picture by Hodges, which he painted for Warren Hastings.

Hodges also noted the mixture of splendour and decay: "In the eastern front of the fort was the imperial residence, built of white marble, covered on top with plates of copper gilt, which to this day retain their full lustre, and at no great distance there is a Mosque, built of the same beautiful materials, with copper ornaments and gilt. It was impossible to contemplate the ruins of this grand and venerable city, without feeling the deepest impressions of melancholy."

Palace (*Haveli*) of Dara Shukoh

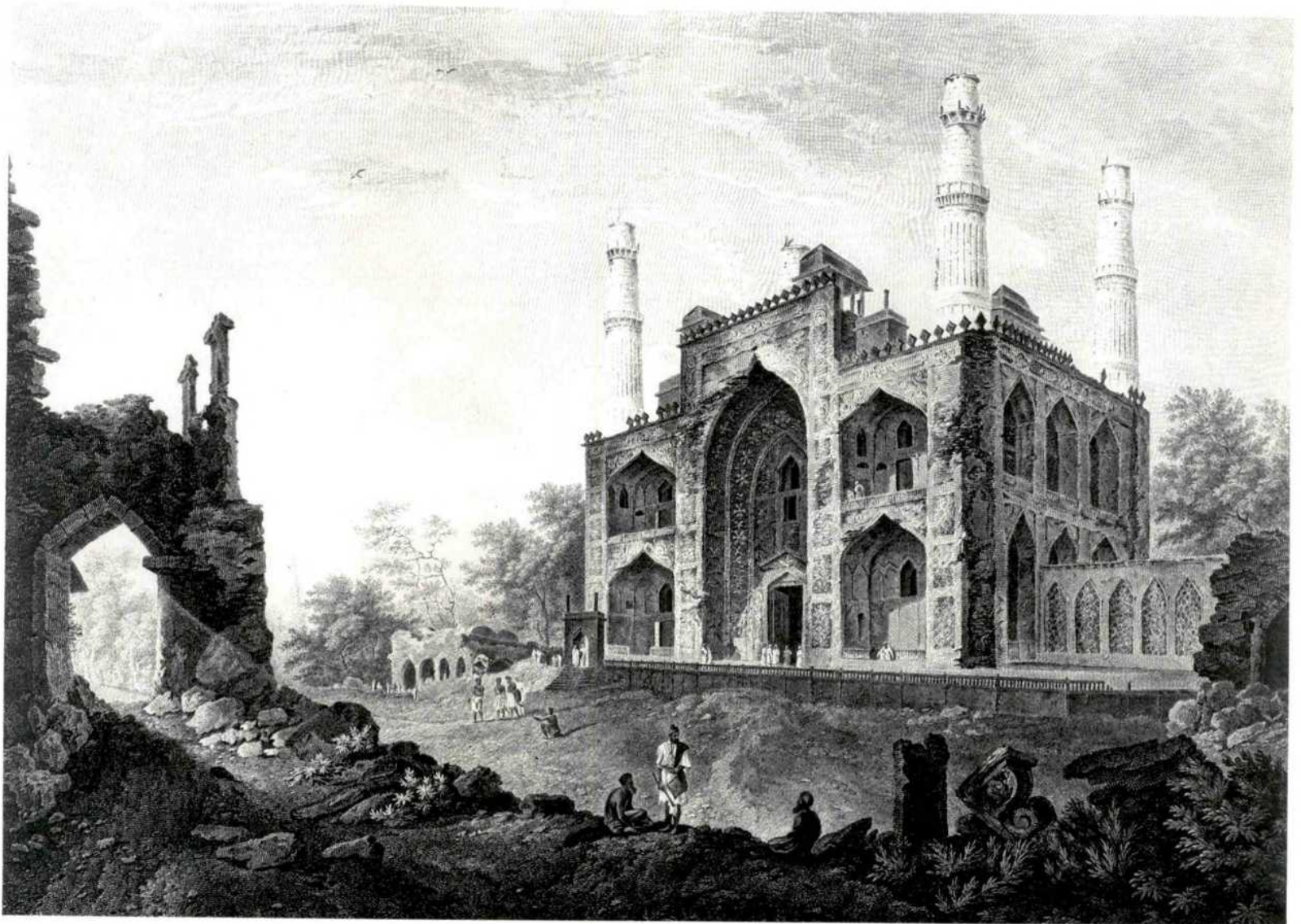
During the three weeks which he spent with Browne in the area, Hodges saw another great complex which he described in his *Travels in India* as the ruined palace of Dara Shukoh. He found it to be "an extent of ground not less than the square of Lincoln's-inn fields."

About a century after Hodges' visit, a description of the ruins of the *haveli* of Dara Shukoh in an *Archaeological Survey Report for the year 1871-72* noted: "This enclosure contained the garden palace of Dara Shikoh The site of this enclosure now goes by the name of the Jamna Bagh; but it is now almost entirely swept away and built over with houses. All that remains of it is the fragment of a massive old wall of a bridge over a nulla, and an enclosed piece of ground belonging to the son of the late Joti Pershad, the great banker of Agra. The site of the Havaili is situated on the right bank of the river immediately to the north of the fort." Even today at Agra, there exist the remains of a structure called the Iqbal Manzil, situated on the river-bank, about a kilometre north of the Red Fort. Its origin is ascribed to Dara Shukoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan and the brother of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Fig. 4 *Select Views in India* contains a view by Hodges, which he drew from the west bank looking across the river. Some ruins surmounted with small pavilions appear in the foreground, and in his description of this print, Hodges stated: "This view of Ruins at Agra is taken from the center of a building that was once the Palace of the Emperor Aurangzeb, built by him in the lifetime of his Father, Shah Jehan, and adjoining the great Fort of the City." Since it was Aurangzeb, and not Dara Shukoh, who succeeded Shah Jahan as emperor, it is probable that this palace was begun by Dara Shukoh before his untimely death, and then taken over by Aurangzeb. If this was so, then the account by Hodges in his *Travels* and the description of this print in *Select Views*, refer to the same palace complex. Moreover, the tall structure with four minarets situated on the far side of the river, as shown in the print, is almost certainly Itimad-ud Daula's tomb, and its position in relation to the site of the palace would be correct.

Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra

Hodges' interests went far beyond the purely visual aspects of India. While preparing his series of aquatints for publication in London, he wrote a treatise called *A Dissertation on the Prototypes of Architecture, Hindoo, Moorish, and Gothic*. In it he explored the similarities and relationship found in different styles of building and examined the social conditions which produced them. This was first published in 1787 and appeared again as part of the text in his *Travels in India*. In the latter work, he further explained: "I was at

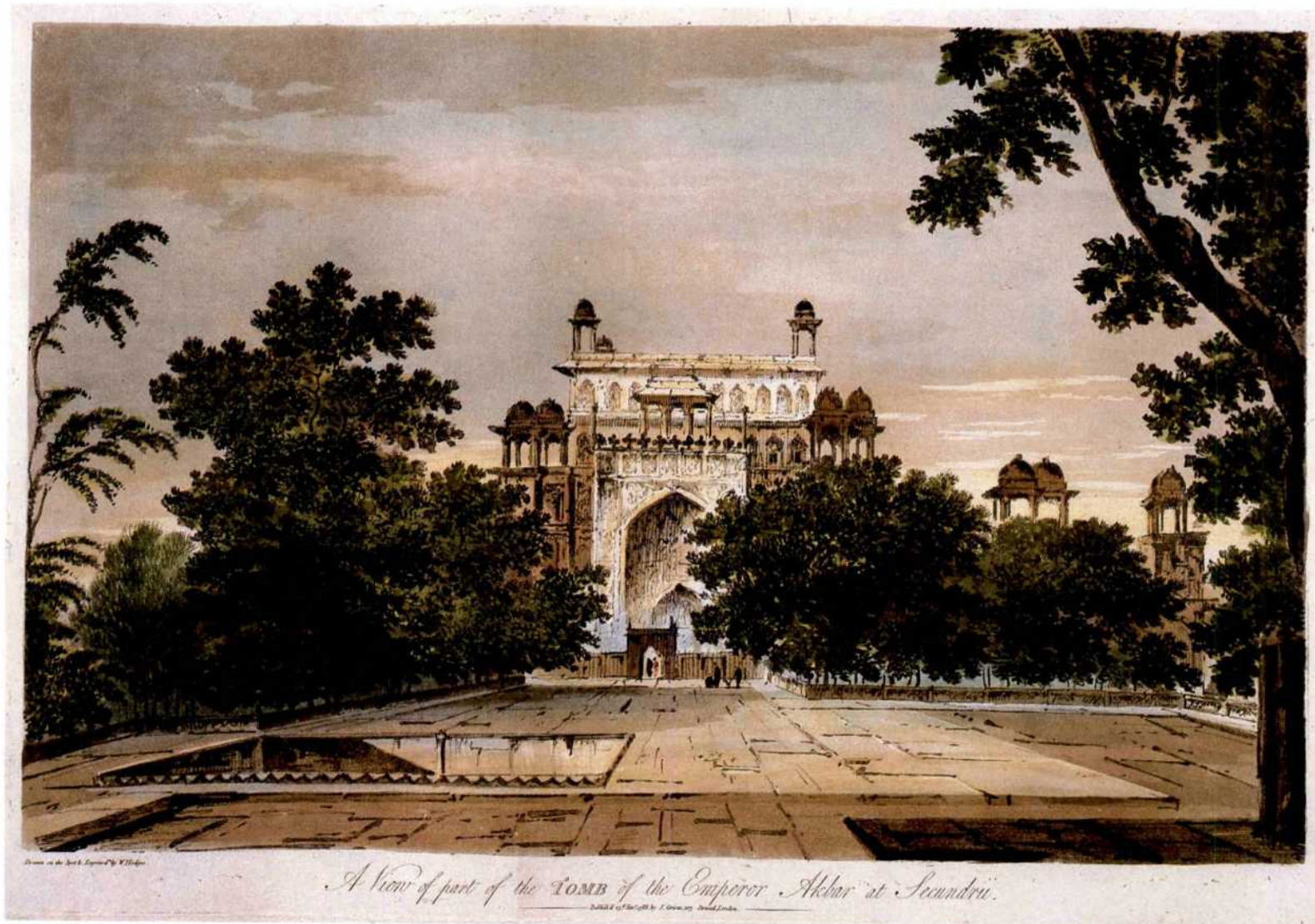


5. "A View of the Gate of the Tomb of the Emperor Akbar, at Secundrii [Sikandra]".
 Etching and line-engraving by John Browne after William Hodges, London, 1786.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

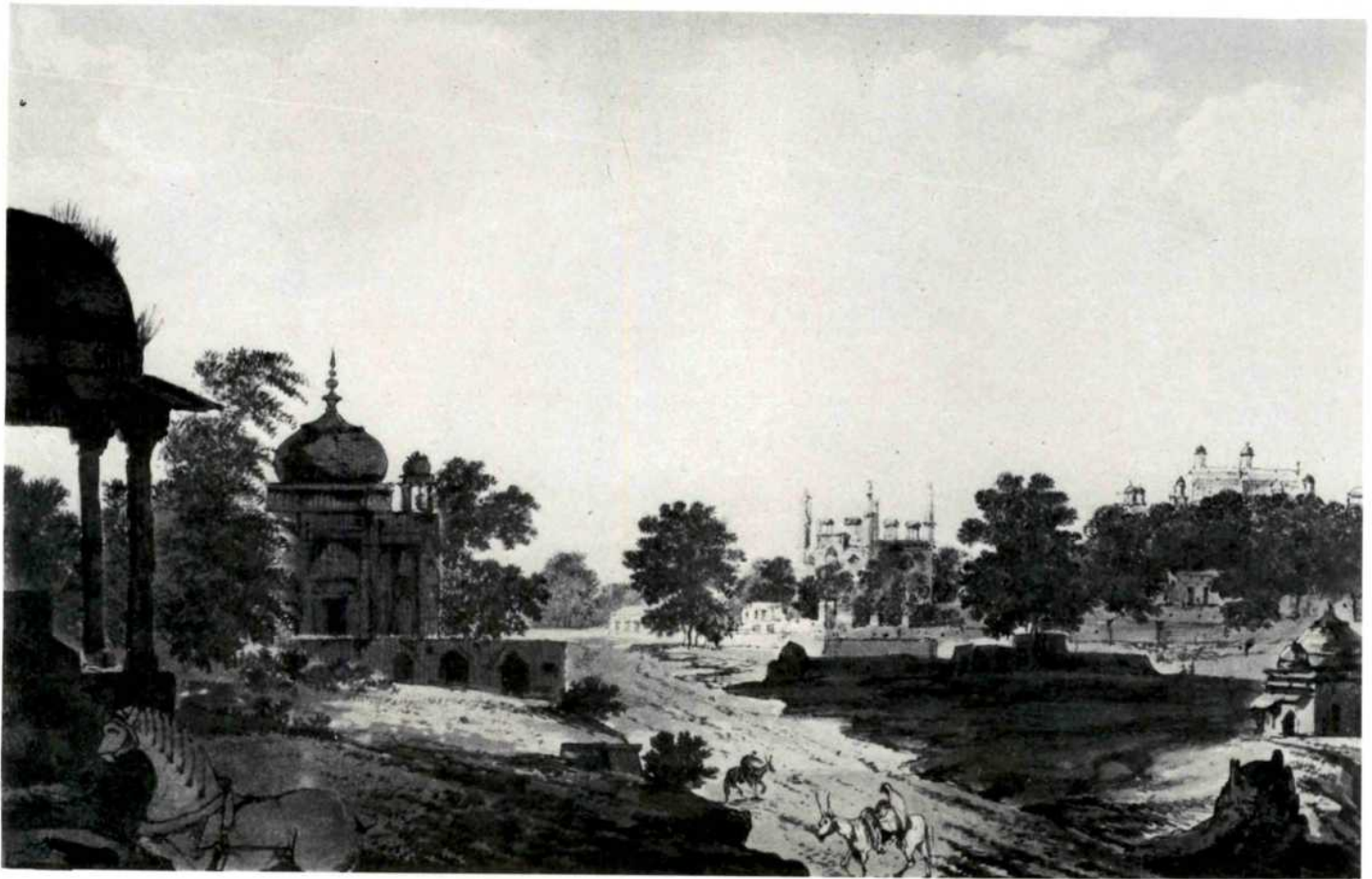
length tempted to commit to paper a few thoughts on these different styles of architecture, which in the form of a pamphlet on the subject, was accompanied by two large plates engraved—from pictures entitled, *Views of the Gate leading to the Tomb of Abar at Secundii, and the Mausoleum of the Emperor Shere Shah at Sasseram*.

In early 1786, however, the *Calcutta Gazette* had announced the project *Antiquities of India*: "Mr. Hodges having brought to England Pictures and Drawings lately done by him in the East Indies, . . . presumes they are highly interesting on account of their novel and picturesque scenery, and more especially as they illustrate the history and antiquities of places now so much the object of inquiry. He is therefore induced to have a select number of them engraved by the most capital artists in Europe and proposes to publish them by subscription." Although Hodges clearly planned this project in the form of a series of large prints, only the two mentioned in his *Travels* appear to have been published. They are both dated May 1786 and were issued with descriptive letterpress in English and French. It seems, therefore, that Hodges changed

Fig. 5



6. "A View of part of the Tomb of the Emperor Akbar at Secundrii".
 Aquatint engraving with etching by and after William Hodges, from his *Select Views in India* London, 1788.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



7. "A View of Tombs at Secundrii near Agra", including the gateway to Akbar's tomb and the tomb (on the right).

Aquatint engraving with etching by and after William Hodges, from his *Select Views in India* London, 1788.

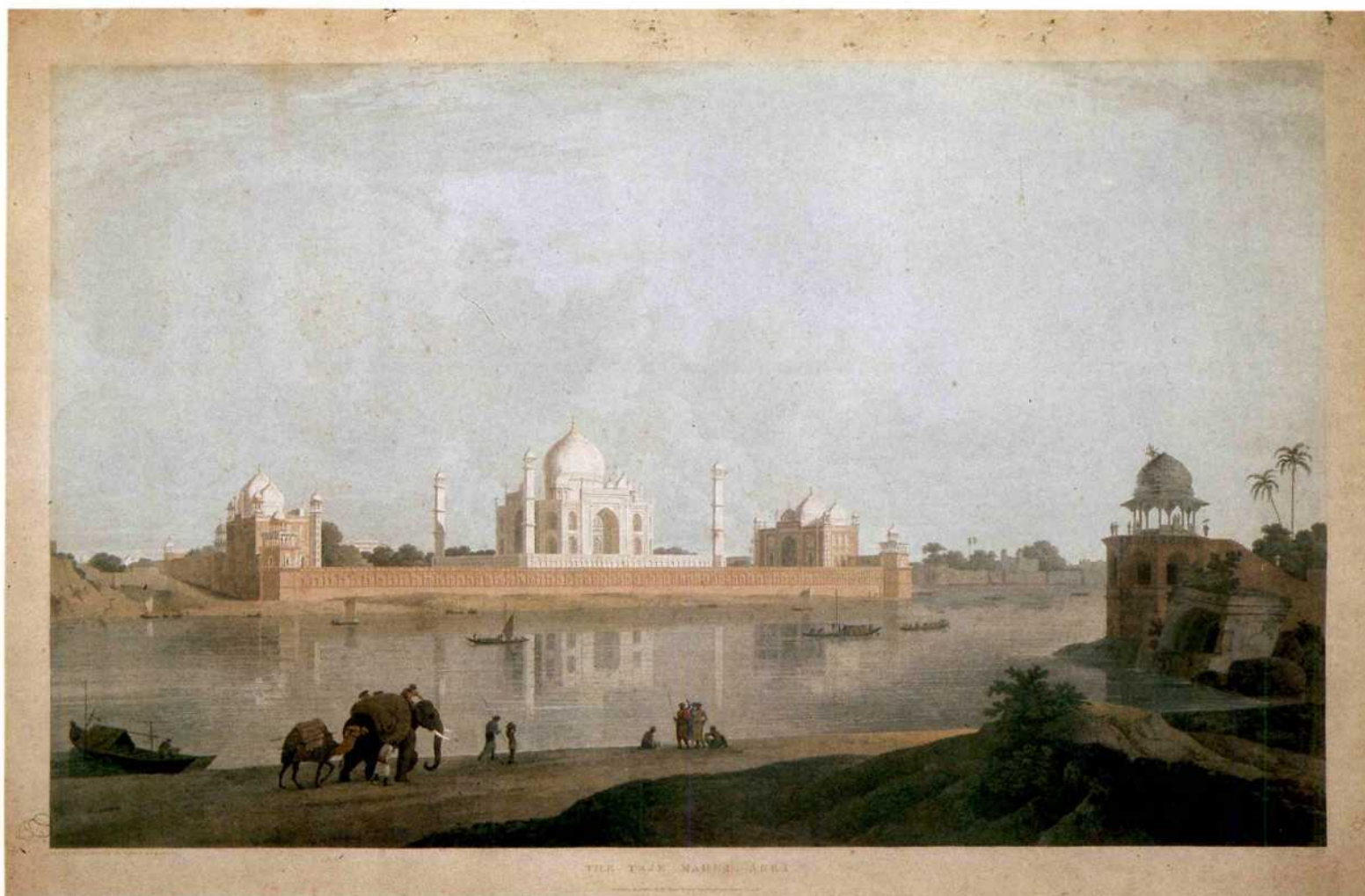
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

his mind. He may have realized that the public generally was not yet ready to appreciate such specific examples of Indian architecture. Nevertheless, his own interest led him to explore the subject in depth and, after abandoning the *Antiquities of India*, he then decided to illustrate the treatise on architecture with the two prints, which had been published the previous year.

The visit to Akbar's tomb (situated on the high road towards Delhi), was described by Hodges at length in his *Travels*. His narrative focuses on the grandeur and regularity of the entire complex with its garden "planted both with forest and fruit trees, and many flowering shrubs, and walled round . . ." He vividly recalled his experience on entering the garden through the gateway, but explained that a "large print, by that excellent artist Mr. Brown, has been engraved and published from a picture of this gate, which gives a more perfect idea of the grandeur of it than words are able to express."

Hodges was also moved by the architectural features and significance of the mausoleum: "A blazing eastern sun shining full on this building, composed of such varied materials, produces a glare of splendour almost beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of these northern climates to conceive; and in the present solitude that reigns

Fig. 6



8. "The Taje Mahel, Agra" from the east bank of the Jumna.
 Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by and after Thomas and William Daniell, London, 1801.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

over the whole of the neglected garden, excites involuntarily a melancholy pensiveness. After viewing this monument of an Emperor, whose great actions have resounded through the world, and whose liberality and humanity were his highest praise, I became desirous of seeing even that stone which contained his crumbling remains In the center the body is deposited in a sarcophagus of plain white marble, on which is written, in black marble inlaid, simply the name of ACBAR."

Fig. 7 The fourth print of Agra and its surroundings in *Select Views* shows a general view from the roadway at Sikandra. The gateway to Akbar's tomb appears in the centre, the top of the tomb itself is visible to the right, while ruined tombs lie scattered around.

The series of forty-eight prints in Hodges' *Select Views* was published in London between May 1785 and April 1788. The first part, containing four views of other places in India, was probably issued by Hodges himself. He may, however, have found this task too much, for the next five parts were published by John Wells while the remainder of the series was published by J. Grives, who took over in August 1787.

It was also somewhat unusual for a professional painter to undertake to engrave the copper plates himself. Hodges did so, and his prints thus reflect his own style of

draughtsmanship and his engraving skills. He selected the new process of aquatint, combined with etching and soft ground etching (which has the effect of a chalk drawing), for *Select Views*. Throughout their production, Hodges preserved the atmospheric freshness and the spontaneity of his original sketches made on the spot. Effects of sunlight flickering across a building or foliage caught in a breeze appear in almost every print. They were also printed in a warm sepia or soft grey coloured ink, which further heightens their sense of reality. The prints were offered to subscribers either plain or, at a higher price, with delicate shades of water-colour added to enhance their picturesque qualities.

Thomas Daniell (1749-1840) and William Daniell (1769-1837)

By the time Thomas and William Daniell set off from Calcutta on their tour of northern India in early September 1788, all the aquatints in *Select Views* had been published and they would have been familiar with many of them. This is confirmed by an announcement in the *Calcutta Gazette*, at about that same time. It stated that the first twenty-four prints of *Select Views* had arrived and that they could be obtained at the Circulating Library in Calcutta for twelve gold mohurs.

Thomas Daniell, having been granted permission by the East India Company to practise in India "as an engraver," had arrived in Calcutta with his teenage nephew, William, in early 1786. They spent about eighteen months in the city before setting off on their northern tour. Although the usual route northwards took them to many of the places seen by Hodges, the Daniells sketched and commented upon many of the same subjects as their predecessor.

The Daniells arrived at Agra on January 20, 1789, six years after Hodges. By then, the political situation had stabilized and the area was controlled by the Marathas, under Mahadaji Sindhia. Both Mirza Shafi Khan and Afrasyab Khan were dead. Even so, the Daniells had journeyed from Fatehgarh with a group of British officers, including General John Carnac and Colonel Horton Briscoe. The party also camped on the east bank of the Jumna (but at a different site from the one occupied by Hodges), immediately opposite the Taj Mahal.

The Taj Mahal

The Daniells spent most of their first day making sketches from the camp and in the evening, they visited the tomb of Itimad-ud Daula. One of their drawings showing a panoramic view of the Taj from the opposite bank of the river, was subsequently produced as a very large hand-coloured aquatint. It was engraved in aquatint by both Thomas and William and was published in London by Thomas in 1801, as one of a pair of prints. The descriptive booklet that was published with the prints includes a detailed plan of the Taj in its garden setting. They described it as a "majestic edifice . . . [and] being a spectacle of the highest celebrity, is visited by persons of all rank, and from all parts . . . its prodigious mass of polished marble rises proudly over a river, that not only adds to its majesty, but, by reflection, multiplies its splendour." Fig. 8

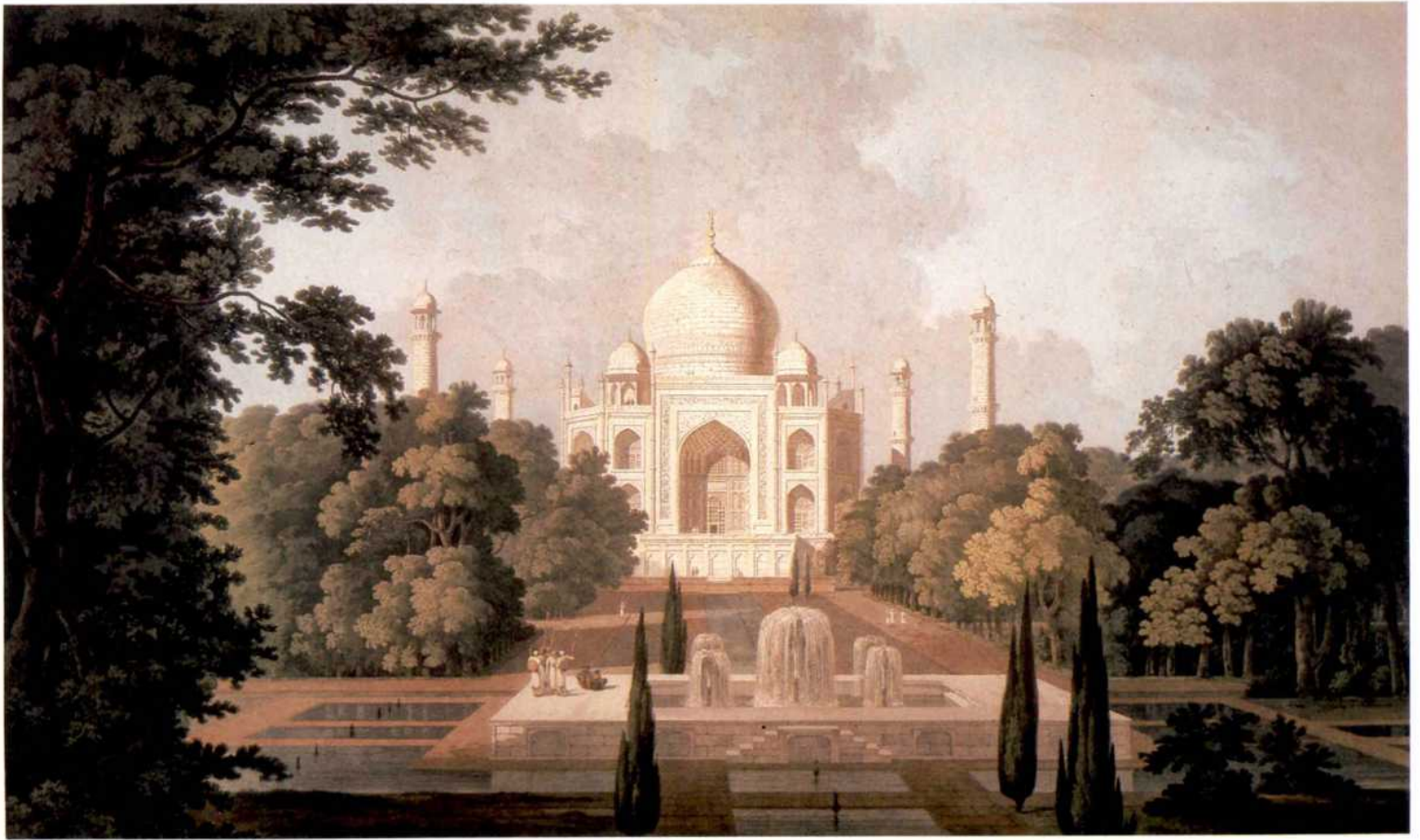
Soon after dawn the following morning, they crossed the river and reached the Taj in time for breakfast with their friend, Major William Palmer. Major Palmer, who was then the Resident at Sindhia's court, had offered to join them at Agra, travel with them to Delhi, and show them the sites. During the next few days before moving on to Sikandra, they divided their time between the Taj and the Red Fort. Fig. 9



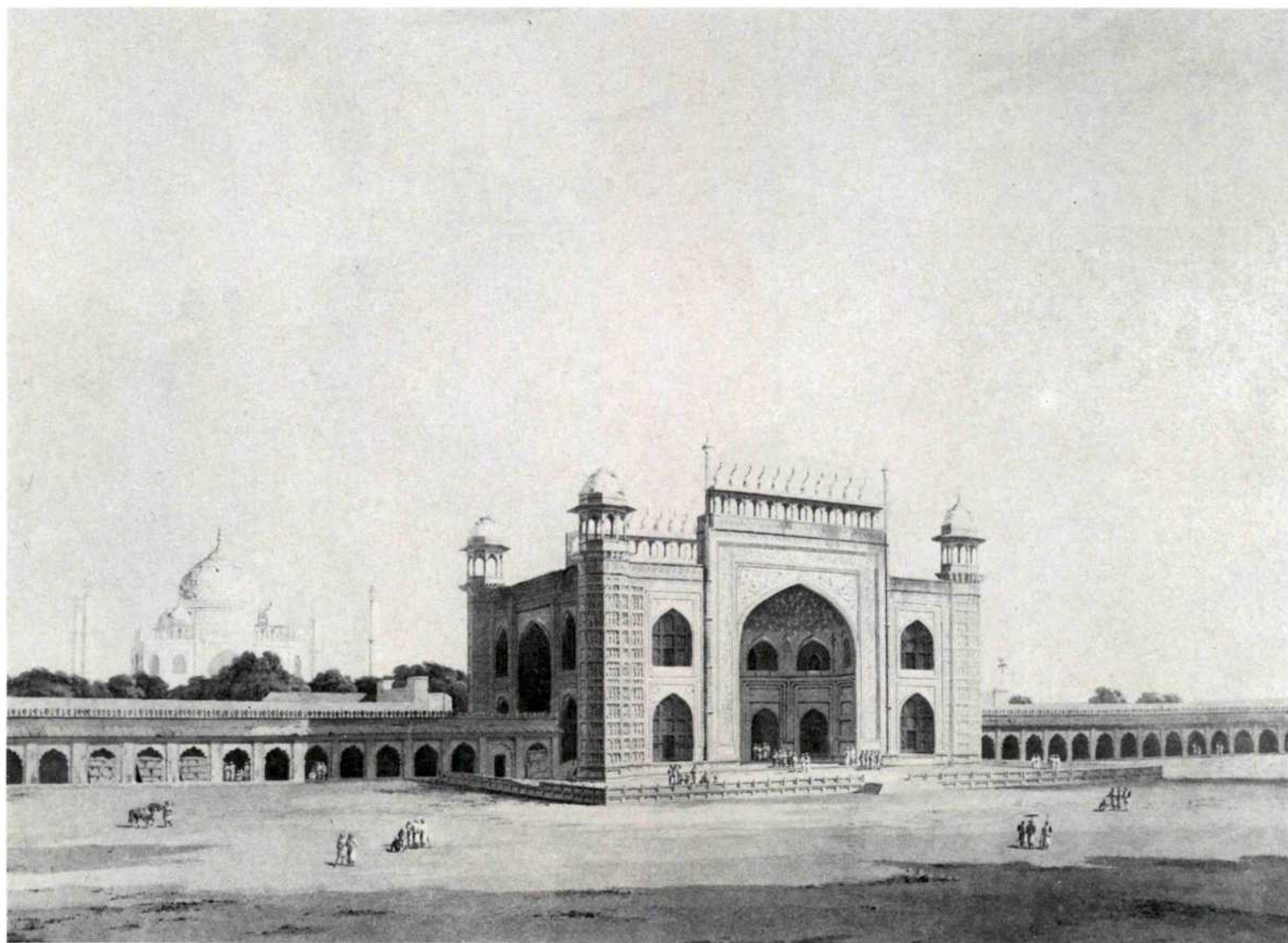
9. "Plan of the Taje Mahel, Agra".
Reproduced from a line-engraving by James Newton,
London, 1801.
India Office Library and Records, The British
Library, London.
This shows the layout of the grounds, the entrance
gateway and adjoining courtyard, the garden, the Taj,
and the position of the River Jumna. The layout
of a garden on the east bank of the river is also
marked, but this project was never completed.
The original plan was published with the texts to the
Daniells' pair of prints of the Taj Mahal published
the same year (Figs. 8 & 10).

KEY TO PLAN

- A. A Marble Platform 19 Feet in height on which is erected the Taje Mahel.
- B. The TAJE MAHEL.
- C. The Mosque.
- D. A building corresponding in general form with C.
- E. Marble Basons containing Water.
- F. Gardens.
- G. Paved Walks through avenues of Trees.
- H. Large Marble Bason with fountains.
- I. Channels for Water with fountains.
- K. Beds of Flowers.
- L. Summer Houses.
- M. The Principal Gate of the Taje Mahel.
- N. Apartments for female attendants to Ladies of Rank.
- O. The Great court yard.
- P. Tomb of Futtehpooree.
- Q. Tomb of Akbarabadée.
- R. Gardens attached to the Tombs.
- S. A Well.
- T. Paun Bazars.
- U. Western Gate.
- V. Eastern Gate.
- W. The lesser Gate.
- X. The Market place.
- Y. Gates.
- Z. Omar Khan's Market place.
- a. Market place for Scented Oils.
- b. Market place for Silks.
- c. Jugee Dof's Market place.
- d. The River Jumna 500 Guz in width.
- NB. The breadth of the river is not in proportion to the Scale.
- e. Buildings and Gardens in an unfinished State.



10. "The Taj Mahal, taken from the garden."
Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by and after Thomas and William Daniell, London, 1801.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



11. Gateway to "The Taje Mahel, at Agra".

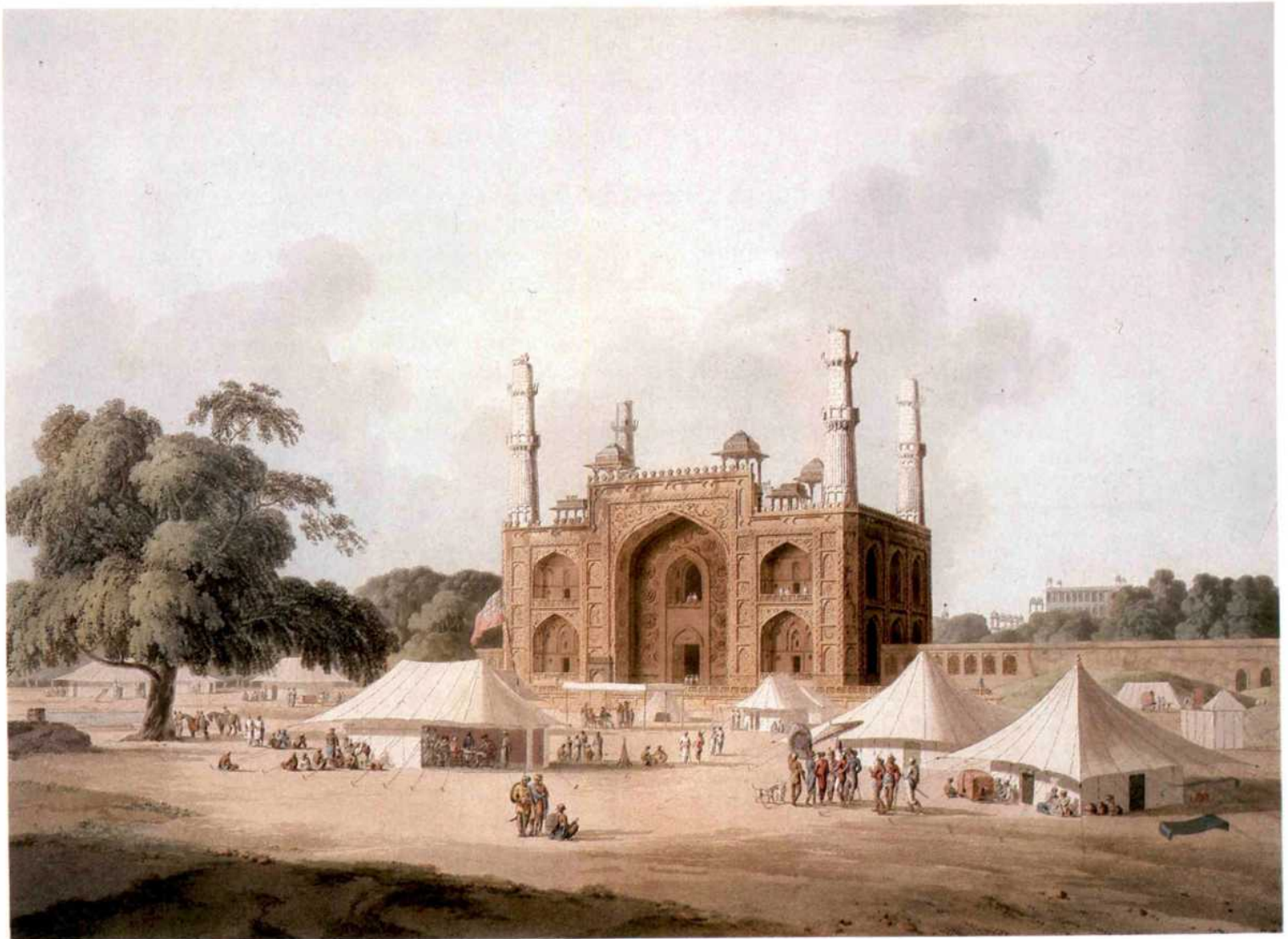
Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by and after Thomas Daniell, from *Oriental Scenery*, London, 1796.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

After breakfast with Palmer, "we all visited the inside of the Taje and were much struck with its Magnificent workmanship. We also went up to the top of one of the Minarets, [from] where you command a very fine view of the country . . .," noted William in his diary on the day that they crossed the river.

On January 22, as also recorded by William, they "spent the Whole day at the Taje Mahl. Un [Uncle] drew the view from the Garden in the Camera [camera obscura] —myself employed on the inside. In the evening went up on the Dome. Both employed till 10 o'clock washing our drawings [that is, adding water-colour washes]. Eat [sic] of some Apples Pears & Grapes of Persia from Major Palmers table."

Fig. 10 The other print of the Taj Mahal published in 1801, was probably the result of the drawings made from the garden on this day. Their description noted: "The garden view of the Taje Mahel was taken immediately on entering it by the principal gate, which is the subject of the eighteenth plate of the first series of *Oriental Scenery*, whence the Mausoleum, being seen down an avenue of trees, has on first entering a most impressive

Fig. 11



12. "Gateway of the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra".

Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by and after Thomas Daniell, from *Oriental Scenery*, London, 1795.

India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

effect on the spectator. The large marble bason in the centre of the garden with fountains, and those rising out of the watery channel with paved walks on each side, add to the variety and richness of the scene, and give to it that coolness which is so luxurious an improvement to an Oriental garden."

The Red Fort

Most of the next two days they spent exploring and sketching the Red Fort. When William compared the actual scene with Hodges' aquatint of the Red Fort (figure 2), he declared it to be "like all his others, exceedingly faulty." Like many of Hodges' contemporaries, the Daniells found his prints too impressionistic. The style of landscape in vogue still harked back to the neoclassical, with its detailed clarity and balanced compositions, as exemplified in the Daniells' aquatints.

Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra

On their way to Delhi via Fatehpur-Sikri, the Daniells saw Sikandra. Like Hodges, Thomas made a drawing of the entrance gateway to Akbar's tomb, which was subsequently engraved. "Un employed the Whole Day drawing the Gate (in the camera) leading to the tomb of Akbar. Myself ditto at the tomb of Akbar," noted William.

Fig. 12 Thomas' scene was taken from a viewpoint further away from the gateway than Hodges' view (figure 5). When the two scenes are compared, it also becomes evident that the engraving after Hodges contains perhaps non-existent features, such as a ruined arch in the foreground, which were introduced to enhance the picturesque qualities of the composition. Hodges' view dramatically portrays the monumental quality of the gateway and there is a strong element of nostalgia, which is heightened by the inclusion of ruined fragments of architecture in the foreground. Thomas Daniell's rendering is more strictly topographical. He has also included their encampment in the foreground with their companions grouped round the tents, adding realism to the scene.

Like the aquatint of the gateway to the Taj Mahal, which was also engraved by Thomas from one of his own drawings, this print was included in the first part of their major work, *Oriental Scenery*. These first twenty-four prints were published between 1795 and 1797 by Robert Bowyer at the Historic Gallery, Pall Mall in London. Unlike Hodges, however, the Daniells took over from Bowyer and published the other five parts, besides engraving the plates for their entire series of 144 aquatints.

Select Views and *Oriental Scenery* mark the beginning of the era of topographical prints of India. Their publication inspired other artists to follow in the footsteps of Hodges and the Daniells but these prints of Agra and Sikandra, and especially those of the Taj Mahal by Thomas and William, have remained unmatched ever since.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my gratitude to Mr. Karl Khandalavala and to Professor R. Nath of the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, for their help in identifying the *haveli* of Dara Shukoh as the site shown in the print by Hodges (figure 4).

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THE TIPU MANIA: NARRATIVE SKETCHES OF THE CONQUEST OF MYSORE

ANNE BUDDLE

“The Great Historical Picture of the Storming of Seringapatam executed upon a large scale, comprehending 2,500 square feet of canvas and contains several hundred figures as large as life, with near twenty Portraits of British officers. The exhibition of the Picture is open every day, from Nine o’clock till Dusk—Admittance One Shilling. The Public are respectfully informed that it is intended to publish, By Subscription, Three Large Prints from the above Painting—Proposals for which may be had at the Exhibition Room.”

The painting of the “Storming of Seringapatam” (said to have been painted in six weeks by Robert Ker Porter and to be 36.6 metres long) was mounted at the Lyceum in the Strand for public viewing soon after news of the event reached London. It attracted great publicity. *Fig. 1*

Historically, politically and commercially, the conquest of Mysore, the capture of Seringapatam and the very name of Tipu Sultan, have never lost their attraction. From Ker Porter’s great canvas and the historical pictures of the eighteenth century to the modern cigarette card and comic strip, the Tipu legend has been interwoven with propaganda, popular images and artistic licence.

Haidar Ali Khan (1717/22-1782) and Tipu Sultan (1752-1799)

The texts of military historians provide the familiar facts. Tipu was born in 1752, the son of Haidar Ali who had risen to become *Dewan* and seized power in Mysore from the ruling Wadiyar dynasty by 1766. Haidar’s efforts to extend his territory culminated in the second Mysore war against the British between 1780 and 1784. Events associated with it and even Haidar’s death in 1782, were of little interest to the European artist, although engraved portraits of Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, of Haidar himself in *darbar*, and of Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, appeared eventually. By contrast, however, images of the third Mysore war of 1790-1792 and the fourth Mysore war of 1799 are as varied as they are numerous.

The Third and Fourth Mysore Wars

In 1786, Lord Cornwallis arrived as both Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. He was sensible of the fact that "the youthful and spirited heir of Hyder [was] likely to become an even more formidable opponent than his father."¹ Tipu, waging an ambitious "holy war", attacked Travancore in December 1789. This provoked the British in India to declare war on Mysore, supported by a tripartite alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. Cornwallis took Bangalore in January 1791. Before the British reached Seringapatam, Tipu cut off their supplies and Cornwallis and his troops were forced to retreat to Bangalore. With British success in capturing hill-forts in Mysore, including Nandidrug and Savandrug, their fortunes changed.

In January 1792, the Grand Army left Bangalore to attack Seringapatam from the north. Tipu capitulated, and by the treaty of Seringapatam in March, he surrendered to the allies half his territory, six crores of rupees as indemnity and two of his sons as hostages.

Tipu fulfilled the terms of this crippling treaty and in 1794 his sons were returned to him. During the next five years, he consolidated his power. He sent ambassadors to Afghanistan and Persia. He assiduously courted the French, sending ambassadors to Louis XVI and the Governor of Mauritius, despite threats of war from the Governor-General, Lord Mornington (later Marquess Wellesley), who judiciously moved to Madras.

This period of "sweepingly dishonest cordiality" on the part of the ruler of Mysore,² closed abruptly with the interception of a letter to Tipu from Napoleon in February 1799. The fourth Mysore war was declared. An attack was launched from both Madras and Bombay, while the Governor-General's younger brother, Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington), commanded the Nizam's army. Seringapatam was besieged and at the assault of Seringapatam on May 4, 1799, the "Tiger of Mysore" was vanquished.

The "Tiger" Legend Begins

Many original maps and diagrams survive in military journals and manuscript collections. It is, however, the wide range of topographical prints³ and especially that of the sets of historical prints, which helps to place surviving Tipu objects in context. Indeed, versions of "Lord Cornwallis receiving the two sons of Tipu Sultan as Hostages" and of the "Storming of Seringapatam" have probably done more to disperse the Tipu legend than any other source. Tipu's own identification with the tiger also captivated the people's imagination, and his adoption of the tiger and the tiger-stripe (*bubri*) as his personal motifs has charmed and intrigued them ever since. Examples of its use abound: tiger canon, weapons and flags, and as architectural decoration; there are inscriptions interwoven with *bubris*, even paper was made with tiger watermarks, to say nothing of the "tyger jacket" of Tipu's soldiers, familiar from Captain Charles Gold's illustration in his *Oriental drawings* published in 1806.

Portraits of Tipu

Most portraits of Tipu relate to the small oil painting (in the India Office Library and Records) attributed to George Frederick Cherry, Persian secretary to Lord Cornwallis. They include the mezzotint by S. W. Reynolds inscribed in the lettering as "From an original Drawing in the Possession of the Marquis Wellesley", which forms the



1. "The Great Historical Picture of the Storming of Seringapatam".
Descriptive key engraving by Lee after Robert Ker Porter's panoramic
painting exhibited at the Lyceum, London, 1800.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



2. "Tippoo Sultaun".
Mezzotint engraving by Samuel W. Reynolds from
A. Beatson's A view of the origin and conduct of the
war with Tippoo Sultaun, London, 1800.
India Office Library and Records, The British
Library, London.



Die ZWEY SÖHNE des SULTAN TIPPO ergeben sich.

General & Major Cornwallis befiehlt, dass der Sultan erscheinen, um auf sein Verlangen zu erscheinen, aber seine Leute & seine Leute sagen, sich in

The SURRENDER of TWO SONS of TIPPO SULTAUN.

Major General Buxton ordered the Sultan to appear, and was informed he was not in the Palace, but that his two sons would surrender themselves.

3. "The surrender of two sons of Tippoo Sultaun [as hostages to Lord Cornwallis]".
Hand-coloured mezzotint engraving by Laminet after Henry Singleton, Augsburg, no date.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

frontispiece to Alexander Beatson's *A view of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultaun*, published in London in 1800.

Cherry's painting is also the source of the stipple engraving (which carries the same ownership reference) in James Hunter's *Picturesque scenery in the Kingdom of Mysore*. Neither Cherry's portrait, nor any other related painting (in the Oriental Club or in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London), has a landscape background. A view of Seringapatam was introduced into the portrait engravings behind Tipu. It is also represented, for example, in Charles Gold's "Tyger" sepoy.

The Princes

Arthur William Devis, George Carter and Robert Home, contemporary British artists in India, all painted their versions of Cornwallis receiving the hostage princes. The subject became equally popular among British artists who never went to India. They include the history painters, Mather Brown, Henry Singleton and Thomas Stothard. Prints of their paintings and of paintings of other events associated with the princes, were produced, often in sets, by the leading engravers of the day, Daniell Orme, Anthony Cardon, Joseph Grozer, Charles Turner, Francesco Bartolozzi, L. and N. Schiavonetti and Laminet.

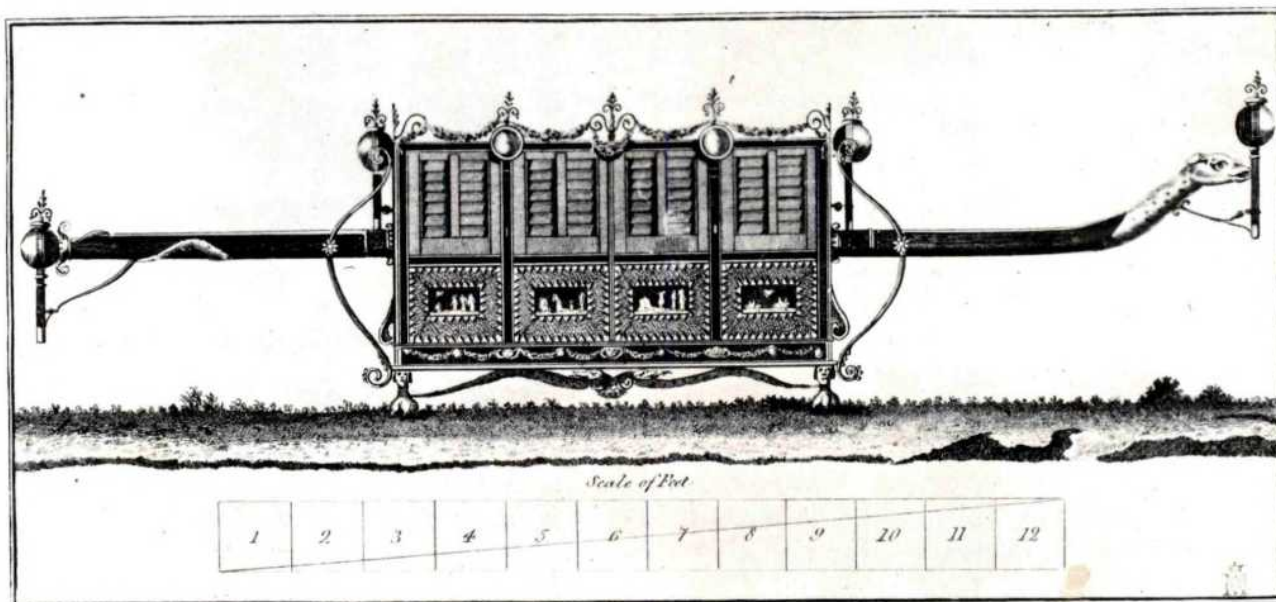
In all the paintings and engravings, attention is focused on the two princes, Abdul Khaliq and Muiz-ud-din, and on the genial but imposing Lord Cornwallis. Major Dirom⁴ records that the princes left Seringapatam at noon on February 26, 1792, riding on richly caparisoned elephants with silver howdahs. They were met by Sir John Kennaway, and brought to the door of Cornwallis' tent. Robert Home, who was also an eyewitness, noted that "the Princes appeared in long white muslin gowns and red turbans. Each had several rows of large pearls around his neck from which hung an ornament consisting of a ruby and an emerald, of a considerable size, surrounded by large brilliants, and in his turban a sprig of valuable pearls." Published sources do not relate how the sons left the zenana or their father, yet the scene of their departure from the zenana was painted, for example, by Brown and Stothard and subsequently engraved.

The procession attendant upon the princes, including camel *hirrcaraks*, standard bearers, pikemen and guards, is given less prominence in the prints than in many of the original paintings. In the paintings the "small green flags" and "weapons inlaid with silver," the Tipu banners and the tiger uniforms are immediately recognizable. Singleton depicted Cornwallis receiving the boys at the doorway of the fort. Tipu motifs are included in the foreground: a standard-bearer in tiger uniform sweeps his banner to the ground, displaying its central flaming sun and *bubri* border; a tiger cannon, similar to surviving examples, completes the composition. The engraving of this depiction, is one of a set of four engraved by Laminet after paintings by Henry Singleton. The other three portray the "Assault and taking of Seringapatam", the "Last effort and fall of Tipu Sultan" and the "Body of Tipu Sultan recognised by his family". Like the other sets, they were marketed as a highly topical series. In addition, however, the lettering in English and German or English and French, confirms that the market for these was an international one. Laminet's set was distributed in Germany by the Akademische Kunsthandlung of Augsburg. Fig. 3

Return of the Princes

The princes' return from Madras in February 1794 to Tipu's camp at Devanahalli, escorted by Colonel Doveton, is well documented. These sources include a manuscript in Tipu's own hand which is in the India Office Library and Records. An anonymous popular print, "The return of Tippoo Saib's two Sons to their mother", published by Haines in 1796, shows the Sultana as a billowing figure enveloped in fashionable plumes. This scene and its companion "Marquis Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tippoo Saib", also exist as glass paintings.

"The gallant Cornwallis displaying to his captives a generosity which would have done honour to the brightest hero of classical antiquity,"⁵ inspired canvases by Devis (now in the collection of Lord Biddulph) and by Home (in the National Army Museum, London). Curiously neither was engraved, despite the fact that Home's painting was



4. "The Palanquin presented by the Marquis Cornwallis to Prince Abdul Calic, Eldest Son of Tippoo Sultaun".
Line-engraving by T. Prattent, London, 1796.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797. Home's "Death of Colonel Moorhouse at the storming of Bangalore, March 1791" was shown at the Academy the same year and was subsequently engraved by E. Stalker and published in 1811.

None of the presentation items mentioned in the texts—gold watches, a fusee, a pair of pistols, and two Persian swords—has been positively identified in the prints.
Fig. 4 T. Prattent's engraving of "The Palanquin presented by the Marquis Cornwallis to Prince Abdul Calic, Eldest Son of Tippoo Sultaun" is a lone example. At Tipu's death two presentation palanquins survived but "they appeared never to have been unpacked."⁶

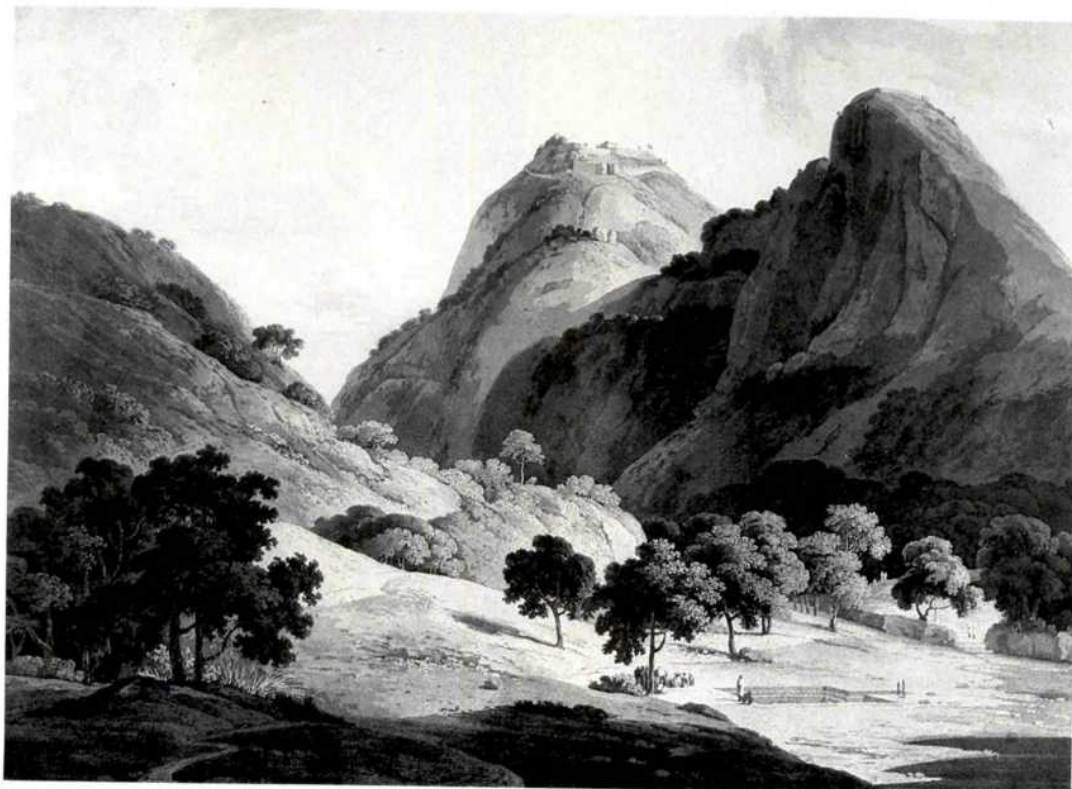
Scenes relating to the Campaigns

Topographical engravings after studies by officers who took part in the campaigns abound. They include prints after Alexander Allan, Thomas Anburey, Robert Hyde Colebrooke, James Hunter and Robert Home. Colebrooke's set of aquatints, engraved by John W. Edy, entitled *Twelve views of places in the Kingdom of Mysore, the country of Tipoo Sultan*, was published in London in 1794. It includes "North view of Sewandroog shewing the attack in December 1791". Colebrooke, who was present at Savandrug, captured the excitement of the particular moment in his original sketch, a feature which is also present in the print. These aquatints also include the "East View of Bangalore", "Seringapatam", "The Mausoleum of Haidar Ali Khan at Laulbagh" and several showing the hill-forts (*drugs*). In the scene of Haidar's mausoleum, like a microcosm of Seringapatam, a white jewel in a lush green setting, the tomb stands surrounded by cypresses, the studied formality offset by clusters of cattle and tents. By contrast for example, in Thomas Malton's aquatint, "North west view of Seringapatam", the scene, in velvety darkness, is suddenly illuminated by the blinding explosion of the rocket magazine.

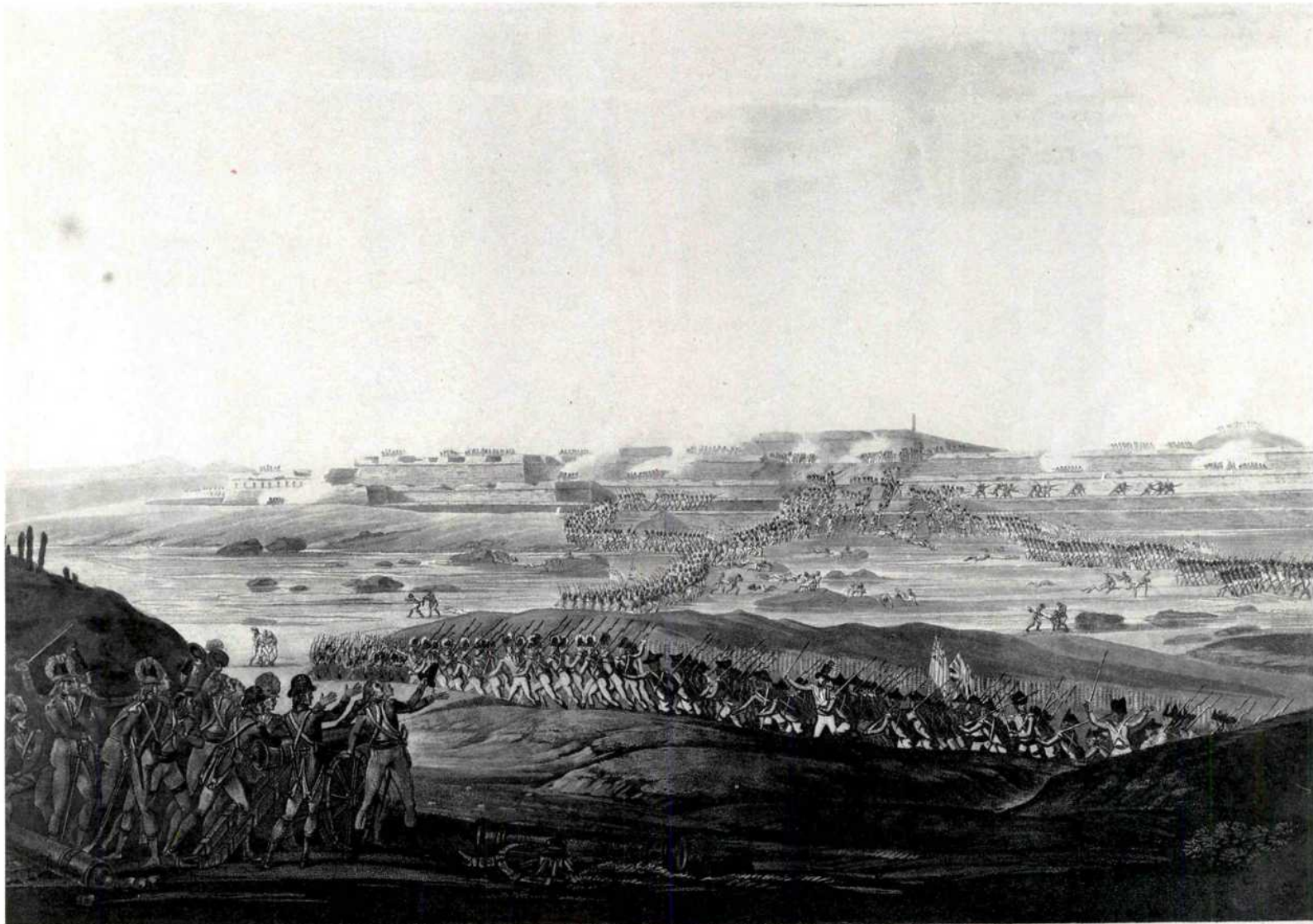
Thomas and William Daniell journeyed through Mysore from Madras in May 1792 after the campaign had ended. Their *Oriental Scenery* contains several views of the territory including both the well-known and lesser-known hill-forts of Tipu in the region.
Fig. 6



5. "North view of Sewandroog shewing the attack in December 1791".
Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by J.W. Edy after R.H. Colebrooke, London, 1794.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



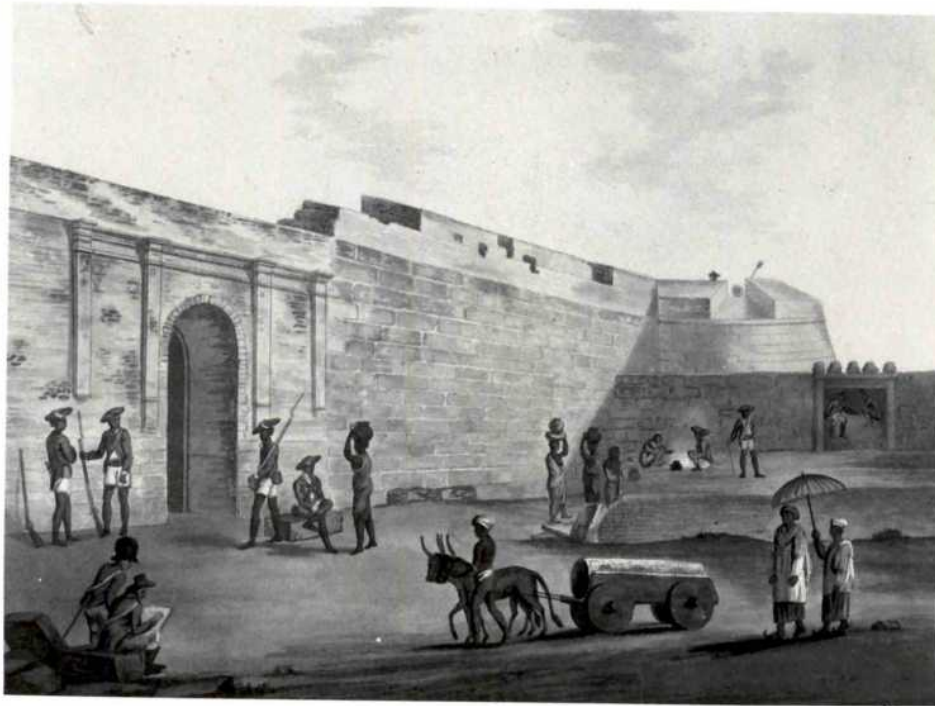
6. "Jag Deo & Warrangur, Hill Forts in the Barramah'l".
Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by and after Thomas and William Daniell, London, 1802.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



To Major General David Baird and
the Officers and Soldiers engaged in the ASSAULT OF
representing that memorable event is, with the highest
admiration of their Gallantry, inscribed, by A. Allan Esq. M. A.
as a testimony of appreciation of their gallant conduct, in the above manner.
Printed and sold by the East India Company in the Army, employed against Seringapatam.
London: Printed by J. Smith, in Pall Mall, near the Theatre Royal, Strand.

7. "... Assault of Seringapatam on the 4th of May 1799..."

Hand-coloured aquatint engraving published by A. Cardon and Schiavonetti after Captain Alexander Allan, London, 1802.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



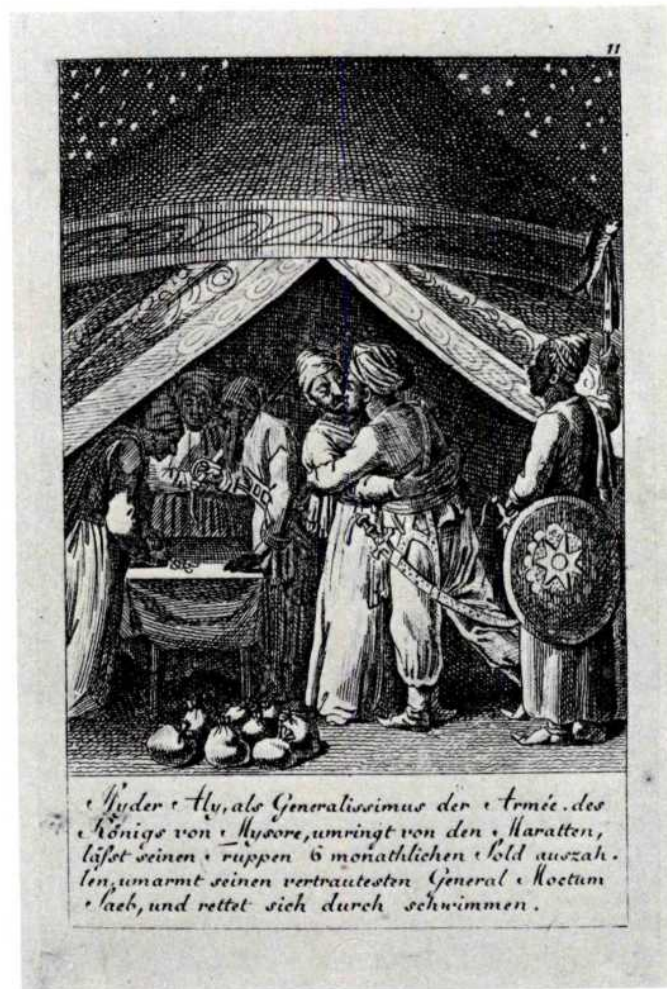
8. "The Mysore Gate at Bangalore".
Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by Joseph C. Stadler after James Hunter,
London, 1804.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Ker Porter's panoramic view of the "Storming of Seringapatam" was engraved in three sections by John Vendramini, between 1802 and 1803, after its showing at the Lyceum in London. The British heroes, Major-General Baird, Major-General Harris, the dying Lieutenant Farquhar, and Sergeant Graham savouring momentary glory, are all identifiable, but scant reference is made to the situation of the actual island of Seringapatam in the Cauvery.

Home and Colebrooke sketched Seringapatam from the mainland. The print Fig. 7 showing the assault of Seringapatam after a drawing by Captain Alexander Allan, published in 1802, also takes a distant viewpoint. In it, two columns of the British army snake across the landscape, and the assault force, under Colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke, wheels to the left and right at the breach.

There were, of course, no official war artists for these campaigns, apart from Robert Home who was appointed after he arrived on the scene. The published views resulted from sketches made on the spot by enterprising officers. Few could claim, like Major Skelly, that "I went with them merely as a spectator, to see my favourite regiment do its duty."⁷ Allan's *Views in the Mysore Country*, containing twenty views mainly of the hill-forts, was engraved by John Wells and published in the same year as the set by Colebrooke, that is, in 1794. Five years later, with Majors Beatson and Dallas, Allan was entering Tipu's palace to demand his surrender.

Amateur artists, like the soldier sketching the Mysore Gate at Bangalore in James Fig. 8 Hunter's *Picturesque scenery in the Kingdom of Mysore*, are sometimes acknowledged in topographical prints, for example, "from a sketch by Ensign Caldwell." Many such amateurs also provided reference sketches and notes for artists at home. It is known, for example, that Cornwallis' ADC furnished Mather Brown "with all the particulars . . . by the express desire of the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas."⁸



9. Haidar Ali as Commander-in-Chief of the Army
Line-engraving by Chodowiecki from *Life in East India*,
twelve sketches, no date.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

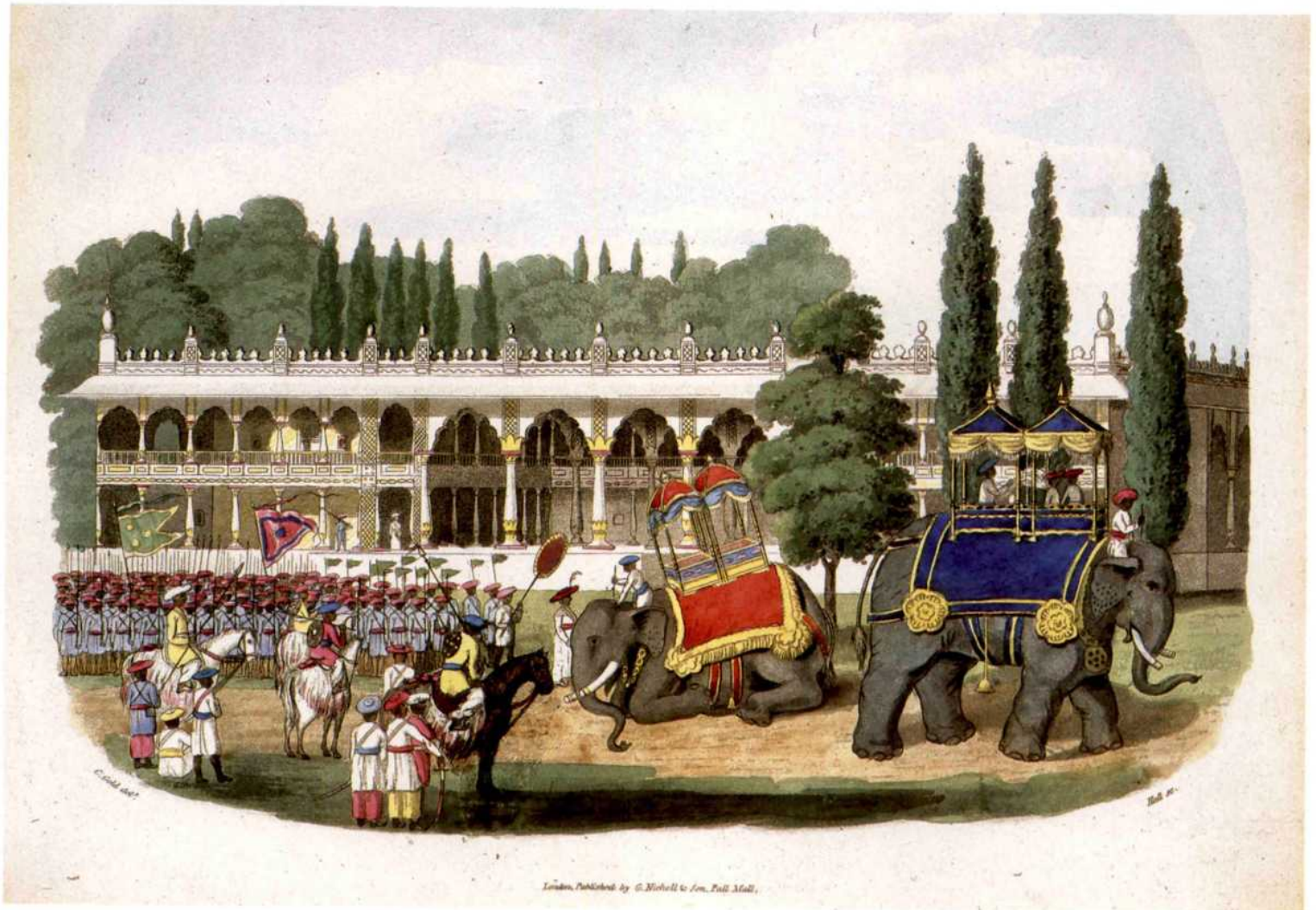
In India, Colebrooke's drawings were the source for the "Grand transparent view of Seringapatam",⁹ a decoration for the Calcutta Theatre, produced by Arthur William Devis and François Balthazar Solvyns in 1792.

Tipu's tents, "a formidable appearance of three to four hundred," are described in the *Madras Gazette Extraordinary* on March 21, 1799: "one of green colour seemed to denote the Sultan."¹⁰ Cornwallis had visited the hostages "in a tent lined with fine chintz, a white cloth covering the floor, and a degree of state, order and magnificence in everything."¹¹ Portions of a tent and silver poles were found at Seringapatam, and surviving panels of chintz of "Tipu's tent" (now at Powis Castle) were obviously an inner wall. Kirmani records Haidar Ali's love of chintz, and Chodowiecki's little-known

Fig. 9 engravings, *Life in East India*, set both Haidar and Clive within elaborate tents.

Topographical tranquillity is thrust aside in Charles Gold's engraving of Haidar Ali's tomb, as British soldiers tear down trees to make fascines. Tipu was enraged at such desecration, and after the third Mysore War, he cleaned the site of British graves and replanted the cypresses. Gold's *Oriental drawings* also include other lively images such as the colourful ceremony outside the Lal Bagh Palace.

Fig. 10

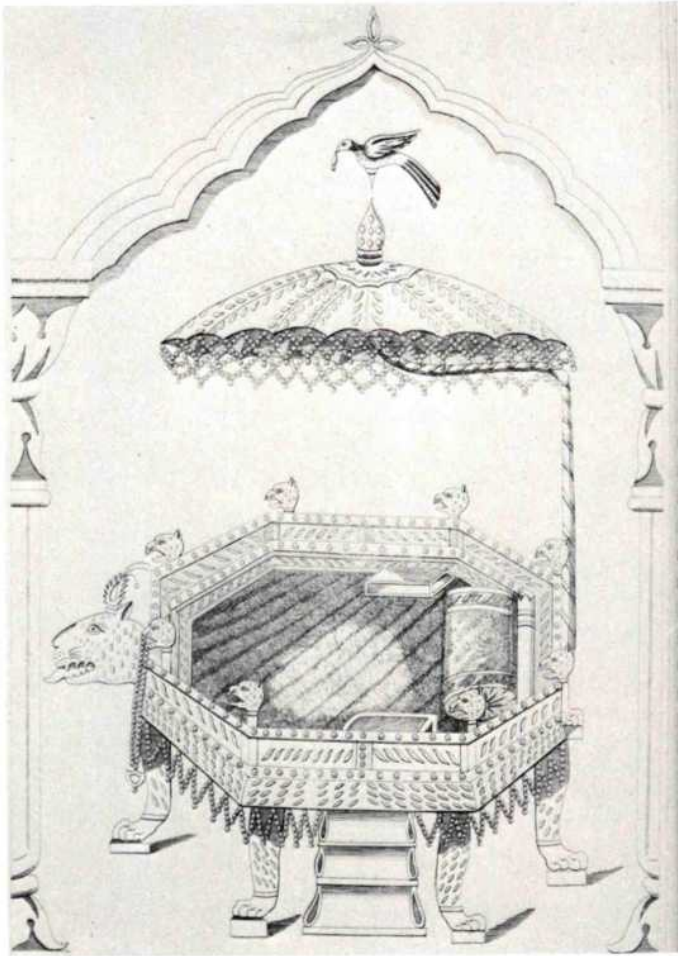


10. The Lal Bagh Palace at Seringapatam.
 Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by Hall after Charles Gold, London, 1806.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Tipu's Lal Bagh Palace no longer survives. It lay at the east tip of the island of Seringapatam. James Hunter's views, published by Edward Orme, include the Bangalore Palace built "for his own residence . . . painted gilt in a most gorgeous style."¹² Although the Bangalore Palace and the Daria Daulat Palace at Seringapatam survive, the only evidence of the magnificence of Tipu's interiors is a water-colour in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹³ Tipu's Durbar Hall, with its decoration of Koranic sentences and tiger stripes is not recorded in paint or in print. The throne itself is well documented, however.

Tipu's Throne and Other Objects

The *Panorama Companion* describes the throne as "a Howdah supported on the back of a Tiger, the solid parts . . . of heavy black wood and entirely covered with a coat of purest sheet gold . . . fastened on with silver nails and wrought in tiger stripes, and most beautifully and highly polished."¹⁴ Stamped and raised Koranic texts were interspersed in the decoration and above the pearl-hung canopy was a gold huma bird, set with



11. "Throne of the late Tippoo Sultaun".
Engraving from G. Mohammed's *History of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan*, 1855.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



12. "Tippoo Sultaun".
Engraving by C. Moorish, reproduced from
"Tarikh-i-Sultanat-i-Khudad" in G. Mohammed's
History of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan, 1855.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

diamonds, emeralds and rubies. An engraving in Maistre de la Tour's *Histoire d'Hyder Ali Khan* of 1774, subsequently revised by one of Tipu's sons, Prince Gholam Mohammed, provides a key record. It relates to a sketch at Windsor Castle, and the Prince's visit to the armoury there: "our attention was much taken with the remains of the Throne of my Father the late Tippoo Sultaun, as this in its present state conveys so very imperfect an idea of its former splendour. I take the liberty to submit the accompanying work to her Majesty. It contains a . . . correct print or representation of what the Throne was at the time of the conquest, also portraits of my father [and] my grandfather . . ."¹⁵

The throne was broken up in May 1799, "being too unwieldy to be conveyed from the spot."¹⁶ The largest tiger head, the huma and other trophies were sent to England and were on display at East India House by March 1800. The tiger head and huma remain at Windsor Castle. Part of the wooden core and two tiger finials survive, one at Powis Castle, together with Anna Tonelli's less-informed water-colour of Tipu on his throne.

Some of the palace treasures—silver plates, rich furniture, carpets, a telescope, china, firearms, swords, ivory maces—besides Tipu's library, have been identified. Other objects are known only from prints. Tipu's hookah, "a matchless specimen of

carved jade, diamonds, opals . . . a unique and princely object of luxury,"¹⁷ is depicted in Rutter's engraving of the Library at Fonthill House.

French Prints

His politics and foreign affairs are reflected in a group of prints relating to France. They include the "View of the fortified island" by Francis Jukes after Rutherford, 1794. It portrays Mauritius, where Tipu had also sent his ambassador in 1788. Another is Dupplessi Barthaux's "Prise du port et de la ville de Seringapatam", with English and French captions, one of twenty-five plates detailing the Duke of Wellington's campaigns. Tipu's embassy to Paris attracted much interest and Voyer's undated print after Wattier shows the ambassadors' audience with Louis XVI.

Tipu's embassy was a political failure. No military support was forthcoming, although craftsmen, cannon founders and shipwrights travelled to Mysore. Involvement with the French continued. Striped staves with the colours of Tipu's French troops survive in the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. French and Mysorean flags appear together on a plate after J. Ford, 1883, in *War Flags and Colours at Chelsea Hospital*. Fig. 13

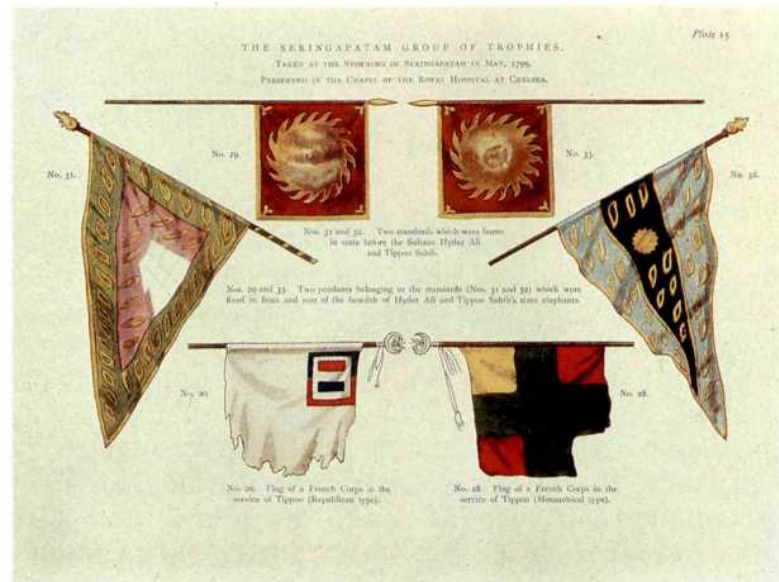
Portraits and Caricatures

Tipu banners, the flaming sun on a green or red ground, appear in the prints of the hostages. They also appear in the portrait of Wellesley, engraved by James Heath after Robert Home. On the pennants which were "fixed in front and rear of the Howdah of Haidar Ali and Tipu Saib", *bubris* abound. Similar flags appear in Gold's book and in Laminet's engraving of the hostages.

The conquest of Mysore was not without its ignoble aspects, attracting numerous coarse caricatures. The exaggerated reports of Cornwallis' victory at Bangalore were satirized in a pair of prints, "Good News from Madras". One of them shows Tipu chained and scowling at Britannia, who, with Pitt, Dundas and Cornwallis, stands beside the Bangalore fort. The companion plate, with Tipu victorious, is an imaginary scene, but a cruel parody of Cornwallis' retreat from Seringapatam. Fig. 14

The storming of Seringapatam also spawned a group of popular and highly inaccurate prints. Among them was the "Last stand of Tippoo Sultaun", which appeared in *The Stationers' Almanac* in 1801 in which the scene is framed with pilasters sporting lugubrious lion masks. An ebullient anonymous engraving was published by Thompson in 1800. Here, authenticity is ignored. The inscription credits the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, with the command, instead of General Harris and Major-General Baird and Mornington's brother Arthur Wellesley. A tiger cannon is suggested, *bubris* are nowhere visible, supplanted, it appears, by the Muslim crescent; the bell-tower suggests Japan not India, and the bearskins and skull-and-crossbones motif are military anachronisms. Fig. 15

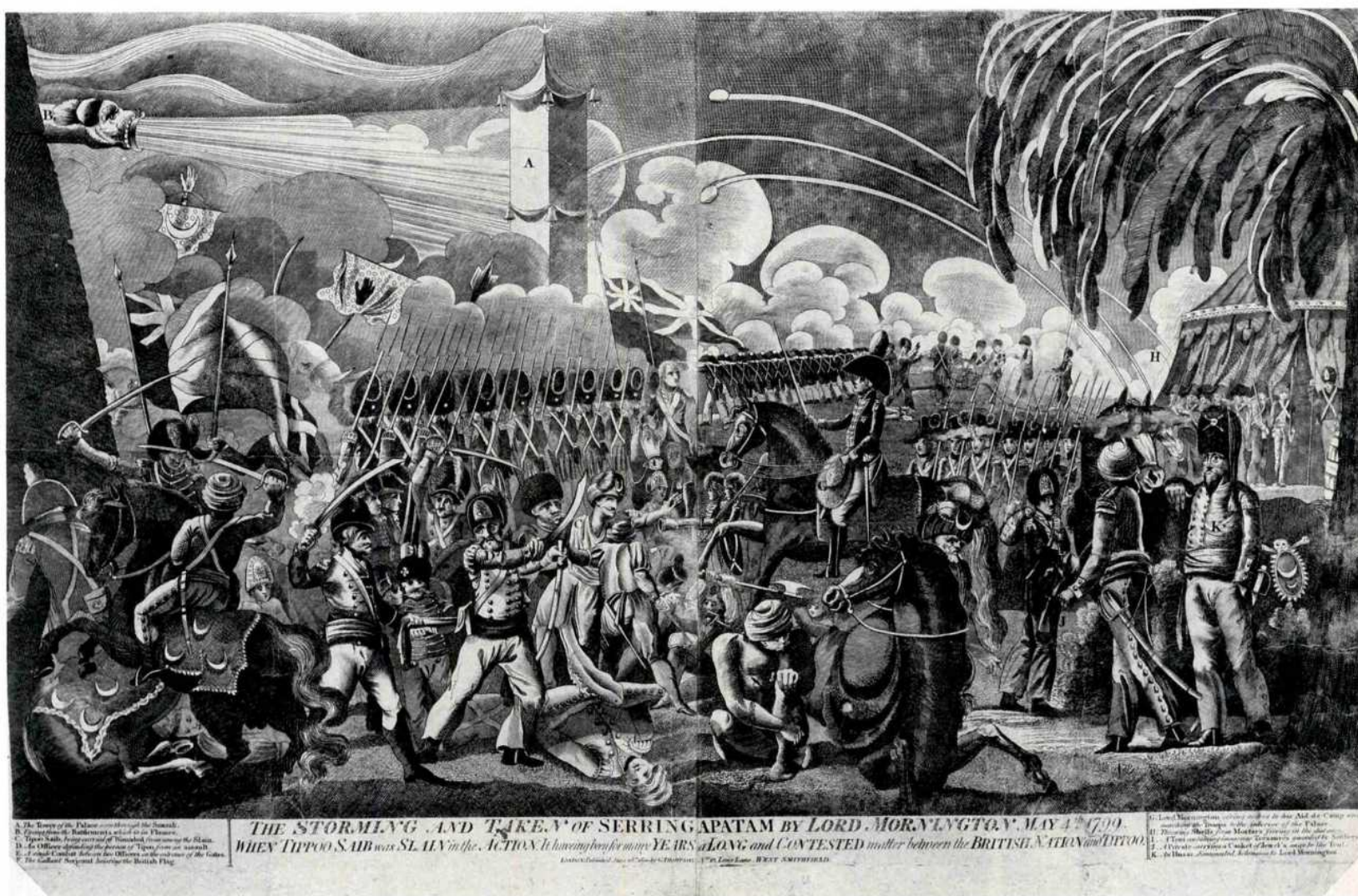
Appropriately, dramatic atmosphere characterizes, for example, the scene of "Sir David Baird discovering the body of Tippoo Saib." The painting by Sir David Wilkie was engraved by John Burnet and published in 1843. Baird was imprisoned by Tipu in 1780, but survived to lead the attack on Seringapatam and see Tipu dead at his feet. Wilkie's huge canvas (at Edinburgh Castle in 1970) was commissioned to glorify Baird, the hero outranked by Colonel Arthur Wellesley as Commandant at Seringapatam. E. H. Nolan seemingly acknowledges Baird's role in his frontispiece to *The history of the British Empire in India* published in about 1860, a vignette engraving after Burnet's mezzotint. Burnet includes Tipu's amulet, now at Edinburgh Castle, but not the belts, sword and cartouche box mentioned in texts. Fig. 16



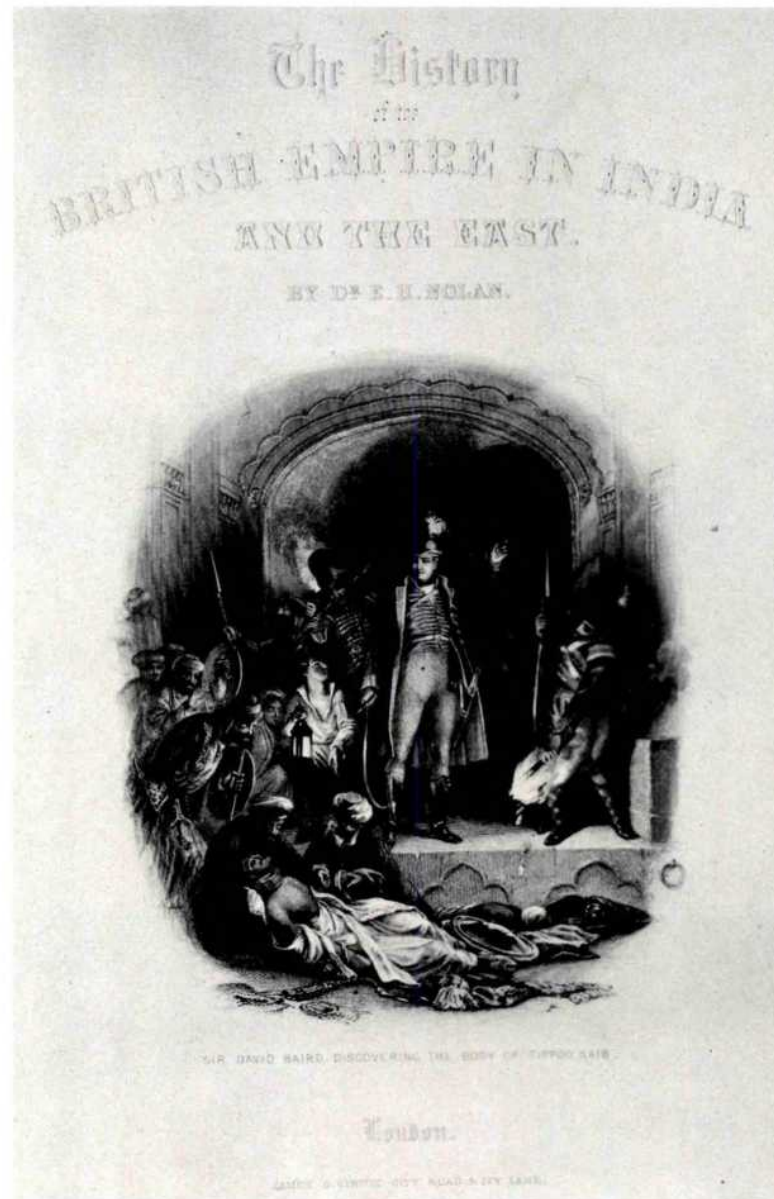
13. "The Seringapatam group of trophies".
Illustration after J. Ford from J. Dowling's *War Flags and Colours at Chelsea Hospital, 1883*.
National Army Museum, London.



14. "Good News from Madras. Lord Cornwallis defeated, Tippoo Sultan triumphant, and the British Oppressors extirpated from India".
Hand-coloured etching by H.W., 1791.
The British Museum, London.



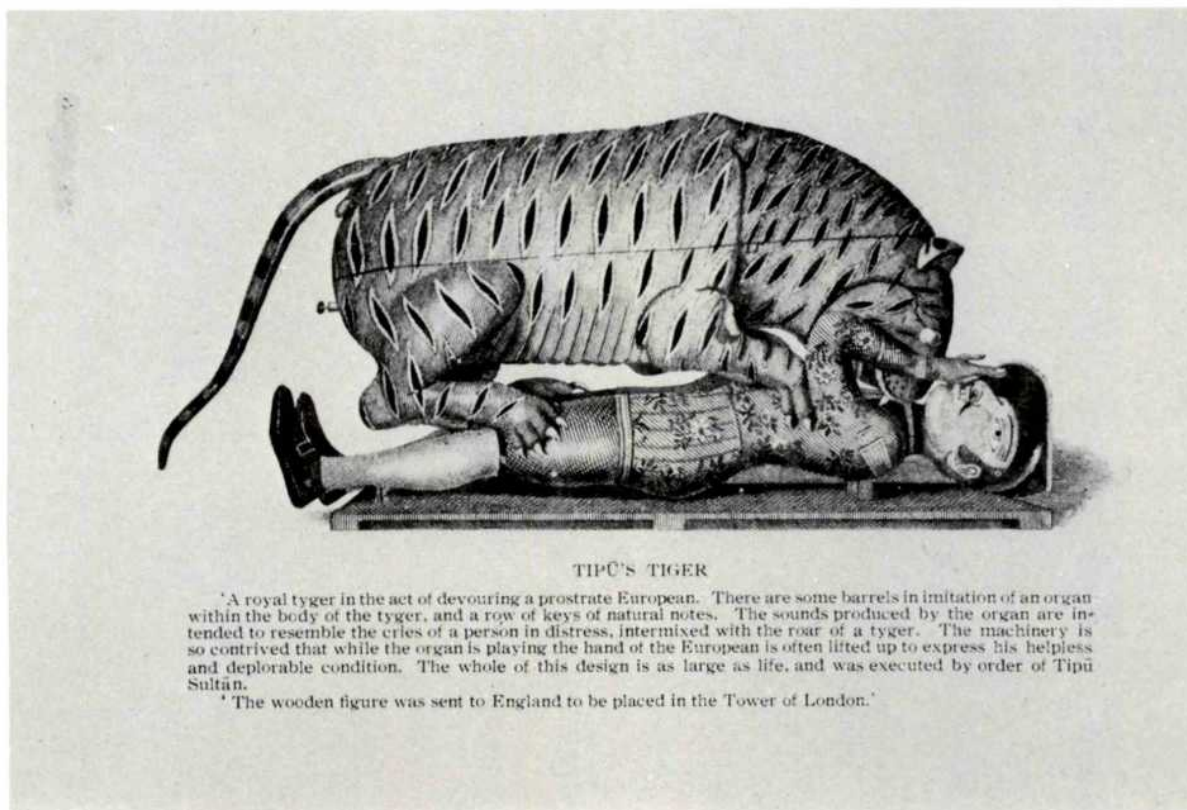
15. "The Storming and Taken [sic] of Seringapatam by Lord Mornington May 4th 1799".
 Line—engraving published by G. Thompson, London, 1800.
 National Army Museum, London.



16. "Sir David Baird discovering the body of Tippoo Saib".
Vignette title page of E.H. Nolan's *The history of the British Empire in India*, London, no date c. 1860.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Tipu's Tiger

Fig. 17 Even more entertaining is "a most curious piece of mechanism," Tipu's Tiger, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was displayed as a centre-piece for many years at the India Museum established at East India House in 1801. The gruesome theme was associated with the death of the only son of Sir Hector Munro, Tipu's bitter enemy, on Saugor Island in the Hooghly River in 1792. *The Penny Magazine*, even long after the event, in 1835, gave a detailed description and an illustration of this mechanical toy, one of many owned by Tipu: "The machinery . . . though not of nice workmanship is simple and ingenious in contrivance."¹⁸ Turning the handle operates the bellows inside. As a result, the animal roars and his victim shrieks, as his left arm rises and falls. Although the



17. "Tipu's Tiger".

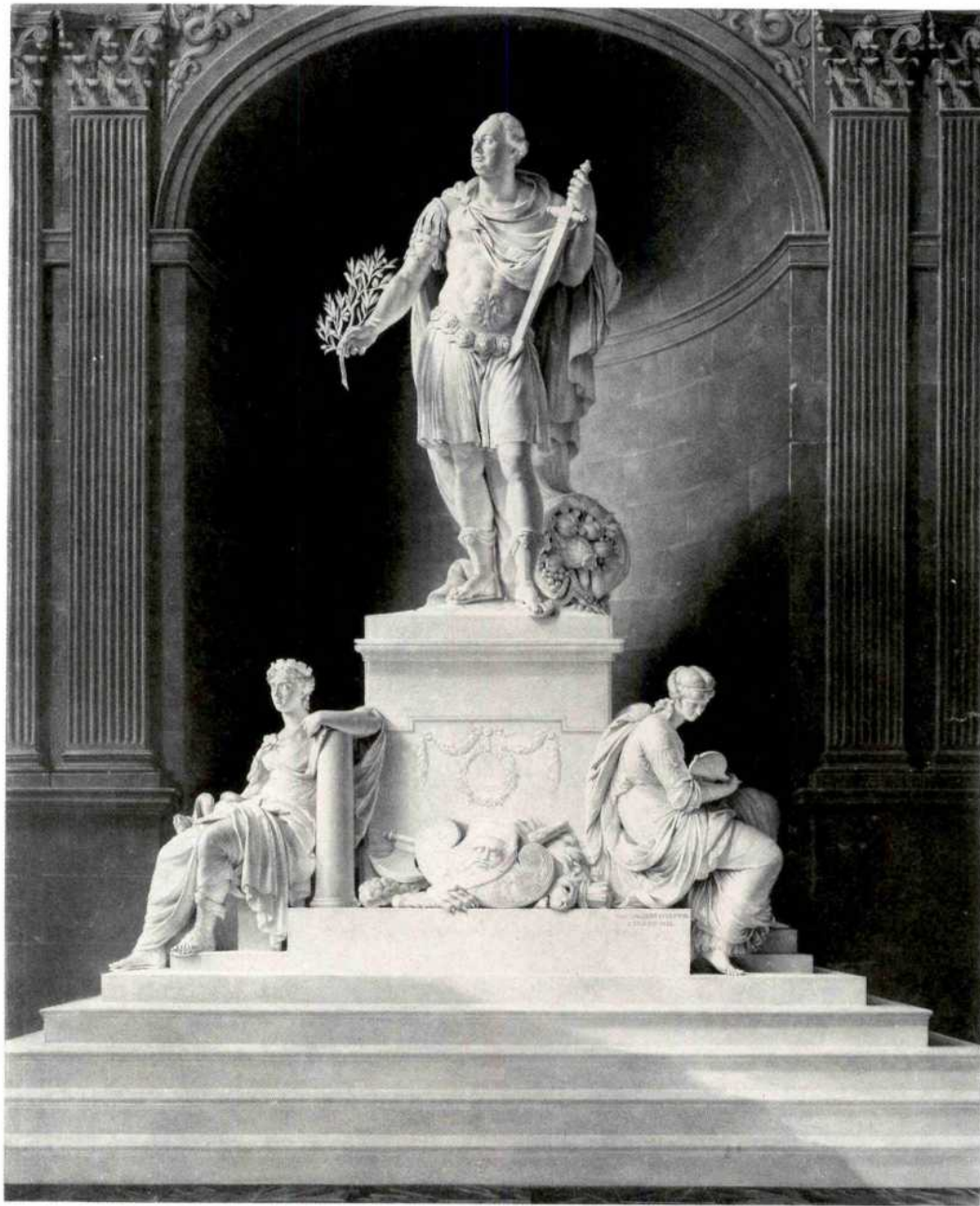
Engraving from Colonel M. Wood's "Decisive war with Tippoo Sultaun" in C. Parson's Mysore city, 1931.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

mechanism is too fragile to be allowed to work today, Tipu's Tiger and the legend surrounding the hero, still attract an audience, as fascinated as it appears to have been almost two centuries ago.

NOTES

1. Lord Macartney in the Madras Military Consultations, December 14, 1782, quoted in D. Forrest, *Tiger of Mysore* (London, 1970), p. 115.
2. D. Forrest, op. cit., p. 258.
3. The following are the sets of the most important published views of places associated with the campaigns, mainly with the third Mysore war:
Alexander Allan, *Views in the Mysore Country* (London, 1794).
R. H. Colebrooke, *Twelve views of places in the Kingdom of Mysore, the country of Tipoo Sultan* (London, 1794).
R. Home, *Select Views in Mysore, the Country of Tippoo Sultan* (London and Madras, 1794).
R. Home, *A Description of Seringapatam* (London, 1796).
4. J. Hunter, *Picturesque scenery in the Kingdom of Mysore* (London, 1805).
5. Major A. Dirom, *Narrative of the Campaign in India* (London, 1793).
6. From the printed description accompanying Daniell Orme's engraving of the painting of Marquess Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tipu as hostages by Mather Brown, published in London, 1799.
7. Anon., *Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore* (London, 1800), p. 98.
8. Major F. Skelly, *Manuscript journal* (March 7, 1791): Collection National Army Museum, London.
9. Comment by Major Madan, quoted in D. Forrest, "Tipu Sultan in the Homes of his Enemies," *Country Life* (February 18, 1971): 353 ff.
10. P. Pal & V. Dehejia, *From Merchants to Emperors*, Exhibition catalogue (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1986), p. 24.
11. Copy of the *Madras Gazette Extraordinary* (March 21, 1799): Collection Powis Castle, North Wales.
12. M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore*, vol. 2 (London, 1810-1817) p. 471.



18. "Statue in honour of Marquis Cornwallis".
 Mezzotint engraving by George Dawe after the sculpture by John Bacon (elder
 and younger), London, 1803.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

12. R. H. Colebrooke, *Twelve views of places in the Kingdom of Mysore, the country of Tipoo Sultan* (London, 1794), text to Plate 1, "East View of Bangalore".
13. Victoria and Albert Museum, London: I.S. 11-1887.
14. Anon., op. cit., p. 101.
15. Copy of the letter from Gholam Mohamud [sic] to the Duchess of Sutherland. Carlton House Catalogue, No. 426: Collection Windsor Castle, Berkshire.
16. Anon., op. cit., p. 103.
17. Phillips: Fonthill Sale catalogue (1822), No. 1541.
18. A. W. G. Ord-Hume, *Clockwork Music* (1973) p. 312 quoting *The Penny Magazine* (August 15, 1835); C. E. Parsons, *Seringapatam* (London, 1931) p. 42; see also M. Archer, *Tippoo's Tiger* (London, 1959).

THE TRAVELS OF HENRY SALT AND LORD VALENTIA IN INDIA

PHEROZA GODREJ

It was a chance meeting on June 4, 1799 when Henry Salt was introduced to his future mentor, Lord Valentia. His Lordship, George Annesley, Viscount Valentia, who later became the second Earl of Mountnorris, was an Irish nobleman. He was then twenty-nine years old and on a visit to London with Salt's uncle, the Reverend Thomas Simon Butt. Together, they were enjoying the social rounds of the metropolis. On that day in June, when they entered Henry Fuseli's Gallery on Pall Mall, "there was only one other person in the room, a young man, who immediately came up and spoke to Mr. Butt in a very cordial manner, but was received with so much coolness that he directly retired. Lord Valentia thought this singular, and asked Mr. Butt who the young man was? He replied he did not know, but had supposed he was an acquaintance of his lordship's. Lord Valentia assured him that he was not, and that from his manner he conceived it was someone who knew him, Mr. Butt, well." On hearing this Butt immediately left Valentia, joined the stranger and introduced him, exclaiming, *Fig. 1* "Why it is my nephew, Henry Salt!"

This episode is reported vividly by John James Halls, Salt's biographer, in his two-volume book published in 1834. As a result, Salt and Valentia became friends and continued to meet over the next two years, whenever Valentia visited London.

Born at Lichfield on June 14, 1780, Henry Salt was the youngest child of Thomas and Alice Salt. His father was a doctor, who tried to give his children a liberal education. The Reverend Thomas Butt was a brother of Salt's mother. Another brother, the Reverend George Butt, was a tutor to Valentia at Stanford and it was here that the latter also formed a friendship with John Butt Salt, Henry Salt's elder brother.

An early account of Henry Salt, as also noted by Halls, is that by his sister, Elizabeth: "my brother Henry was in his early days particularly fond of reading, and when a child whatever money he had given him, he chiefly spent in books, and would lie for hours in the garden in fine weather, reading. He was remarkably good tempered, and of a most cheerful and affectionate disposition; never forgetting the poorest person who was in the habit of coming to his father's surgery"



*1. Portrait of Henry Salt.
Stipple engraving by S. Freeman after J. J. Halls, London, 1834.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.*

Salt in London

Educated first at Lichfield, Salt simultaneously took lessons in drawing from Mr. Glover, a local water-colour painter. He made good progress and his father was persuaded to send him to London in 1797. There, he became a pupil of the landscape painter, Joseph Farington, whose younger brother, George, had been practising as a portrait painter in India in the 1780s. In London, Salt soon established a lifelong friendship with John Halls, whose uncle had married his eldest sister. Halls also provided much assistance to Salt during his training. Although he was successful in landscape painting, Salt found himself lost as a student of portraiture.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, landscape painting was unfashionable. Portraiture, history painting and conversation pieces were the main lucrative fields in which to work. On reaching London, Salt had realized that he was ignorant in the use of oils, knew little of drawing from plaster or from the human figure and, with the exception of landscape, that he was altogether unacquainted with composition and design. He joined the Royal Academy Schools to improve himself further and early in 1800, he became a pupil of John Hoppner. He made poor progress as a portrait painter and hence he was short of money. The girl whom he loved, a young sixteen-year-old, had died and his mother, to whom he was devoted, was critically ill. He went home to Lichfield to see her and, already in poor health himself, Salt caught typhus fever. Only after a slow recovery was he able to return to London and pick up the threads of his career.

By 1801, Valentia had already thought of visiting India on an extended tour and he

discussed his intentions with Salt. The latter in turn expressed a desire to accompany the expedition in the capacity of secretary and draughtsman. Valentia had considered Salt to be settled in his profession and had no intention of interfering with his artistic progress. But when Salt mentioned his unhappy and depressed situation, Valentia agreed provided they obtained the consent of Salt's father.

The permission received, Salt was filled with enthusiasm and hope. "Never, perhaps, had any event been better timed," commented Halls. "He was now about two and twenty years of age, with all his bodily and mental faculties in full vigour; he had greatly improved himself in some essential branches of education, . . . possessed a knowledge of his art, both with respect to landscape and figures, not usually found among those who travel in the capacity to which he had been recently nominated."

Publications

This "Grand Tour" lasted for more than four years and their travels resulted in two publications. Lord Valentia published his journal in three volumes, which contains accounts of their experiences, almost on a daily basis. Entitled *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt, in the years 1802-06*, it was published by William Miller in London in 1809. Part of the text relating to southern India was taken from Salt's journal. The three volumes are illustrated with over sixty uncoloured engravings after paintings by Salt.

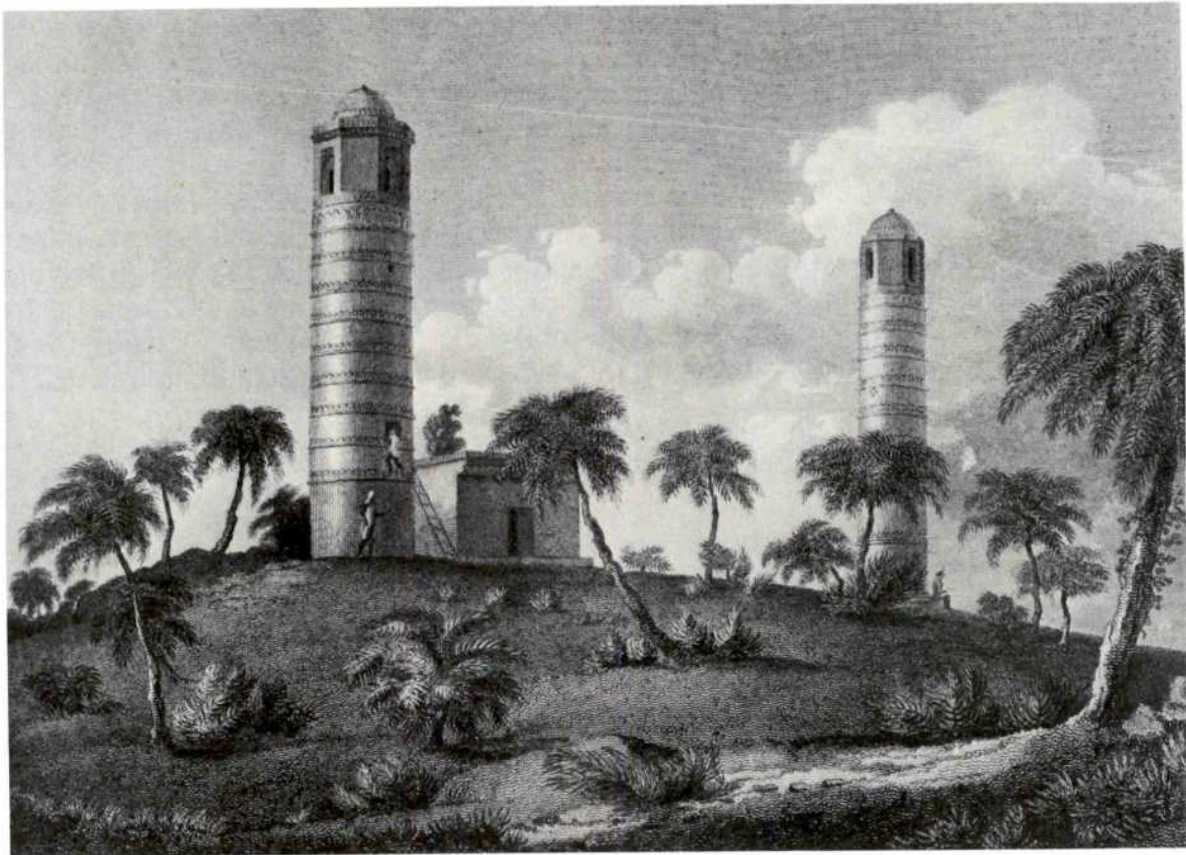
The same year, William Miller also published a fine set of hand-coloured aquatints after Salt's pictures, called *Twenty-four views in St. Helena, the Cape, India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt*. The plates for this major work were mostly engraved by Robert Havell senior and Daniel Havell, who were among the leading aquatinters of their day in London.

Voyage to India

It was on June 3, 1802, that Lord Valentia and Henry Salt left London in the East Indiaman, *Minerva*. Although officially employed by Valentia, Salt's relationship with him was that of a friend. In a letter to Halls, Salt wrote: "Lord Valentia, as you may imagine, gives the whole spirit to the party. His abilities I always thought very considerable, but did not give him credit for such uncommon attention in gaining information, as I now find him possessed of. As to his continued kindness to me, I am sure had I been his brother he could not have been more assiduously anxious for his welfare than he appears to be about everything that can tend to my advantage." They stopped along the route at Madeira and St Helena, where Salt made several drawings which were later used to illustrate their respective publications.

On November 5, the *Minerva* left the Cape of Good Hope. After touching the Nicobar Islands on the way and narrowly escaping a shipwreck, Valentia and Salt arrived at Calcutta on January 26, 1803.

They received lavish hospitality as guests of the Governor-General, Marquess Wellesley. Salt was soon busy utilizing his talents and throughout their travels, he was given every opportunity to sketch the landscape. For example, in Calcutta, he was invited by the Governor-General with Valentia to the official country residence at Barrackpore, and when they were about to return, Wellesley asked for Salt to stay behind "to take some views of the place." He followed them back to Calcutta later, "highly gratified."



2. "Ancient Towers at Bhaugulpore".
 Etching and line-engraving by William Angus after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Up-Country Tour

Fig. 2 Less than a month after their arrival, on February 21, 1803, Valentia and Salt set off on their journey to Lucknow and Benares. Their route lay along the river and through many towns and diverse landscapes, which gave frequent opportunities for sketching. This enabled Salt to improve his skills, much to the surprise and pleasure of Valentia. While they were at Bhagalpur, Valentia observed: "I was much pleased with the sight of two very singular round towers about a mile north west of the town. They much resemble those buildings in Ireland, which have hitherto puzzled the antiquaries of the sister kingdoms, excepting that they are more ornamented. It is singular that there is no tradition concerning them, nor are they held in any respect by the Hindus of this country. The Raja considers them as holy, and has erected a small building to shelter a great number of his subjects, who annually come to worship here."

Monghyr

Fig. 3 From Bhagalpur, the party proceeded to Monghyr, arriving a week later. Here they found "a large fort surrounded by a wall and deep ditch, and it is a place of very considerable antiquity It is most beautifully situated on a bend of the Ganges, which, in the rainy season, forms here a prodigious sea of fresh water." The Governor-General had a country house, where they probably stayed, which commanded



3. "A view within the Fort of Monghyr".

Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by Daniel and Robert Havell senior after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

a view of the river. In describing the interior of the fort, Valentia wrote: "The remains of the palace are considerable, and would have been much more so, had not every one, who wanted materials for new habitations, plundered the bricks and wood without mercy The largest range of buildings is on the edge of the rampart, and overhangs the river. On the right is the sacred point of the rock . . . where pilgrims purify themselves. A small mosque is at present the most beautiful edifice remaining."

Lucknow

Proceeding to Lucknow, Valentia and Salt were hosted by the Nawab Sa'adat Ali. They were welcomed everywhere with great fanfare and, on one noted occasion, were introduced as: "Lord Saheb ka bhanja, Company ki nawasa teshrif laia"; "literally translated, the Lord (Wellesley's) sister's son, and the grandson of Mrs. Company is arrived." These titles originated from a belief of the local population, as stated by Valentia, that the East India Company was an old woman and that the Governors-General were her children.



4. "A view at Lucknow".

Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by Daniel and Robert Havell senior after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Clearly one of Valentia's most vivid recollections is the experience of a hammam (a hot bath). It had been prepared for him in two rooms at the back of a beautiful garden pavilion with a bason of water in the front. The rooms were heated by flues under the floor. The first room was about six metres square, with three fountains for either hot or cold water: "Here I completely undressed, and wrapped round my middle a piece of red linen. I was then assisted by two men into the other room, where the heat was so great as at first to take away my breath Fountains were playing in the middle of the room, and being a little cooler than the floor, were very agreeable Eight fellows, in colour somewhat resembling the marble, and covered only with a cloth, now commenced their operations. They laid me on the floor, rubbed my feet with pumice stone, kneaded all my limbs, and rubbed me with mohair-bags on their hands till every pore was cleansed from the soil contracted in the journey. I next was rubbed with a composition of clay, and then with a perfumed oil, both of which were sent by the Nawab, with every article of silver,



5. "The Rumi Derwazah, & the new palace at Lucknow".
Etching and line-engraving by Charles Heath after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

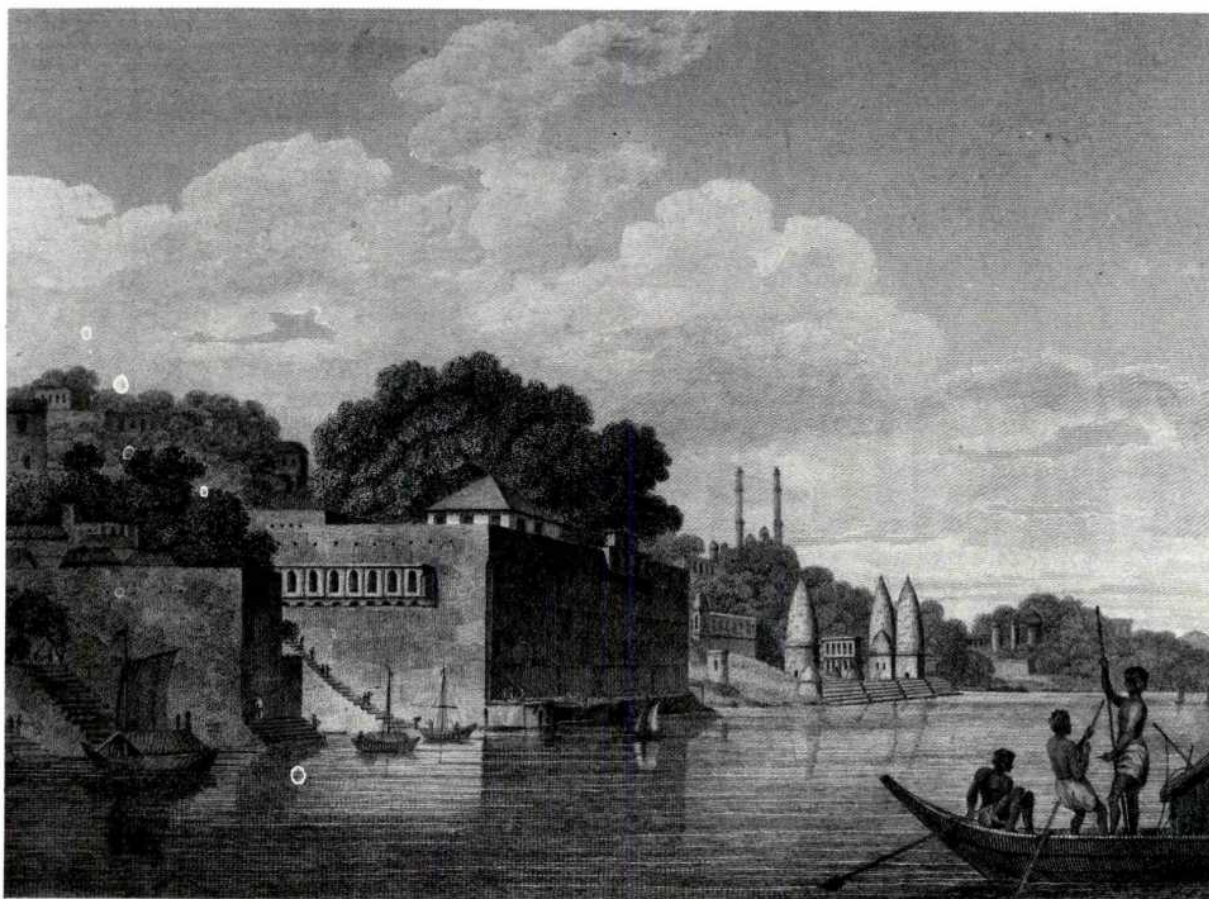
basons etc., as used by himself." Finally, having been washed and covered with hot cloths of fine texture and borders of gold, Valentia concluded: "the use of the hot bath is prevalent throughout the East, and, so far as I can judge, seems most refreshing."

Valentia also described a breakfast with the Nawab, "which partook of every country; tea, coffee, ices, jellies, sweetmeats, French pies, and other made dishes, both hot and cold. The Nawaub himself laughed, and said that his French cook had provided rather a dinner than a breakfast. The service was English, with a profusion of fine cut glass basons."

Altogether, three of Salt's drawings of Lucknow were published. One shows the Mosque of Aurangzeb on the hill overlooking the River Gumti, and as Salt described it: "The large building on the left was the harem of Asaf-ud-dowla, where his widow resided; it was only covered with "chunam" and was rapidly falling into ruins. The Begum was by no means poor, but had many nephews and nieces who were maintained by her. Adjoining to the harem, but out of sight, was a very beautiful palace called the Sungi Dalam built of stone, coloured red, in which Asaf-ud-dowla used to give splendid fetes. The huts in the centre of the view give a very good idea of the habitations of the lower orders in Oude. The high grass in the foreground was cultivated for the elephants." A panoramic view of the Rumi Darwaza, the elaborate gateway built by Asaf-ud-Daula adjacent to his Great Imambara, and his new palace on the river bank, was included in Valentia's *Voyages and Travels*.

Fig. 4

Fig. 5



6. "View of Benares".

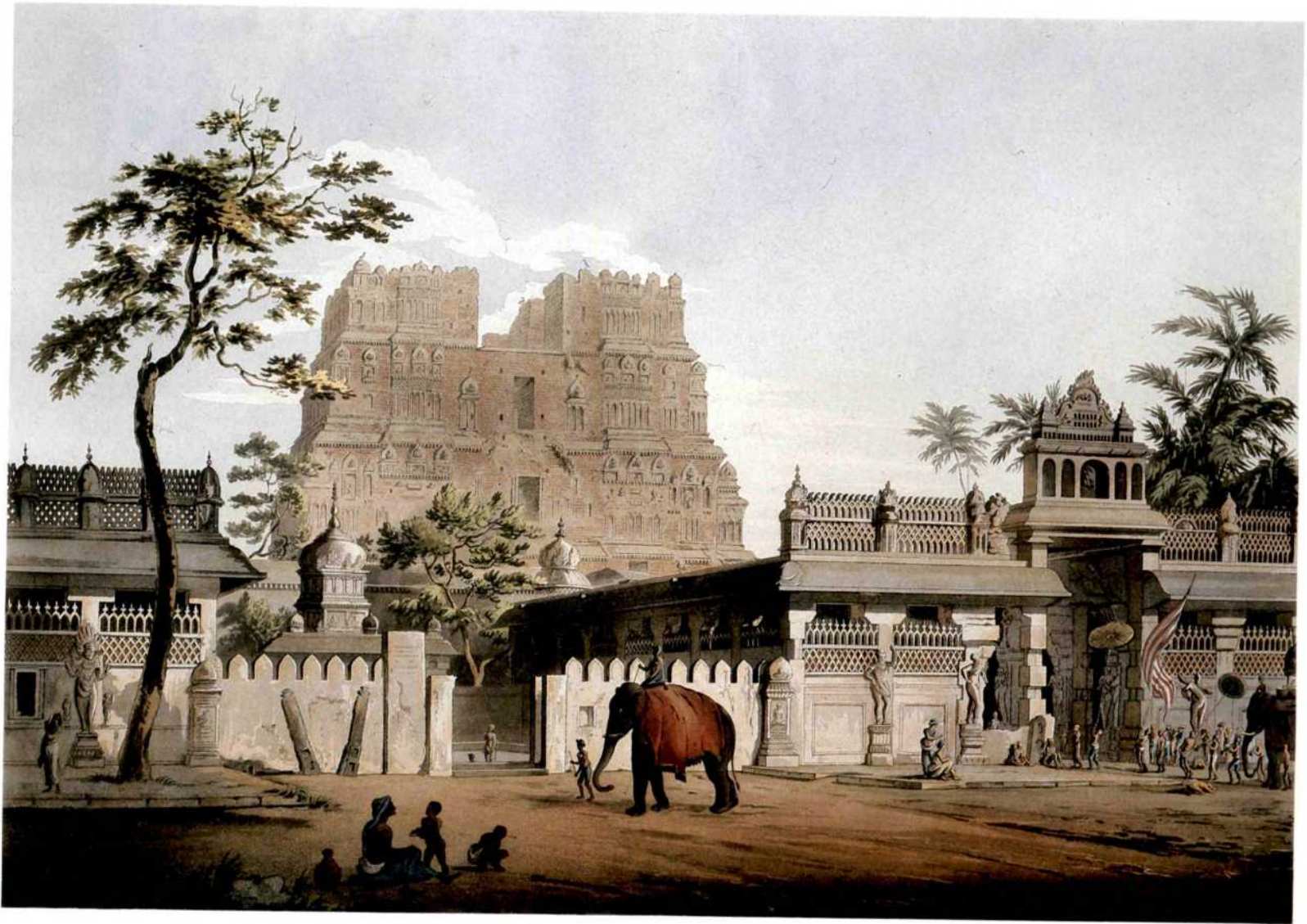
Etching and line-engraving by J. Greig after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Benares

After residing for four months at Lucknow, Valentia and his party returned to Calcutta by the river route. At Benares, "a sepoy came off to meet us in a boat, with a book, in which we entered our names, and number of boats: every passenger is obliged to do so, as the batteries completely command the navigation of the river, and allow no boat to go up or down without this ceremony." The view taken from the river shows the ghats at Benares. Salt made many sketches of the river banks during the slow manoeuvres back to Calcutta.

Southern India

After a tour of Ceylon, where they spent three weeks in December 1803 as guests of the Governor, they returned to India. Here they saw a number of the great temples of the south. On January 25, 1804, Valentia recorded the following events: "We set sail with a very brisk monsoon We lay our course and by nine [o'clock], the hills of Ramiseram, with the lofty towers of the pagoda, appeared right ahead. As we approached, the latter made a very magnificent appearance. At eleven I landed. The chief of the pagoda or Pandaram was waiting on the beach, surrounded by his Brahmins, nautch-girls,



7. "Pagoda at Ramiseram".

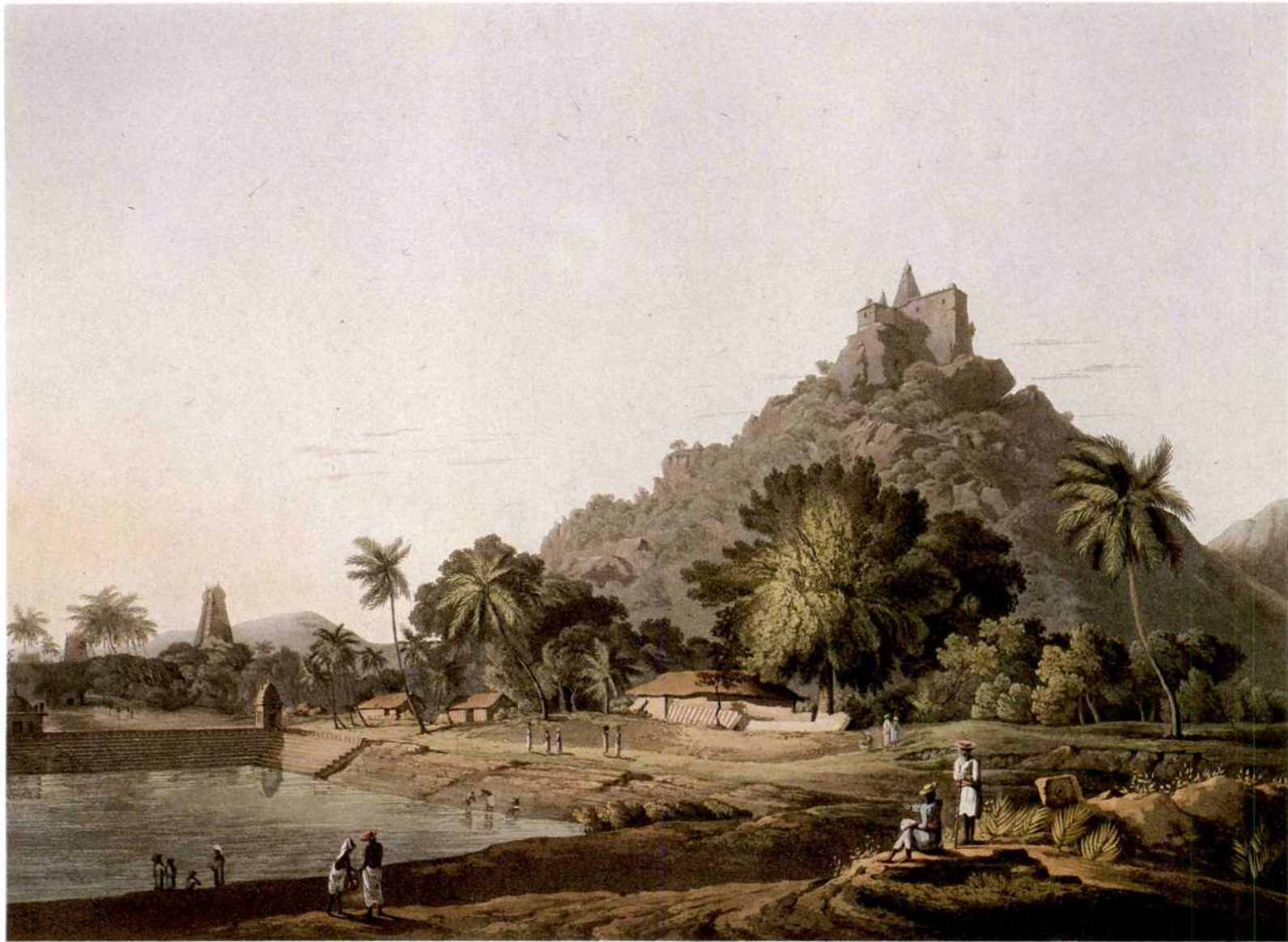
Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by J. Bluck and Robert Havell senior after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

elephants, state palanquins, banners, tom-toms, & c. All the native officers of the island under the company were also waiting, and pressed around to present their nuzars of limes, and make their salaams After breakfast, Mr. Salt and I paid a visit to the pagoda."

Temple at Rameswaram

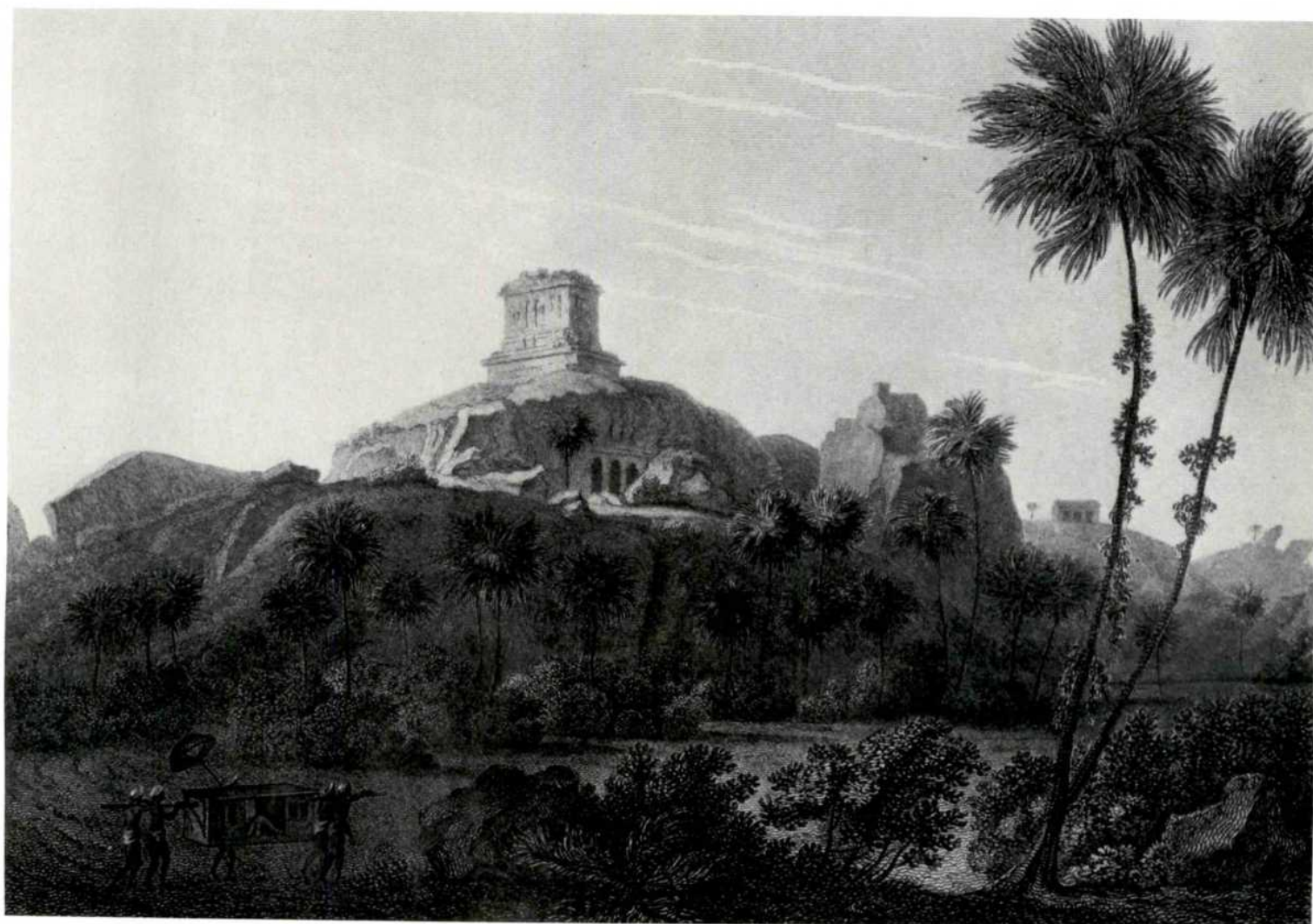
In his text to the view, Salt noted: "The pagoda at Ramiseram is one of the most sacred and splendid in the east The temple itself is built of stone and the lofty pyramidal gateways are solid at top, having only a passage by which the priests pass to the inner rooms where the deities are. It was impossible to include the whole front in one view Behind these temples are different apartments enclosed by a lofty wall with three gateways of the same shape as the temples." Its massive workmanship reminded Valentia of Egyptian architecture. Salt sketched many views of the temple complex, both here and at Tanjore, where the Raja particularly admired his drawings.

Fig. 7



8. "Pagodas at Trinchicumum".

Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by Daniel and Robert Havell senior after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



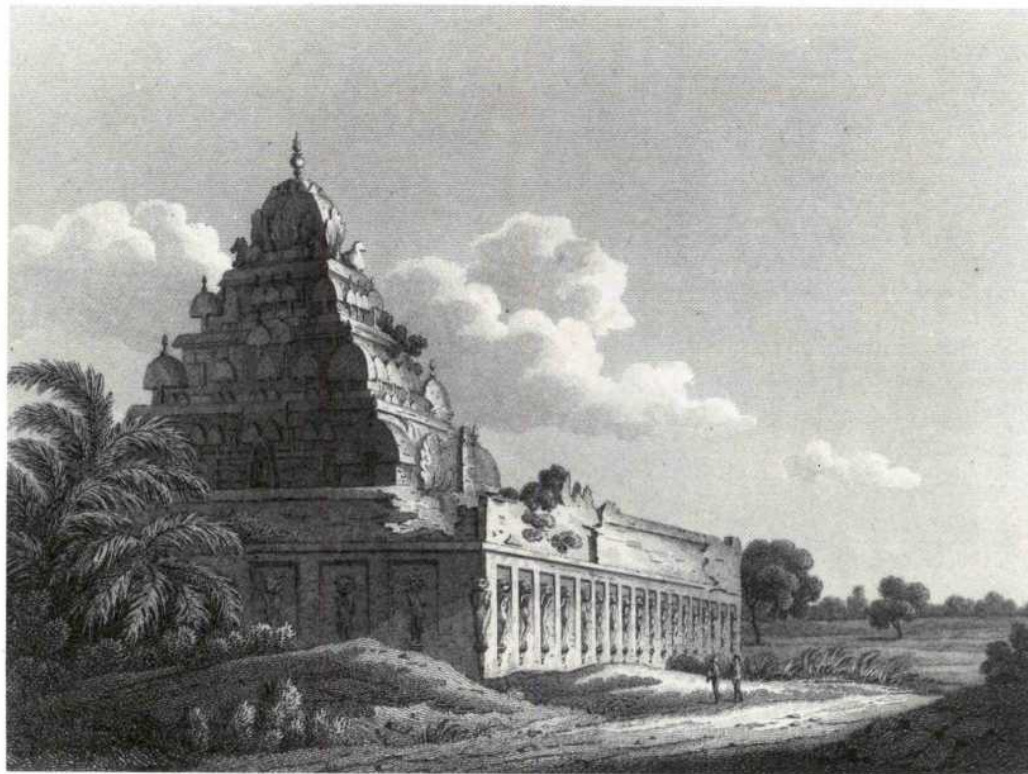
9. "Pagodas at Mahabalipuram".
 Etching and line-engraving by John Landseer after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
 India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Trichinopoly

From Tanjore, they next went to Pondicherry and from there "Mr. Salt set off by an unfrequented road to the left among the hills, the scenery of which is said to be very fine." Although they had already visited Tanjore together, Salt appears at this moment to be returning in the same direction to visit Trichinopoly on his own. At Trichinopoly, he noted in his text, he "found several pagodas, with an establishment of brahmins, at the head of whom was a chief, designated as a Pandaram, who resided on the hill. Here the pagoda had the appearance of a fortification, and was in fact extremely difficult to approach, were it not for a handsome flight of steps cut in the rock." Salt added: "The tank belonging to the place has not been finished, which frequently happens, in consequence of the death of the original undertaker. His family will not finish it, as they would not share either in the credit, or religious merit of the work." Fig. 8

Mahabalipuram

Salt was also travelling on his own when, later in February, he saw Mahabalipuram on his way to Madras. It was here that Salt again met Valentia who was travelling directly to Madras from Pondicherry along the coast via Mahabalipuram. Fig. 9



10. "Pagoda at Conjeeveram".

Etching and line-engraving by J. Storer after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Conjeeveram

Valentia encouraged Salt to take such excursions on his own. On February 15, 1804 at Madras, Valentia noted: "I hired for Mr. Salt sixteen palanquin boys for one month; their pay for that time only amounted to thirty-eight pagodas. They were to take him about twenty miles a day, and give him leisure to draw anything that might be interesting." Valentia also ensured that Salt was well supplied with provisions, such as "wine and biscuit; rice, fruit, and fowls, he could procure at every village."

Fig. 10 With these palanquin bearers, Salt went ahead to Conjeeveram, rejoining Valentia later. With several excursions, this journey was to take them right across southern India to Mangalore on the west coast.

After leaving Conjeeveram, they made slow progress, Valentia noting "that the thermometer was at 96 degrees and the heat of the sun extremely oppressive. The country was flat and sandy, interspersed with paddy fields."

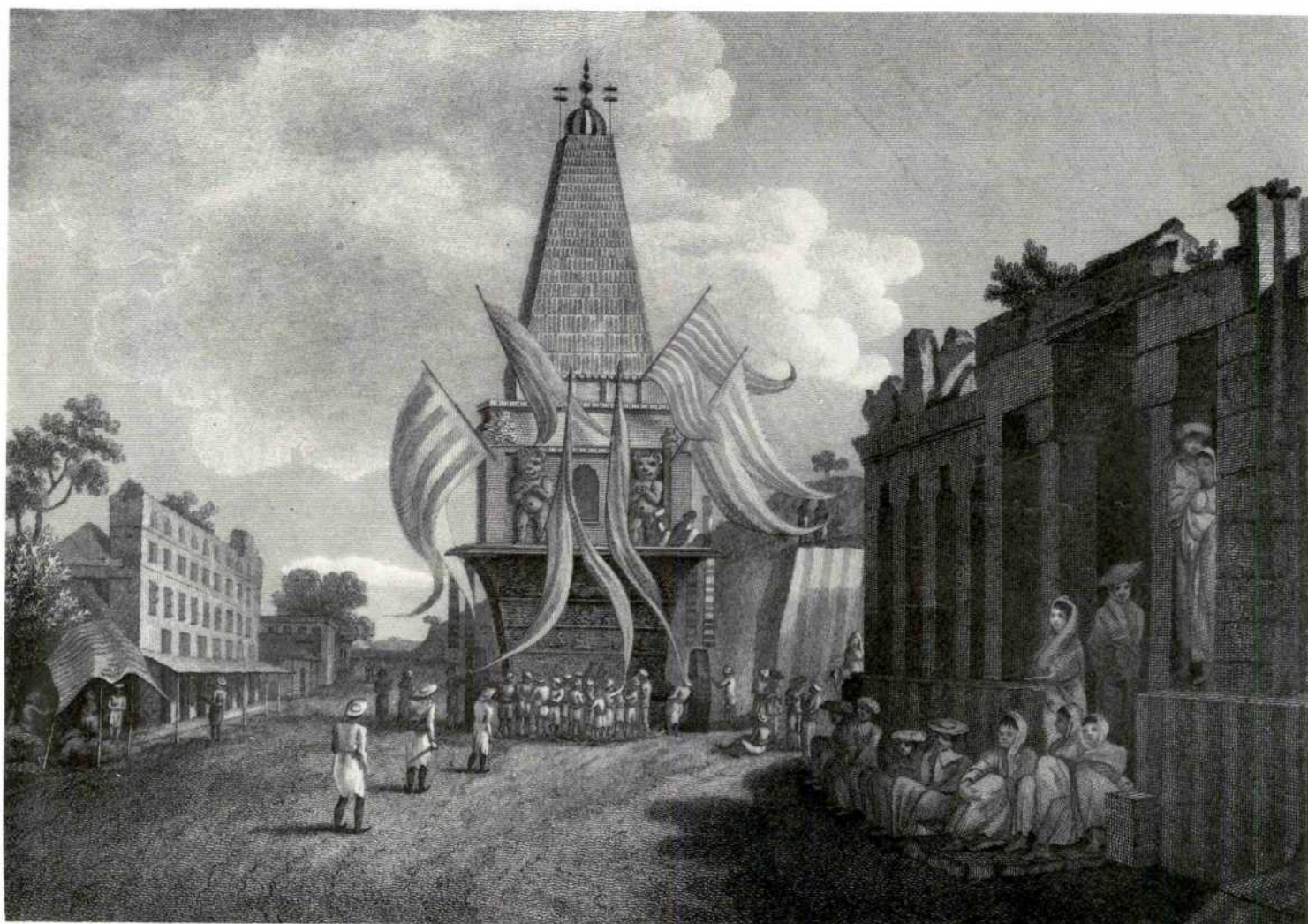
Raikottai

Salt was again on his own when, on February 23, he saw Raikottai after travelling all night through a wild and romantic part of the country. Since it was a moonlit night, he found the experience more beautiful than by day. According to Salt, this was one of the few hill-forts in the Baramahal, tended by the English and was important because of its commanding position on the route between Mysore and the Carnatic. At the time of Salt's visit, the top of the hill could only be approached by a narrow flight of steps. Part of the fort at the bottom of the hill had comfortable houses for the officers. Salt wrote: "It is healthy and the climate is so moderate, that every kind of fruit and vegetable may be grown that is unknown in the surrounding plains of Madras." He also remarked that "cherry trees flourish here remarkably well."

Fig. 11



11. "Riacotta in the Baramahal".
Hand-coloured aquatint engraving by Daniel and Robert Havell senior after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



12. "View of Ossour".

Etching and line-engraving by William Angus after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Hosur

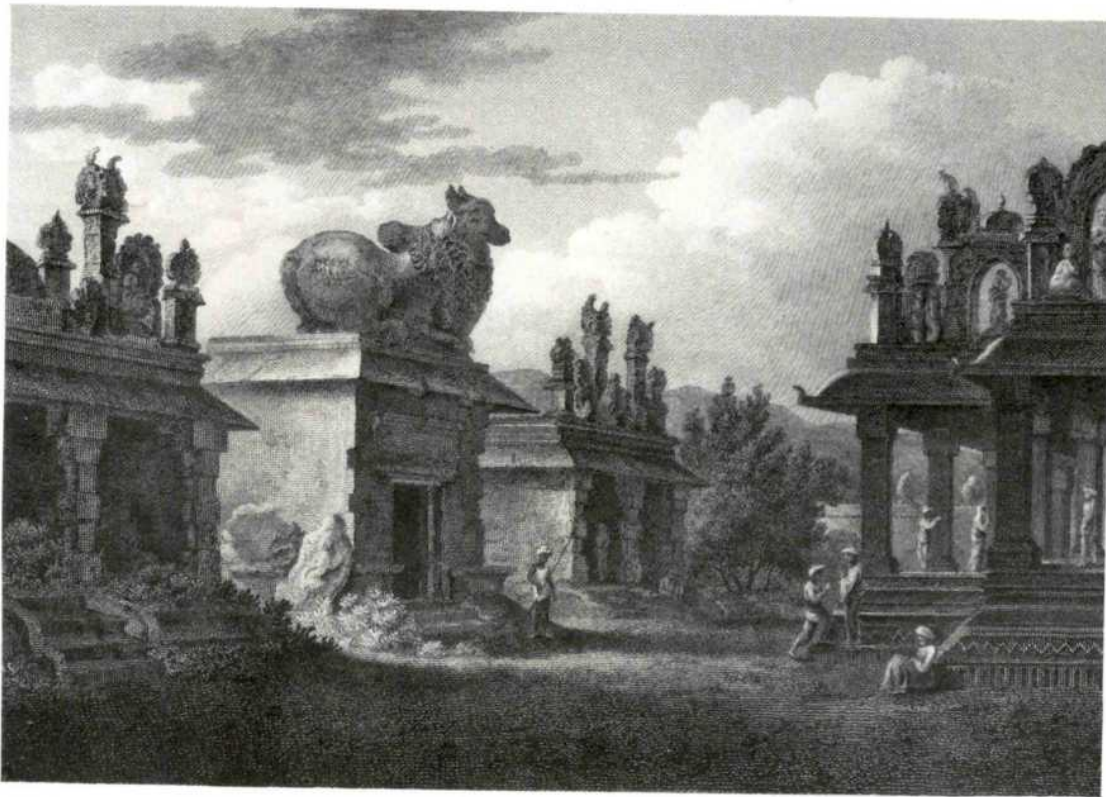
Salt reached Ossour (Hosur) just as a festival was being celebrated: "The scene was extremely gay; and while they were conveying the god in procession, I took the accompanying view of his chariot." Instead of visiting these remote places, Valentia went to Bangalore and Seringapatam.

Talikota

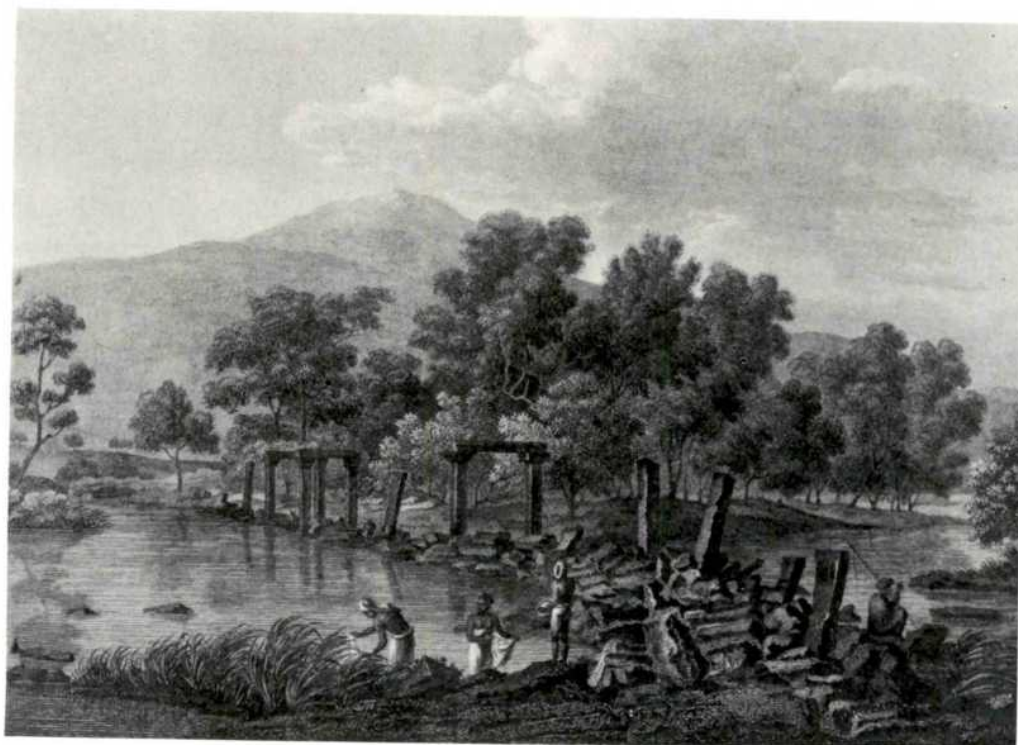
A few days after Hosur, Salt made his way southwards to Talikota on the River Kistna, where he found that "the village was covered with a thick unpleasant fog; I therefore shut myself up in my palanquin until ten by which time the sun had partly dispersed it The hills around at midday were scarcely visible; and to add to the misery of the situation, there was a range of sand hills at the back of the town, that reflected an intense heat into the place."

He described a small temple complex: "Within the walls that surrounds it, is the statue of a bull judiciously placed on the top of a small temple, about twelve feet in length and eight and a half feet in height, with garlands of flowers and rich trappings about it, as in the accompanying drawing."

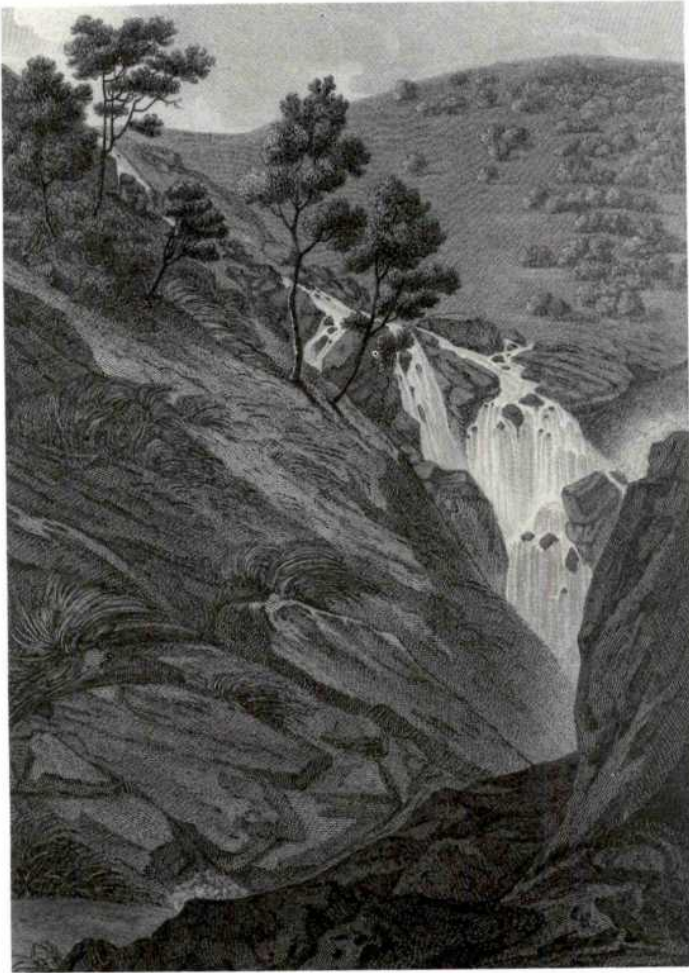
Fig. 13



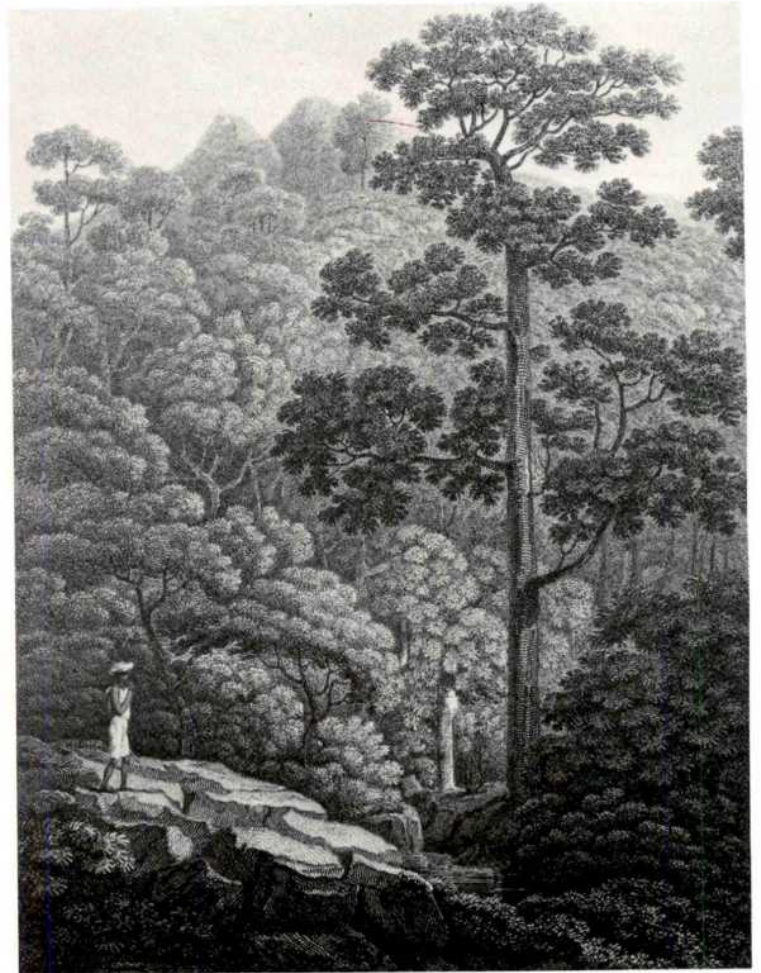
13. "Pagodas at Talicut".
Etching and line-engraving by William Angus after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



14. "Ruins of a Bridge, Across the Cauveri".
Etching and line-engraving by William Angus after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.



15. "Waterfall at Sevasummoodra".
Line-engraving with etching by James Fittler after
Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library,
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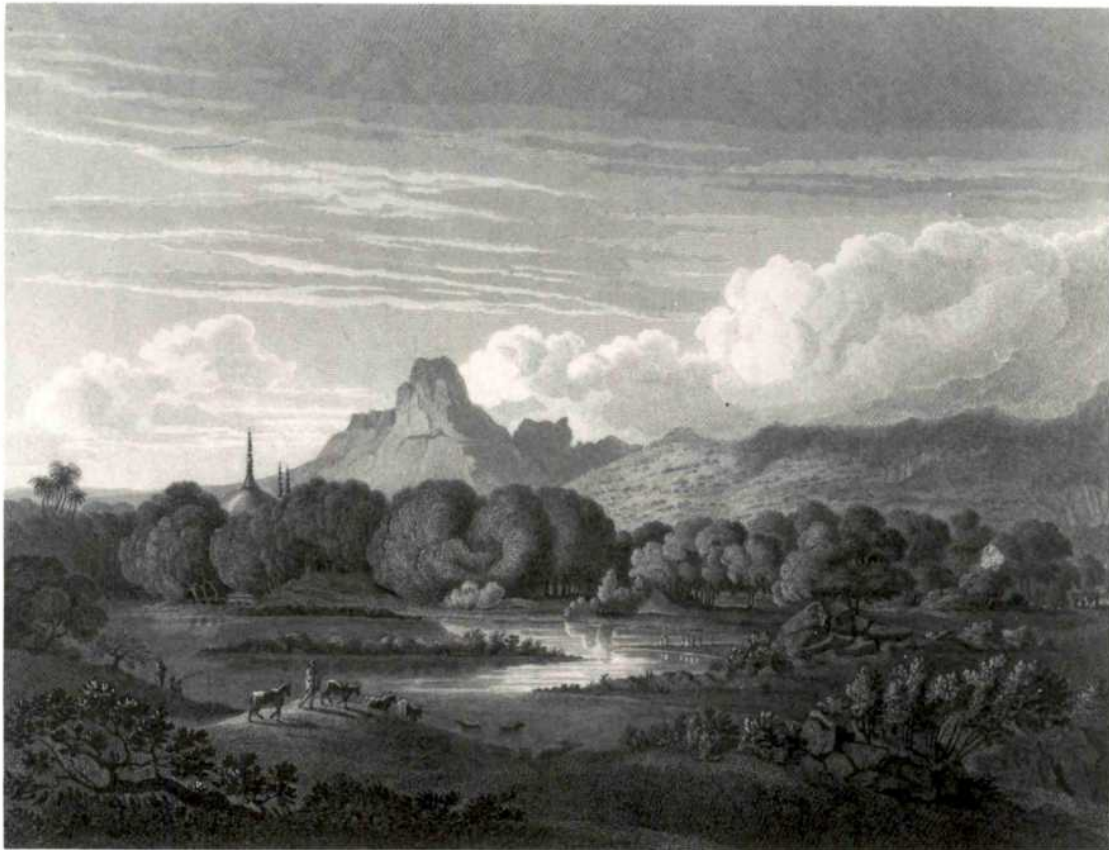


16. "View of the Besseley Gaut".
Etching and line-engraving by John Landseer after
Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library,
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Sivasamudram Island

From Talikota, Salt travelled further south to the nearby island of Sivasamudram on the Cauvery, where he found "the ruins of a bridge across the Cauveri, communicating with the island, of Sevasummoodra which was formed entirely of large columns of black granite, each about two feet diameter and twenty feet length. This magnificent work, which was upwards of three hundred yards in extent, was at this time so nearly destroyed, that the palanquin was with great difficulty carried over the broken masses that choked up the stream."

Salt was obviously keen to visit as many sites as possible before rejoining Valentia. One of these, the noted Cauvery Falls, he found, like many visitors, to be a disappointment. It was the dry season. At Madras, he had heard so much about this sight from people who had seen it during the rains. "It falls indeed from a very great height, certainly upwards of a hundred and fifty feet, but the body of water is not at this season sufficient in quantity to make it grand." Salt continued his account: "after traversing the bank, and viewing it from several points, I descended into one of the deepest of the chasms; and having taken the accompanying and several other views of the fall, undisturbed by the tigers, which are reported to be very numerous in the neighbourhood, I returned to a small choultry above."



17. "View from Panwell".

Etching and line-engraving by James Fittler after Henry Salt, London, 1809.
India Office Library and Records, The British Library, London.

Western India

Salt then went to Seringapatam after this excursion and met Valentia again in early March. The next day, they both left for Mangalore, travelling through Hasan and then onwards to the mountains of the Western Ghats. Valentia recorded on March 7 that "at three in the morning I began to descend this celebrated Gaut. The road has been formed with great labour out of a bed of loose rock, over which the torrents in winter had run with such force as to wash away all the softer parts, and in several places to leave single rocks, of four or five feet diameter, standing in the center of the road To get the palanquins over these was a tedious and difficult business: however it escaped uninjured." Valentia walked much of the way to relieve his palanquin bearers and to admire the "sublimity of the scene." They entered a forest, several trees of which were thirty metres in height. Their descent was further impeded by meeting with numerous droves of oxen ascending the ghat. Fig. 16

Bombay

They sailed to Abyssinia from Mangalore on March 13, 1804. While Valentia stayed there until September, Salt left for Bombay in July to make arrangements with the Governor, Jonathan Duncan, for Valentia to visit the city. In October they went to Poona. They set off from Bombay Fort with a fifteen-gun salute. The Governor's aides-de-camp attended them to the waterside. Admiring the scenery, Valentia wrote that "the islands are, in general, covered in wood; but Butchers Island is clear, except at the northern side, where several buildings are erected close to an old Maharatta fort.

Among the lofty hills, which formed a background to the scene, Funnel Hill was most conspicuous from the singularity of its shape: the summit has all the appearance of a vast pillar, elevated in the center of a flat, on the top of a rock. The whole range of hills is singular in its appearance, and continually afforded subjects for Mr. Salt's pencil. We passed between the islands of Salsette and Elephanta, where the bay begins to contract in its dimensions. . . . The entrance to the River Pan is defended by a small fort, which was built by the English The paddy fields presented a cheering prospect by their healthy state, and even the mountains were covered with verdure except where their smooth surface was broken by rocky pinnacles rising to a great height."

Panvel

Fig. 17 The tide had just turned as they reached the landing place near the village of Panvel, where "high cultivation and picturesque scenery have no where in India been so perfectly united."

Departure from India

Salt and Valentia sailed from Bombay, leaving India finally on December 4, 1804. They eventually reached England again in October 1806 after an absence of nearly four and a half years. On meeting him again, Halls noticed that "Salt had lost much of the boyishness of his earlier days, and though still frolicksome and eccentric, had acquired in the main, a sedateness, independence, and solidity of character."

Three years later their respective works, dedicated to Marquess Wellesley, were published. It is evident that they had every intention of doing so, even before they left India. Proposals for publishing a set of twenty-four views after pictures by Salt, were announced in the *Madras Courier* on December 28, 1803 as follows: "Mr. Salt being on the eve of his departure for England, will himself superintend and expedite the publication of the work, and will endeavour to render it as worthy as possible of the illustrious patronage under which it is published. The plates to be engraved by the most eminent European artists, and to be coloured in imitation of the original drawings."

In addition to this, a subsequent advertisement by the publisher, William Miller, of both publications, noted that Salt's set of twenty-four views was "intended to add a further and more complete illustration to Lord Valentia's Travels." As a result of Salt's set of views and Valentia's illustrated volumes, vivid impressions of their time spent in India can be gleaned today.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Title : **The Indian Style**
Writer : Raymond Head
Publisher : George Allen & Unwin, London
Format : Pages 210 with 114 illustrations
Price : £ 18.50

In recent years several illuminating studies of the European architectural legacy in India have appeared, including S. Nilsson's *European architecture in India, 1750-1850* (1968), R. G. Irving's exhaustive *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (1981), J. Morris' *Stones of Empire* (1983) and, probably the best general account of the subject, P. Davies' *Splendours of the Raj* (1985). Nobody before Raymond Head, however, had attempted a continuous survey of the significant (though more diffuse) contribution of Indian architectural ideas to European and American buildings in the last two hundred years. In this lively and enjoyable book he pursues the recurring influences of the Mughal and 'Hindoo' styles in many, often unexpected, Western quarters, from the mansions of returning British 'nabobs' in the early 19th century to the fantastic American cinema architecture of the 1920s, from New York and Auckland to Woking and Budapest.

With the exception of the ubiquitous bungalow, Indian architectural forms only took ephemeral root in the West. In most cases they were employed, at the behest of individual patrons, for exoticist purposes, to recreate the romantic allure of an (often largely imaginary) Orient. For the earliest experimenters the Indian topographical aquatints of the Daniells were an indispensable source. At Sezincote House, Gloucestershire (c. 1805), S. P. Cockerell very successfully imposed a Taj Mahal-like dome and Mughal *chhatris*, *chajjas* and window surrounds on a conventional classical villa. Nash's Brighton Pavilion, built for the rakish Prince Regent, was a suitably riotous and frivolous exercise in a more freely adapted late Mughal style. This achievement was later emulated in extraordinary palatial mansions such as the American circus owner P. T. Barnum's 'Iranistan' (1847) and the Bijapuri style Château Vaissier (1892), built for a French soap manufacturer. A similar pursuit of exotic fantasy came to the fore in some of the Indian style pavilions erected at the international exhibitions held in Paris and London (notably at the White City exhibition of 1908), and, in a more extreme form, in the eclectic architecture of theatres and cinemas. These included 'Mughal' interiors at Denver, Colorado (c. 1900) and elsewhere, a remarkable proscenium arch based on the Sanchi gateways at the Beverly Theater, Los Angeles (1925), and the exterior of the Oakland theatre, California (1928), bearing a fair resemblance to a Hindu *sikhara* temple.

Indian style architecture of a more restrained and serious kind also resulted from the British relationship with India in the Victorian age, one of the earliest examples being the tomb of Raja Ram Mohan Roy at Bristol, designed by W. H. Prinsep (1842). At Elveden Hall, Suffolk (c. 1875), a suite of rooms was decorated with plasterwork based on Lahore and Rajasthani models for Duleep Singh, the dispossessed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. At the same time, the hybrid Anglo-Indian style of official architecture had become well developed in India in the work of Chisholm, Mant and Swinton Jacob. But it was only infrequently emulated in England, as for example in Lt. H. Cole's Royal College of Organists (1874), which recalls the façades of Ahmedabad merchants' houses, or the vast and chilly durbar room by C. Purdon Clarke, Keeper of Indian Art and later Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, again at Elveden (1899-1903). Sir Herbert Baker's India House in London (1928-1930) represented the final, New Delhi phase of the Anglo-Indian style.

The impression made by the displays of Indian decorative arts at the Great Exhibition of 1851 had also led to a strong Indian influence on the Western crafts revival in the late 19th century, and thus on the art of interior decoration. Lockwood de Forest, a founder of the New York design studio Associated Artists, travelled to India and established the Ahmedabad Wood Carving Company, which supplied elaborately carved panelling and furniture for wealthy New Yorkers' houses in the 1880s. Meanwhile, John Lockwood Kipling, Principal of the Lahore School of Art, was advising Arthur, Duke of Connaught and his wife on the decoration of their home at Bagshot Park, Surrey, with wood panelling carved at Lahore by the craftsman Ram Singh. This project so impressed Queen Victoria that she commissioned her own 'Indian' room at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, with plasterwork again designed by Ram Singh.

The dominance since the First World War of the more austere aesthetic of the Modern Movement has greatly diminished the Indian influence on Western architecture and design, but even today it has by no means disappeared. Raymond Head's book is a valuable account of the story so far. One would carp only at occasional slips (e.g. 'Sikandrabad' for Sikandra, or 'Ellora' for Elephanta, p. 154) and at the publisher's ungenerous provision of illustrations, both in quantity and size.

— Andrew Topsfield

Title : **The Mahabharata**
Writer : Shanta Rameshwar Rao
Publisher : Orient Longman Ltd., Bombay, 1986
Format : Pages 142 with 16 colour plates and numerous black and white illustrations
Price : Rs. 215.00

Orient Longman has recently brought out two attractive publications—the *Mahabharata* and *In Worship of Shiva* written by Shanta Rameshwar Rao and illustrated by Badri Narayan in colour and black and white sketches. The beauty of these publications lies in the childlike simplicity of the language by a veteran writer

of children's books which is heightened by equally simple, folksy and naive illustrations by Badri Narayan giving them a prestigious and rich get-up. The books deserve a positive word of praise for the thoughtful use of paper, typeset and cover pages embellished with childlike art by Badri Narayan, the well-known artist who knows little children so well.

The story of the *Mahabharata* is of a hoary antiquity and its popularity has been increasing over the centuries. Like other epics it also has additions, alterations and puzzles which have kept scholars working till today. The text though familiar to most people, has been written by Smt. Rao in a lucid and direct manner in which she has been writing for children and adults with success.

Illustrated versions of the *Mahabharata*, one of India's paramount epics, came to be known from the sixteenth century, when the *Aranyaka Parvan* of the *Mahabharata* was discovered, which was illustrated and written in AD 1516 at Kachhava near Delhi (now preserved at the Asiatic Society of Bombay). Subsequently, Emperor Akbar got another copy of the *Mahabharata* illustrated for him in c. AD 1582 which is now in the Jaipur Pothikhana. The third one, the *Razm-Nama* dated AD 1598 is dispersed in Baroda, the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and elsewhere in the world. However, the earlier copy of the *Aranyaka Parvan* has illustrations at every step in the same manner as Badri Narayan has done in this book. I cannot help comparing the two *Mahabharatas*, the former eschewing the spirit and style of Sultanate painting while the latter, bubbles with appealing naivety of form and line supported by a sound ancestry of miniature painting tradition and understanding of the genesis of Indian art and iconography. Constant use of archaic forms and vibrant colours which are not only aesthetic but symbolic, adorn the publication.

Though nothing much remains to be retold of the well-known episodes of the *Mahabharata*, the new idiom of narrative expression in pictures, which are easy to understand, creates a kind of sincerity, frankness and curiosity about them. Much could be said about the emotional and symbolic content employed by the illustrator in these pictures. His knowledge of iconography of the Gods (the attributes and vehicles by which they are identified) is used in a simplified manner. The artist's notes on 'Chapter Symbols' at the end and 'Special Notes on Some Colour Plates' reveal his knowledge of the iconography and their symbolism, which are simple yet attractive compositions and above all his use of pleasing colour schemes. The scene of Draupadi's *Vastraharana* is a meaningful composition. Despite indifferent figures and their placement, the bands of colours juxtaposed near one another spreading in all directions in subtle shades in a cold key, the attributes of Vishnu, the chess board and the stylized symbol of Shakuni covering one eye with the chess (*chaupad*) drawn like an octopus (the devil of the sea) pronounces the cruel motive in his mind. A number of such imaginative clichés have been fruitfully used and most of the colour illustrations are meaningful with charming lines and colour. Badri Narayan has the subject of his choice to excel in his field in these publications. I cannot, being an artist and a student of Indian painting, help admiring his efforts which go a long way in the history of book illustrations in India.

—Shridhar Andhare

Title : **The Andamanese, Nicobarese and Hill Tribes of Assam**
Writer : A. M. Meerwarth
Publisher : Spectrum Publications, Pan Bazar, Gauhati—781001
Format : Pages 51, with six black and white illustrations
Price : Rs. 45.00

It is in the area of the mountainous valley of Brahmaputra, in its course from Lower Tibet to the Bay of Bengal, that a variety of ancient and primitive tribes of ethnological importance such as the Abor, the Mishmis, the Nagas, the Kukis, the Manipuris, the Mikir, the Khasis, the Garos, the Andamanese, the Nicobarese, and many others live happily in their undisturbed environmental condition, and they afford considerable and rich material for both study and research. However, due to contact with outsiders, the lives of these tribals are rapidly changing and their basic and original cultural traits are considerably shaken up and affected. It is at these crossroads that one feels the necessity and importance of conserving and preserving the simple, unpolluted and pure treasures as well as the traditions of these so-called *adivasis* for posterity. Thus the Indian Museum at Calcutta took the lead in AD 1875 in collecting examples of vanishing ethnographic materials with the assistance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Along with the materials on display in the galleries, a handy guidebook or a pamphlet for the use of a casual visitor was felt necessary and hence the present book, "The Andamanese, Nicobarese and Hill Tribes of Assam" by Dr. A. M. Meerwarth was brought out in early 1919. The latest edition (published in 1980 and released in 1981) which is under review with a *new* introduction by Dr. N. N. Acharyya of the Department of History, Gauhati University, Assam, adds colour and flavour to this enchanting guidebook (though it looks like a monograph)!

The writer, Dr. Meerwarth, the Assistant Curator, Ethnological Museum at Petrograd, Russia, has selected two contrasting groups of a total of nine tribes for his study, one living in the inland, and the other in a coastal area. With objects of use belonging to these tribals on display, he describes, not only the physical features, divisions, and racial groupings but also the cultural and social aspects such as dwellings, patterns of life, dress and decorations, household articles including their arts and crafts, occupational implements, pastimes as well as festivals and religious motives in a coherent and comprehensive manner.

The first group represents the most primitive of aboriginals on earth, the Andamanese and the Nicobarese. Both groups are coastal tribes. The Andamanese are of Negroid stock and short in stature, dark skinned, scantily dressed, and have taken to hunting and fishing, they are hostile to everybody outside their tribe. On the other hand, the Nicobarese are of Mongoloid stock with yellowish or reddish-brown complexions. Once pirates, but semi-civilized traders at present. Both tribes are artistic as can be seen from their numerous domestic items.

In the second group of tribals, the writer selected seven important hill-tribes from the eastern states (except West Bengal) such as Assam, Nagaland, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. He classifies them further into three subgroups based on their different social and cultural holdings, even though all of them have Mongoloid features.

The dress of the Abor and Mishmis is towards the European. Cattle breeding is their main source of wealth. Their objects are generally not artistic.

The Nagas, Kukis and Manipuris form the next subgroup of hill-tribes—the Nagas wearing apparels of which the outstanding feature is the great variety of colours especially among males; while the dress of the Kuki male is extremely simple. Further the Kukis, tie their hair into a knot and decorate it with brass pins or combs of bamboo and other ornaments made from colourful porcupine quills. Fine basketry and weaving are common among the Kukis, while the Nagas are good at preparing bamboo vessels (*bamboo joints*) for transporting water. The Manipuris are descendants of the Nagas and Kukis and they dress in Hindu fashion and are conversant with the dances of the Hindus.

The common factor among the third subgroup of hill-tribes which comprises the Mikir, Khasis and Garos is that they are all Tibeto-Burman in origin and are a peace-loving people, with the exception of the Khasis. The Khasis are a remarkable hill-tribe, because their language is unique and has no connection with any of the languages spoken by the other tribes in this area. Further the Khasis language alone, of all the Assam hill dialects, has been admitted among the vernacular taught at the Calcutta University. Secondly there is the unique set-up of family organization—the predominance of the mother, where all duties inside and outside the home are looked after by women, as in the case of the Nayers of Kerala. Yet another feature about the Khasis is that, among the hill-tribes, they have more readily adopted and assimilated Christianity and the European civilization. Archery is a good pastime of the Khasis. The Garos are darker than their neighbours and, contrary to other hill-tribes, their dress shows simplicity with only a coloured loincloth. Their cult of the dead—animistic belief is quite interesting and when a Garo dies, a rude carving in wood is made and planted and displayed in front of the deceased's house, as soon as possible after the cremation.

Thus, this guidebook has briefly brought out the manifold and diversified cultural and material holdings of nine tribes in the eastern part of India. However, basically one should remember that members of these hill-tribes are warriors, mostly of Mongoloid stock, taken to shifting cultivation with basketry and weaving as cottage industries and are staunch animists. Apart from descriptive notes about each tribe and their cultural set-up, each chapter contains a list of important objects on display and a list of research work done already on each tribe—for the benefit of the students and researchers. At the end of the text, six black and white plates are included illustrating the varied tribal objects in the collection.

The contents page at the beginning of the book, which is essential for any book of this type, is missing. While explaining a group of hill-tribes such as the colourful Assam tribes, a physical distribution map and photograph of each tribe showing their physical features or their natural habitat would have enhanced the interest of the visitors who use this handy book. The title of this book "The Andamanese, Nicobarese and Hill Tribes of Assam" is somewhat misleading to a casual visitor and an insertion of "A short guide book", after the main title would have sufficed. The writer should know precisely whether it is a guidebook or a monograph and supply the title accordingly. Dr. Acharyya in his new introduction, however, claims it as an original research document. No doubt it is meant to be an introductory guide to a select group of colourful tribes in the eastern part of India

and it adorns the halls of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, awakening interest and curiosity of the visitor and making him get to know about the life and activity of these hill people. But to a beginner in ethnographic exploration and research, it serves as a basic source material (of 1919), to be supplemented with field trips to these areas at present.

—N. Devasahayam

FIGURE ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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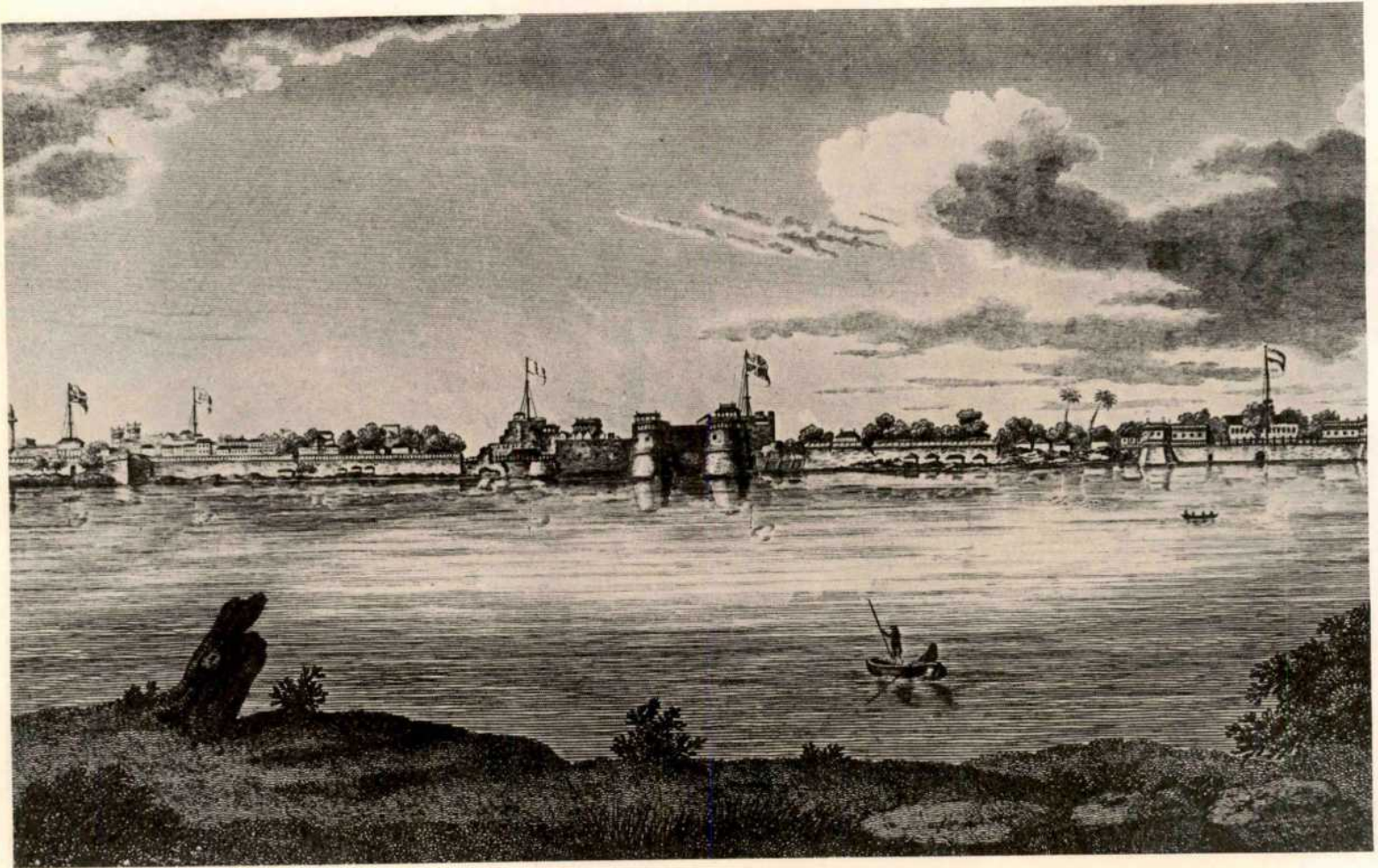


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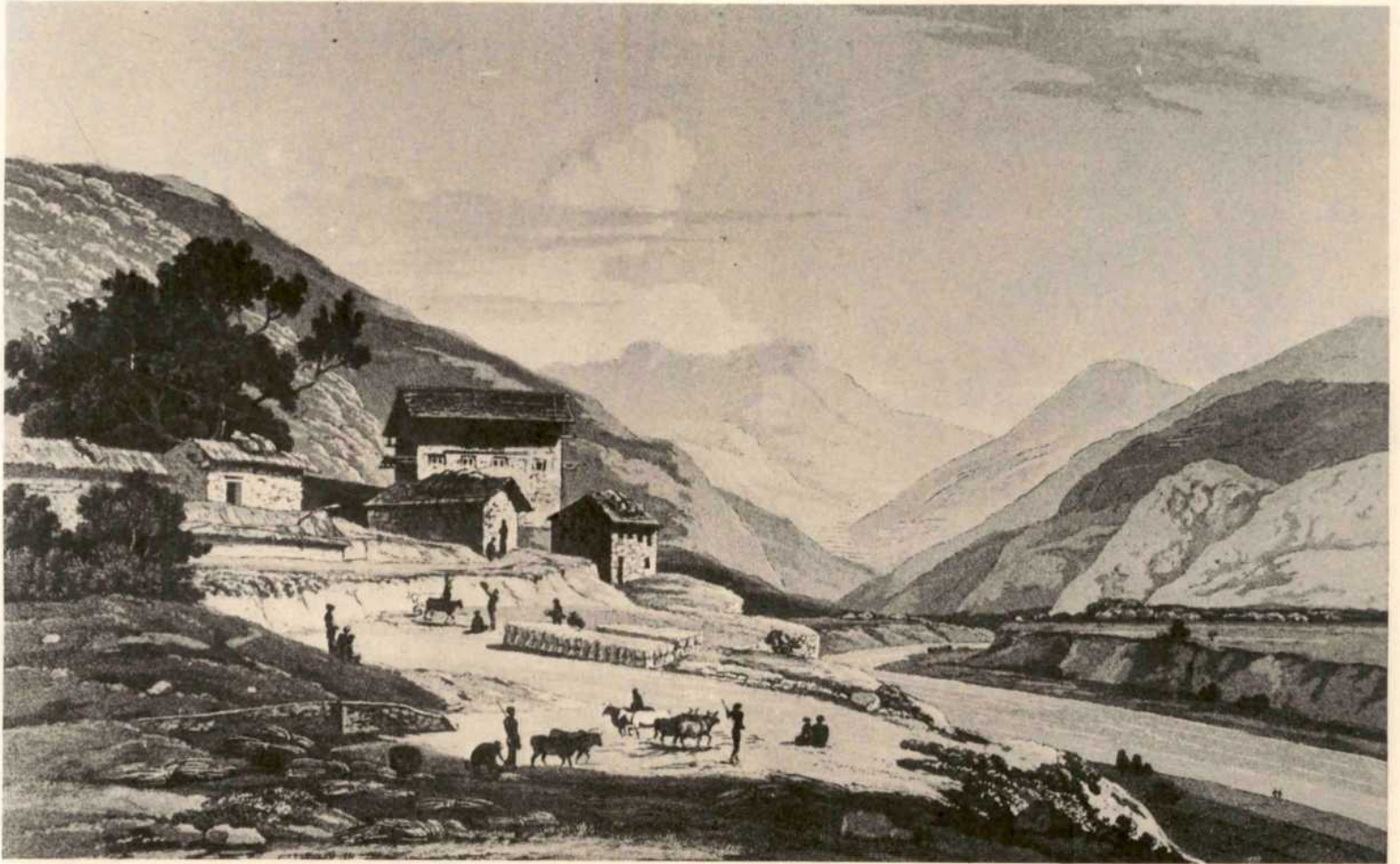
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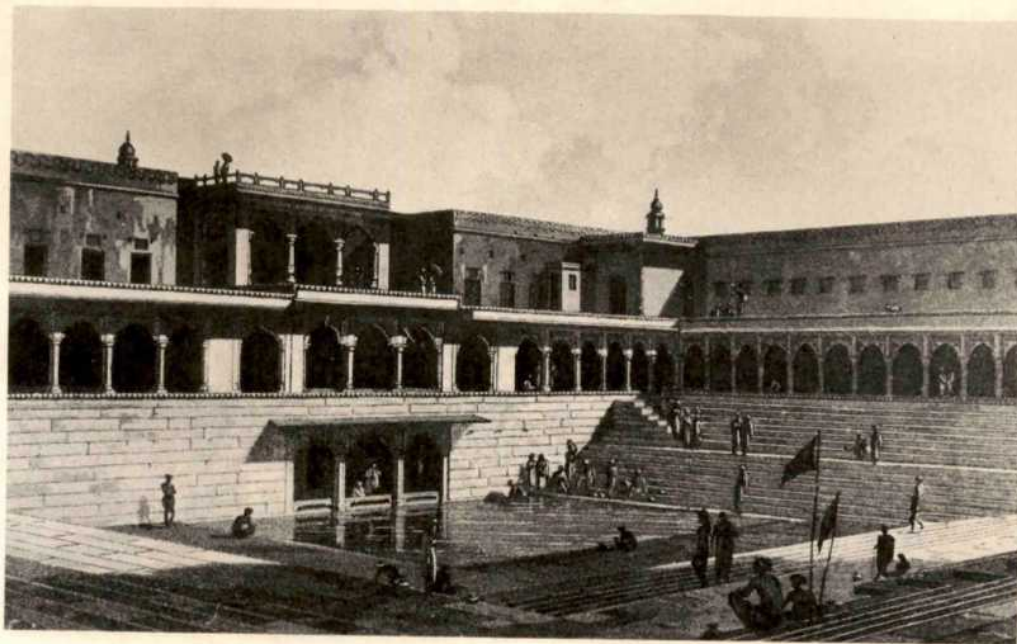
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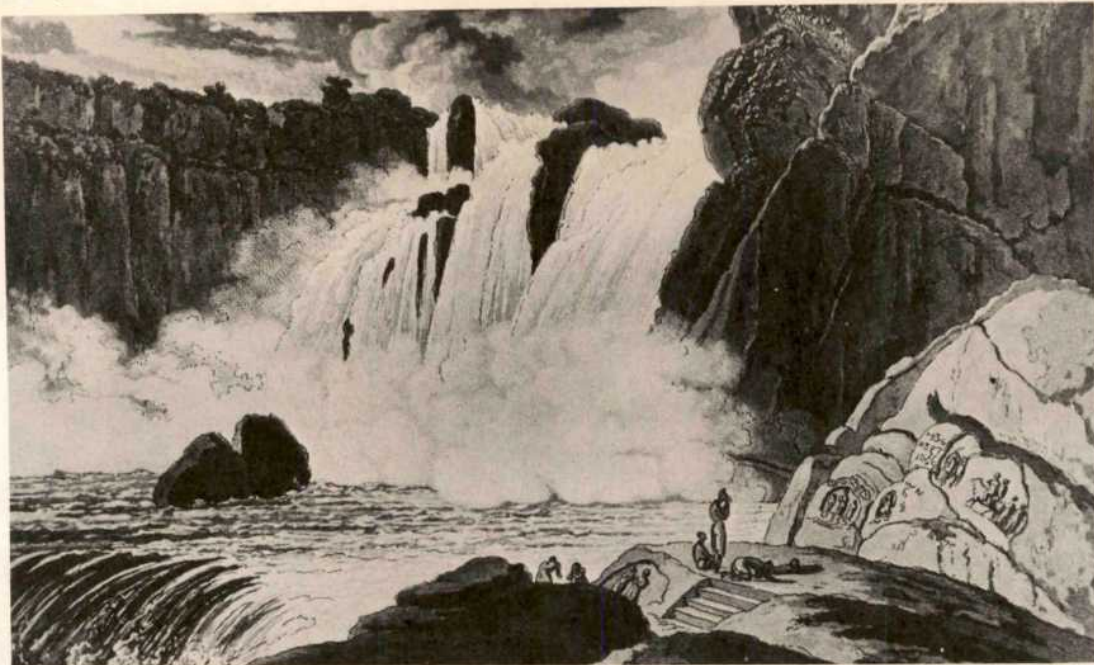


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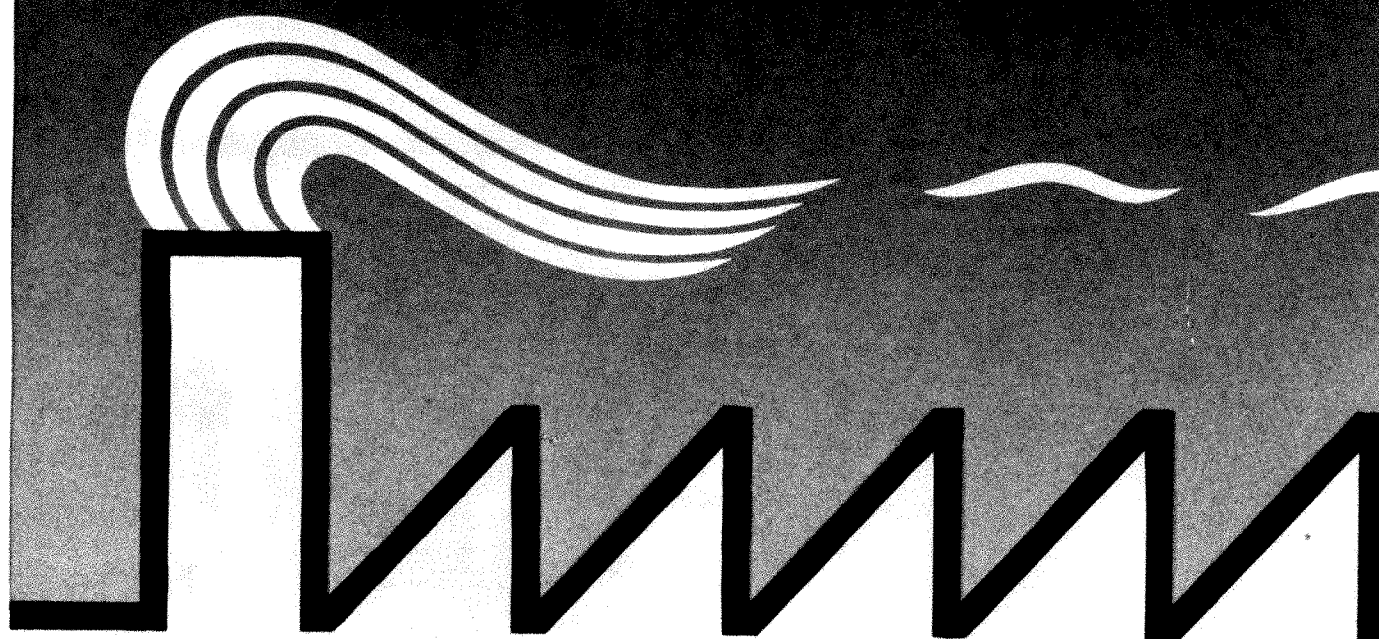
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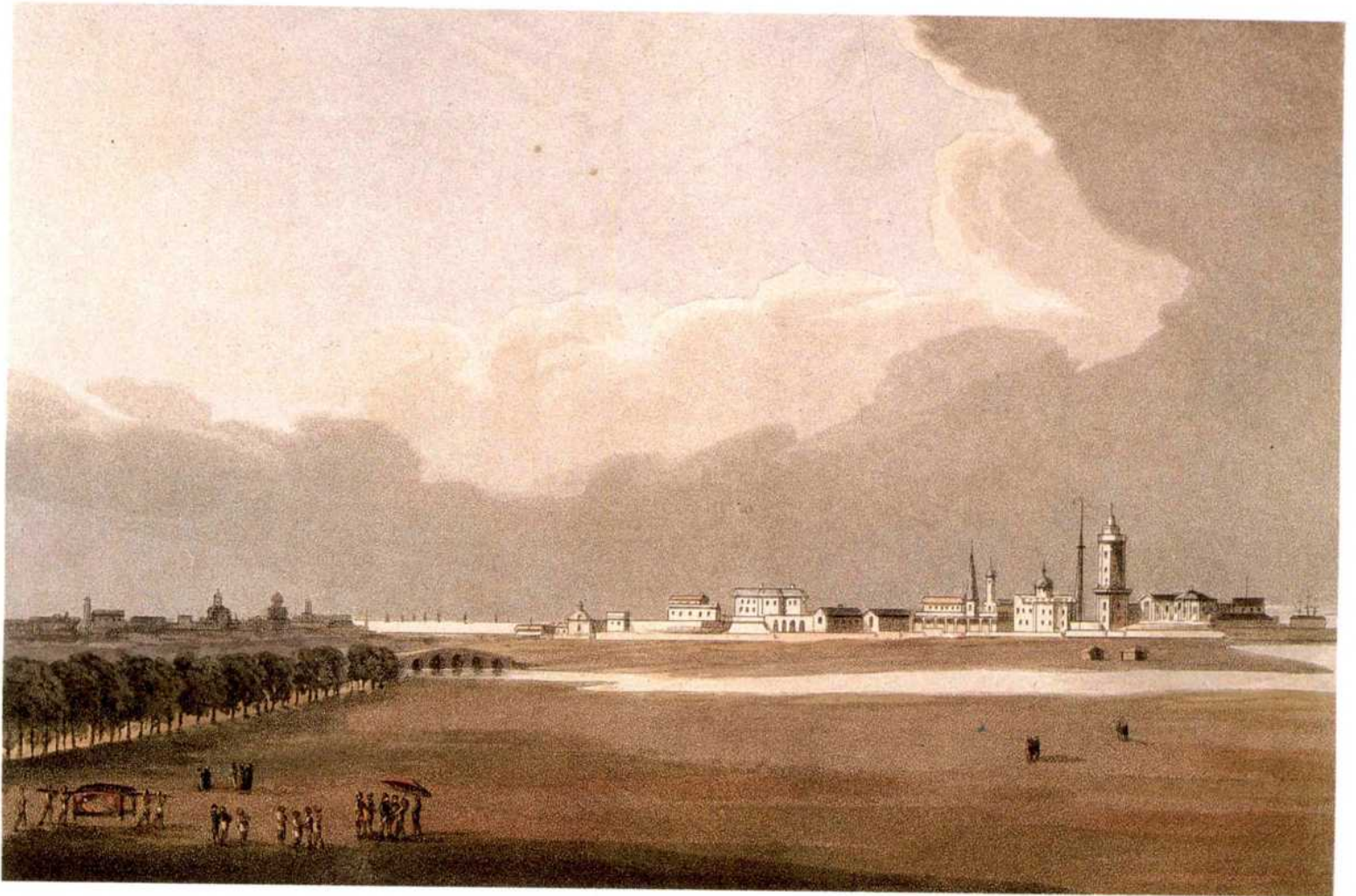
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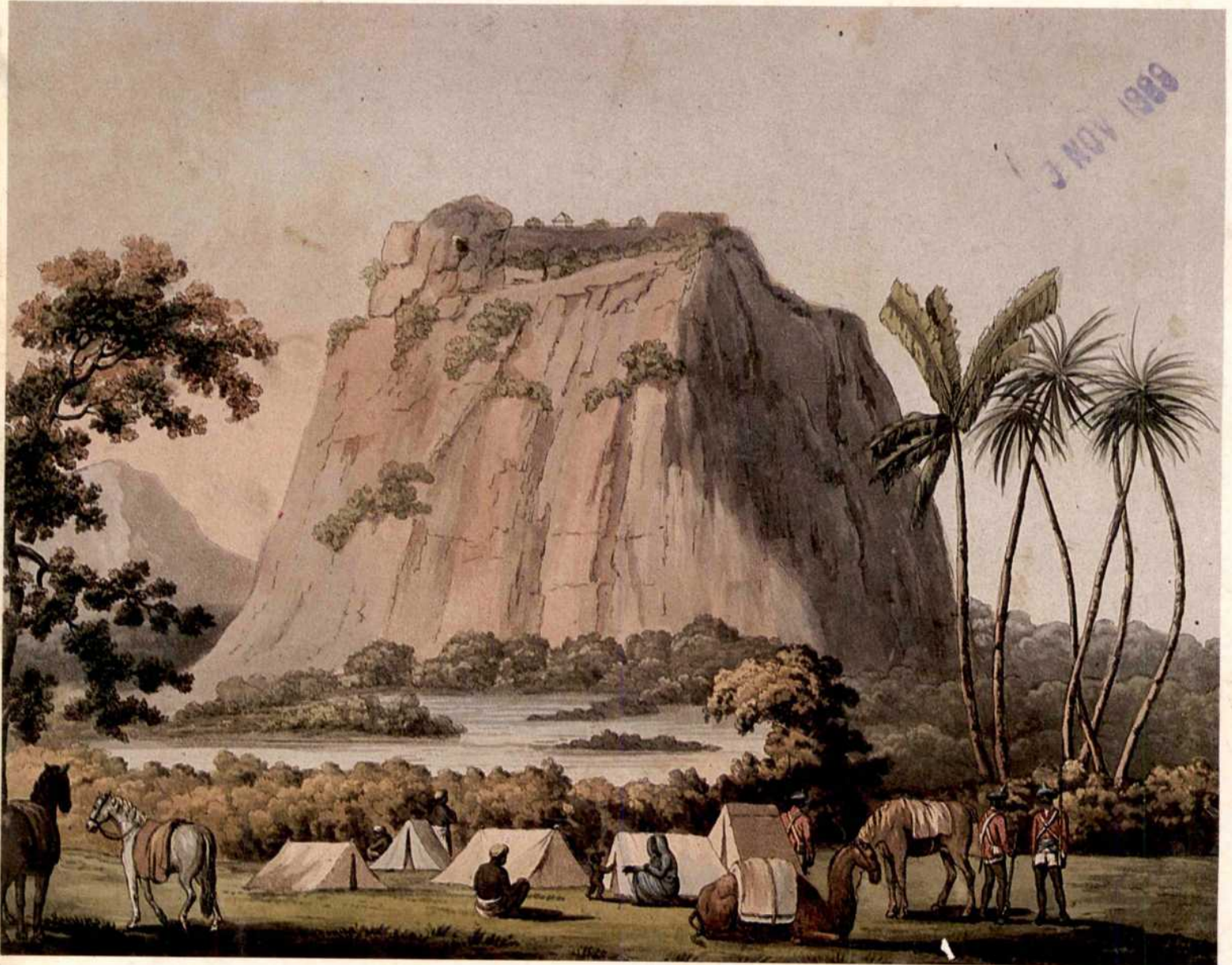


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